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THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL REVIEW

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JANUARY, 1946

NUMBER 1

THE EBB OF THE GREAT REVIVAL

By CLEMENT EATON

At the turn of the eighteenth century a great upsurge of religious enthusiasm began to develop in the frontier regions of the South. Reaching tidal-wave proportions in Kentucky during 1800-1801, it swept eastward, overflowing the older communities of the Atlantic seaboard. Rightly this religious catharsis has been called the Great Revival, for it produced a revolution in the religious life of the South and the West. The background of this movement was a state of irreligion into which the Southern people had relapsed, due partly to deism, to the effects of the American Revolution, and to the rapid expansion of the frontier. The central idea behind the movement was an American crusade to save souls from hell—that terrifying illusion haunting the minds of the people. The agency used to effect this end was peculiarly suited to the rural population of that period—the camp meeting, which gathered tremendous crowds from scattered homesteads to listen to relays of ministers preaching a religion of high emotional voltage.1

After 1805 the excitement of the Great Revival began to ebb, but revivals did not disappear from the mores of the ante-bellum South or from other sections of the country. Rather, they came at intervals and ran their courses. In 1857-58, for example, after a serious financial panic, a widespread religious revival took place in the Northern states. The last great revival in the South occurred among the gray-clad soldiers of the Confederacy following tragic reverses in battle. Frail human nature appears

¹ For studies of the Great Revival, see Guion G. Johnson, "Revival Movements in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," in North Carolina Historical Review, X, 21-43, and "The Camp Meeting in Ante-Bellum North Carolina," ibid, 95-110; W. L. Grissom, History of Methodism in North Carolina from 1772 to the Present Time (Nashville, Tenn., 1905), I, Chaps. 18-20; and W. W. Sweet, Revivalism in America; its Origin, Growth and Decline (New York, 1944); Catherine C. Cleveland, The Great Revival in the West, 1797-1805 (Chicago, 1916).

incapable of sustaining a high level of religious enthusiasm for any long period, but relapses into formalism or religious routine. Then, almost with an inevitable rhythm, the dormant forces of religious devotion revive. Nor does there seem to be valid reason to expect that this ebb and flow of religious feeling will ever be permanently stayed by human sophistication arising from the advance of science or the hardening effect of technology upon human emotions.

In studying the rise and decline of the Great Revival, the modern historian is confronted with a complex pattern of various interpretations. He may adopt a purely rationalistic view and laugh cynically at the emotional extravagances which characterized this movement. On the other hand, he may look beneath the tumult and excitement of the camp meeting to discern the craving of lonely frontier people for human companionship. He may be interested in the psychology of hysterical crowds, or the exhibitionism of fervid evangelists, or the effect of camp meetings on Southern oratory and on the music of the Negro spirituals. He may investigate the imponderable influences of the fever and the ague, the frequent deaths of frontier communities, and the solemn stillness of the wilderness in producing a religious sensitivity. But this paper is concerned only with certain significant by-products of the Great Revival: (1) the co-operation during this period of various sects, a harmony later to be dissolved in bitter denominational fights: (2) the ebb of the revival movement as illustrated in the career of one of the most colorful of the evangelists, Richard Hugg King, and (3) the residual effects of evangelical religion upon the Southern mind.

The co-operation of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches during the period of the Great Revival is one of the most striking phenomena of this movement. From Clark County, Georgia, Thomas Grant wrote to Armelia Owen in Virginia, "The Presbyterians and Methodists commune, preach, and pray constantly together and are in great unison. I should rejoice to see a union among all." ² A correspondent in Kentucky, describing the mammoth Cane Ridge Meeting of 1801, wrote: "thither as-

² Thomas Grant, Clark Co., Ga., to Armelia Owen, May 28, 1803. David Campbell Papers, MSS in Duke University Library.

sembled the religious of every denomination, some from one hundred miles distant, but more particularly the Presbyterians and Methodists who are in full communion with each other;lastly the Baptists, who preach with each other, but do not commune." 3 The eccentric Methodist traveling evangelist, Lorenzo Dow, called "Crazy Dow" by the conventionally-minded, but "Cosmopolite" by himself, was surprised at the tolerance of the Presbyterians in North Carolina who placed their meeting-houses at his service.4

The conciliatory religious spirit of this period led to the proposal to unite the Episcopal and Lutheran churches in North Carolina. As a result of the disrupting effect of the American Revolution and other factors, the Episcopal Church was almost extinct in the early years of the nineteenth century. Adam Empie in 1814 corresponded with Robert J. Miller, then a Lutheran minister but later an Episcopal clergyman of Mary's Grove, near Lenoir, North Carolina, suggesting a union between the two denominations. He wrote, "it rejoices me to hear you say that the Lutheran clergy would give such a proposition a favorable hearing." 6 As late as 1821 Empie wrote from Hillsborough that a delegation consisting of Judge Cameron, Reverend Bedell, and himself had been appointed to attend the Lutheran Synod. He requested from Miller a Lutheran Catechism that he might learn more concerning the doctrines of the Lutheran Church. His hope that both sides would show a conciliatory spirit and that the contemplated union between the Lutherans and Episcopalians would take place, however, never materialized.6

After the decline of the Great Revival, a bitter partisan spirit of denominationalism succeeded. Religionists began to fight each other over the correct path to take to heaven, the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, or Episcopalian way. Instead of concentrating on the goal of the Great Revival, a rough and ready and immediate saving of lost souls from the yawning jaws of hell, they

³ W. W. Sweet, Religion on the American Frontier; the Baptists, 1783-1830; a Collection of Source Material (New York, 1931), p. 610.

⁴ [Lorenzo Dow], The Dealings of God, Man, and the Devil; as Exemplified in the Life, Experiences and Travels of Lorenzo Dow (New York, 1856), p. 142.

⁵ Adam Emple to Robert J. Miller, March 19, 1814. Robert J. Miller Letters, 1799 1831; MSS in the State Department of Archives and History. A typed copy of these letters with valuable notes by D. L. Corbitt is deposited in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh,

N. C.

⁶ Adam Empie to Robert J. Miller, May 4, 1821. *Ibid*.

quarreled over means and dogmas. Furthermore, the mundane struggle of power politics animated the preachers in a religious warfare that gave no quarter. In 1825 John Starke Ravenscroft, the first Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina, wrote: "People must be roused from the Delusion that all professions of Christian Faith are equally safe for Salvation." 7 A little later he declared: "We must expect every effort to be made by the Presbyterians to hold their ground—they feel that the Blow [of extending the Episcopal Church] is a mortal one—and they are contending pro aris et focis. Their advantage, moreover, is great in the ignorance of the People—but this should stir us up to exertions to enlighten them." 8 No wonder the witty and intelligent free thinker, Winifred Gales, described the Episcopal Bishop as "that Son of Thunder." 9 Ravenscroft wrote to a fellowsectarian in 1826 that he was engaged in composing a two-hundred-page reply to Dr. John Holt Rice, the Presbyterian champion of Richmond, Virginia. 10

The diary of Peter Doub is an interesting document throwing side lights on this ecclesiastical warfare of the antebellum period. He was the son of a Pennsylvania-German tanner who had emigrated to Stokes County, North Carolina. Poorly educated, he was converted at a camp meeting and became a Methodist circuit rider for many years. By 1830 he was writing polemics to show that the Baptists were wrong in rejecting infant baptism, and two years later he was publishing articles in the Greensborough [N. C.] Patriot, combating the theology of the Presbyterians.11 He finished his militant career by becoming a professor of Biblical Literature in Trinity College (now Duke University).

A revealing example of the importance attached to denominations in the Old South occurs in the letters of a Louisiana private during the Civil War to his wife. She had wounded his feelings by becoming a Baptist, and he begged her not to make Baptists of the children. He declared, "The ware [war] and the

 ⁷ John Starke Ravenscroft to Robert J. Miller, March 25, 1825. Robert J. Miller MSS.
 8 Ravenscroft to Miller, Sept. 8, 1825. Ibid.
 9 Winifred Gales to Jared Sparks, December 29, 1829. Jared Sparks MSS in Harvard University Library. Photocopies of these letters are deposited in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
 10 Ravenscroft to Robert J. Miller, Feb. 25, 1826. Robert J. Miller Letters.
 11 Diary of Peter Doub, Entries of Jan. 8, 1830 and Jan. 17, 1832. MS in Duke University

Library.

Baptist and the sickness is a nuff to make a man go crazy that don't have fare [far] to go no how. . . ." Later he wrote in a glow of triumph concerning a debate in his company: "It was on the subject of Baptist and clost communion. The scriptures was perused for proof of the doctrine. The Baptist was as completely wound up as I ever saw in my life. This debate lasted 3 or 4 hours. It wound up by the Baptist saying wee dident look at the scripuers right." 12 The spirit of denominationalism which flourished so luxuriantly from the decade of the 1820's until long after the Civil War seems to modern eyes to be an immense waste of energy on non-essentials.

The marvelous energy of the Great Revival and its subsidence are illustrated in the career of Richard Hugg King of Rowan County, North Carolina. The main sources for the study of this remarkable religious leader are a diary, some letters, and a manuscript biography entitled "Richard Hugg King and His Times," written by Reverend Eli Washington Caruthers. This biographer was a Presbyterian preacher educated at Princeton who for forty years preached in the Piedmont of North Carolina. 13 of Southern liberalism will honor his memory for his opposition to slavery, which led to his dismissal from his church at Greensboro, N. C., in July, 1861. 14 Among his compositions were a manuscript, entitled "American Slavery and the Immediate Duty of Slaveholders," which was never published; a life of the great Presbyterian teacher and divine, David Caldwell; and a historical work defending North Carolina's rôle in the American Revolution. His unpublished life of Richard Hugg King, written in 1862, was based principally on letters of contemporaries of the fervent evangelist written to the author. It is not a critical work and is marred by a lack of exactness in stating facts and by a practice of digressing in long passages of moralizing.

Richard Hugg King was, like Caruthers, a Scotch-Irishman, whose father had been a clothier in Ireland. His boyhood was spent on a farm in Rowan County, but his education was not neglected for he was taught in the famous academy, called Clio's

¹² John A. Cawthorn (ed.), "Letters of a North Louisiana Private to His Wife, 1862-1865," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XXX, 534, 545.

13 B. D. Caldwell, Founders and Builders of Greensboro, 1808-1908 (Greensboro, N. C. 1925), pp. 65-69.

14 John Spencer Bassett, "Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina," in Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science (Baltimore, June, 1898), pp. 56-60.

Nursery, and he was graduated from Princeton in 1786. His ambition to become a lawyer was thwarted by his pious Presbyterian parents who were bitterly prejudiced against the legal profession as a profane and debauched occupation. 15 Consequently. King became a backwoods farmer near Snow Creek, Rowan County, North Carolina. In the presidential election of 1796 he was an ardent Federalist. His efforts in the campaign were rewarded, however, in a rather insignificant way for a man of his education by an appointment as excise collector for western North Carolina. In this job he gauged whisky barrels and casks, and collected the odious excise tax. His work made him very unpopular with the yeomen, who called him "Dick the Gauger." In fact, the acceptance of this invidious office blasted his political ambitions. In 1800 when he ran as a candidate for the legislature he was defeated by a man of inferior ability who belonged to the party of Thomas Jefferson. Deeply depressed by the ruin of his political prospects, he was now ripe for religion.

The Great Revival came at the right time to change the current of his life. In 1802 as he was going to a camp meeting at Bell's Cross Roads in company with some preachers, he was converted in a cataclysmic manner. His ecstacy was so uncontrollable that he went from tent to tent, praying, shaking hands, rejoicing, and staying up all night. When the preachers were on the point of leaving the camp ground after four days of fervid preaching, King strenuously opposed their departure. Unsuccessful in detaining them, he himself spoke to the crowd until they abandoned him. Shortly thereafter, at the age of thirty-four years, he applied for ordination as a Presbyterian minister. The Presbyterian Church demanded preparation from its ministers. and therefore required him to study theology for two years under an approved divine. But King refused at this late date to devote two years of his life to studying. He then applied to the Methodists, who were not fastidious about educational qualifications for their ministers but placed emphasis on being "called" by God. The Methodist Church did not hesitate to grant him a license to preach, and for over twelve years he served as a circuit

¹⁵ Richard Hugg King, Letter to a Judge of Christian Character trying to dissuade him from resigning his seat. Papers of Richard Hugg King—MSS in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

rider in the western part of North Carolina. 16 He was probably the only minister among the Methodist circuit riders of this region who had a college education. At this time Methodist circuit riders were paid eighty dollars a year, plus traveling expenses, a fact that made it necessary for King to combine farming with riding the circuit.17

King proved to be a very effective saver of souls. Caruthers, who heard him preach while he was at preparatory school, described the ardent evangelist as a tall, portly man, well over six feet in height, a little inclining to corpulency, having black hair and black eyes, a dark complexion, and with an intellectual and impressive countenance. When he preached, he spoke slowly and calmly at first, in a loud but musical voice. Then he gradually warmed up to his subject until his eyes became fixed apparently on every person in the house and soon he and the audience would weep together. The recurrent themes of his sermons were the redemption of sinners and the providence of God. To a man who had been beaten in political life it must have been sweet balm to his wounded ego to sway great crowds at the numerous camp meetings he attended.

But as he grew older King became tired of the constant traveling required by his Methodist connection. He had become very corpulent and he suffered from a disease of the leg that resembled elephantiasis. Furthermore, he had a large family of daughters who required much more money than the miserable salary of a Methodist circuit rider afforded. 18 In 1816 he abandoned the Methodists and was ordained to preach by the Presbyterian Church after standing an excellent examination on Calvinistic doctrine. He then emigrated to eastern Tennessee. where he became the pastor of Ebenezer and Pleasant Forest churches. When he dismounted as a circuit rider and became stationed as a Presbyterian preacher, he developed an avid taste for books. In his latter years he was much handicapped by his great weight, for he weighed over four hundred pounds, and his swollen leg forced him to preach sitting in a chair. Nevertheless, he was a man of such ardent temperament, who could "in

¹⁶ Caruthers, "Richard Hugg King and His Times." MS in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

17 W. W. Sweet, The Rise of Methodism in the West (New York, 1920), pp. 46-47.

18 Caruthers, "Richard Hugg King and His Times," pp. 44, 49.

tones of thunder deal out the terrors of the law," that he would at times arise to his feet, to the alarm of his hearers, and appeal to sinners until he sank exhausted into his chair.

After he moved to Tennessee he purchased a plantation on credit, and to the end of his life he was troubled by financial worries. ¹⁰ In 1819 nine of his female slaves died within less than a year. One of his male slaves ran away after he had chastised him "from a sense of duty," and he sold another one. His chief crops were flax, wheat, and oats, but in 1822 he notes in his diary that he had sent 520 pounds of cotton to the gin. In addition to his labor force of slaves, he occasionally employed a farm hand at ten dollars a month to plough. He raised hogs and slaughtered part of his pork but he also bought additional supplies of hog meat for his family and slaves.

Part of his distress in temporal affairs may have been due to the fact that he had too many irons in the fire. He ran a sawmill by aid of water power and sent planks down the Nolichucky River to market. He also operated a grist mill, which earned twenty to thirty dollars a month despite the laziness of the miller he employed. He manufactured lime in his lime kiln, built boats, and kept a blacksmith shop. These activities did not prevent him from preaching, marrying young couples, and teaching school. Nor did his multifarious interests distract his attention from Tennessee politics. He seems to have been a conservative. opposed to the stay law and the inflationary measures advocated in Tennessee after the panic of 1819. He noted that a warm contest for governor was agitating the state in 1821 between William Carroll and Edward Ward. His diary comments in regard to this campaign: "All noise and no sense. I never saw weaker or worse written pieces relative to an election." 20 Like other backwoods farmers of his day, he practiced amateur medicine, treating his sore leg with iron wood leaves.

In the fall of 1822 his domestic affairs were going so "crooked" and his debts were so pressing that he took charge of a school. It was located at the Iron Works in Blount County, and, according to his account, he was paid well. He left his family on the

 ¹⁹ Diary of Richard Hugg King, July 8, 1819. MS in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
 20 Diary of Richard Hugg King, August 4, 1821.

farm near Maryville for five days in the week and returned on the week-ends, preaching on Sunday. His board cost him \$1.25 a week. In winter the school was well provided with fire wood, and he found that the business of teaching was not as irksome as he had expected. Toward the end of October, 1823, he quit his brief career as a school teacher and advertised his plantation for sale.

His religious life at the close of his career flowed serenely in comparison with his stormy and emotion-drenched years of the Great Revival and his circuit riding days. He had a consoling philosophy, a trust in the goodness of Providence. At times he suffered greatly from his diseased leg, and he felt that "Eternity draws nearer." 21 He would sometimes preach in the groves sitting in his chair, the people "solemnly attentive." Occasionally he would go to Knoxville to attend a religious service or he would set out for sacraments held in lonely little places like Baker's Creek or Grassy Valley. Around him sickness raged, especially the typhus or epidemic fever, and the ague. His diary at times becomes a necrology, inducing a religious spirit in the contemplation of the death of his neighbors and relatives. On May 27, 1825, he died at Maryville in the home of a married daughter. A few months before his death he drew up a record of his worldly property, which consisted of two horses, three milk cows, two calves, twenty sheep, one wagon out of repair, one old carriage, a thousand feet of yellow poplar lathes, one cherry dining table, one plough, farming utensils, a cupboard, kitchen furniture, three bedsteads, and a dozen chairs.²² All of his tremendous energy and his superior intelligence had not brought him economic security in his old age. But he could count many souls "saved," and his life represented a full cycle of the flow and ebb of the Great Revival.

The effects of this great movement of evangelical religion on the Southern mind were profound but imponderable. The liberating idea of the Great Revival was the democratic concept that an individual was not predestined to hell or heaven but could exercise free will and become "saved." This doctrine fitted well into the frontier psychology of optimism and self-reliance and

 ²¹ Diary of Richard Hugg King, Dec. 31, 1820.
 ²² "Property of R. H. King, February 1825," Papers of Richard Hugg King.

gave dignity to the humblest human being. The evangelists emphasized the equality of the rich man and the poor man, the fine lady and the frontier woman in her linsey-woolsey dress, in the light of eternity. They encouraged the common man to relate publicly his "experience" in being converted from a sinful life, thus affording an outlet to his ego. An example of the democratic tendency of the Great Revival was the secession movement from the Presbyterian Church led by Barton W. Stone, pastor of the Cane Ridge Church in Bourbon County, Kentucky. Stone rejected the horrible doctrine that the mass of men were predestined to damnation, and during the Great Revival he became the exponent of a liberal theology. When the orthodox Presbyterian Church tried to discipline him for heresy he founded the Springfield Presbytery (1803) and later he was one of the founders of the Christian Church.²³

The revival movements accentuated a curious dichotomy that existed among the evangelical sects in regard to the exercise of human reason. The Great Revival emphasized the exercise of free will in attaining salvation and opposed an authoritarian church. At the same time the evangelists minimized the importance of education and the cultivation of the intellect. This attitude was reflected in the formation of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, an outgrowth of the Great Revival. The Cumberland Presbytery of eastern Tennessee and Kentucky ordained uneducated ministers and refused to accept the rigid Calvinism of the Westminster Confession. These issues led to a secession of the Cumberland churches from the orthodox Presbyterian Church.²⁴ The evangelical sects developed a strong suspicion of college men who freely exercised their minds in exploring the mysteries of religion. Winifred Gales refers to this prejudice of some of the evangelists: "There is a great revival amongst the students of Chapel Hill and Gossip Report says that the Preachers (missionaries) inculcate the idea that it is adverse to piety and devotion to study prophane [sic] subjects!" 25 This lurking suspicion

 ²³ F. G. Davenport, Ante-Bellum Kentucky, A Social History, 1800-1860 (Oxford, Ohio, 1943), pp. 124-131; Dumas Malone (ed.) Dictionary of American Biography, XVIII, 71-72.
 24 Robert Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky (New York, 1847), Chap. 9.

 $^{^{25}\,\}mathrm{Winifred}$ Gales, wife of the editor of the Raleigh Register, to Jared Sparks, June 6, 1831. Gales MSS.

of free education partly explains the rise of church colleges in the South during the decades of the 1830's and 1840's.

In the North evangelical religion was partly responsible for "freedom's ferment," the rise of various reform movements. such as the antislavery movement and feminism.²⁶ But in the Southern states the revival movement tended to become antiliberal in its social effects. It degenerated frequently into an intolerant mood against many of the harmless mundane pleasures of life, card playing, dancing, moderate drinking of wine and mint juleps. James W. Key wrote to Reverend Edward Dromgoole a letter quivering with indignation because a Methodist preacher, "a young ignorant coxcomb best fitted at the tail of a plow," had expelled his wife from church for wearing a gold ring and fashionable clothing.²⁷ The greatest period for the exercise of church discipline occurred during the decade of the Great Revival. Dr. Guion Johnson has studied the record of church discipline at Wheeley's Meeting House (Baptist) in Person County, North Carolina, 1791-1860. During this period there were 500 cases acted upon, of which drunkenness led the list by far, followed in order by disputing with a member, or quarreling, neglecting church service, and sex immorality.28

The Great Revival had an important effect in hardening orthodoxy within the South. At the close of the eighteenth century deism and skepticism flourished among the upper classes.²⁹ Some of the Southern gentry remained within the fold of the Episcopalian Church, attending services and fulfilling the formal duties of church membership, but in actuality they were mild deists. The publication in 1794-96 of Thomas Paine's Age of Reason stirred the deists and skeptics to new activity and provoked the orthodox defenders, such as Reverend Samuel Mc-Corkle of Rowan County, North Carolina, to virulent replies.³⁰ But this controversy was the last great battle in the ante-bellum

 ²⁶ See Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment, Phases of American Social History to 1860 (Minneapolis, Minn., 1944), Chap. 2.
 27 James W. Key, Jericho, Aug. 3, 1810, to Edward Dromgoole. Dromgoole Papers, Southern Collection, University of North Carolina.
 28 Guion G. Johnson, Ante-Bellum North Carolina, A Social History (Chapel Hill, 1937), 1814 (1945).

pp. 450-451.

29 Clement Eaton, Freedom of Thought in the Old South (Durham, N. C., 1940), Chaps.

¹ and 12. 30 The violent attacks against Paine and his Age of Reason were tinged with political partisanship, for Paine had written an ill-advised attack against President Washington, and was the friend of Jefferson, the storm center of American politics at the turn of the century. Charles Pettigrew to Rev. Nathaniel Blount, Aug. 25, 1803. Pettigrew Papers, I.

South between the religious liberals and the orthodox, for the fight against Horace Holley in Kentucky and against Dr. Thomas Cooper in South Carolina were localized. The revival movements had converted some of these skeptics and driven others to cover. Yet exclusive credit for the erasure of skepticism and deism from the ante-bellum South should not be given to the earnest evangelists and the camp meetings. Deism was already dying a natural death, for it was far too cold and intellectual a religion for the rural masses of the South. It offered no emotional excitement or compensation for lonely, poverty-stricken lives, nor could it sustain the average man during crises or offer him the certainty of immortality. The aftermath of the Great Revival was to narrow the intellectual life of the South by placing a taboo upon examining with free mind the mysteries of religion.

THE TRAINING OF RICHARD CASWELL

By C. B. ALEXANDER

Besides the records of the land office the only collections of early documents referring to Richard Caswell which throw much light on his public career are the Colonial Records of North Carolina and the State Records of North Carolina. Most of the biographical sketches of Caswell state that he was born in Cecil County, Maryland, but the parish register of St. John's Church in Harford County records his birth in that county on August 3. 1729. His father was a member of the assembly from Baltimore County from 1738 to 1743 and "Captain of the troop of horse and gunpowder hundred" for a number of years, as indicated in the Maryland Archives.

It is almost certain that young Caswell enjoyed the advantages of a good education according to the ideals and station of a gentleman of that day. Although we do not know what school he attended, it is clear from his letters that he had a good command of the English language, and we also know that he took up the duties of a deputy clerk of the court when only eighteen years old. His accuracy in keeping accounts is shown by the fact that he later audited the public accounts in the assembly of North Carolina for many years, as his father had done in Maryland.

On May 16, 1748, Richard Caswell's name first appears on the records as deputy clerk of Johnston County before whom the will of John Fort was probated.2 He was given full charge of the office as clerk of the court by September, 1749.3 Though this office was not one of great honor, it marks Caswell's entrance into the governing class of prominent planters and gentlemen. This work in Johnston County ceased that year, however, for the wills probated in 1750 were signed by a certain Rew as clerk. The next records of his activities show his appointment as first clerk of Orange County in 1753.4 No doubt it was while performing the duties of this office, recording the many details of court proceedings and copying and issuing all kinds of legal papers and writs, that he became familiar with the workings of the machinery of

¹ J. Bryan Grimes, Abstracts of North Carolina Wills (Raleigh, 1919), p. 125.
2 Grimes, North Carolina Wills, p. 125.
3 Grimes, North Carolina Wills, p. 297.
4 Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Orange County, 1753, p. 15. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

the law and acquired that exact knowledge of the merits and defects of the system. This enabled him to champion the cause of court reform, the better regulation of fees, and the appointment of more trustworthy administrative officials. In 1753 he was also sheriff of his home county of Johnston. He seems to have fulfilled the duties of this office with more than the usual diligence, for he was allowed an extra reward of eight pounds for having rendered a full account of the taxes, the collecting of which made up such an important part of the sheriff's duties.⁵

Probably at this time Caswell was also reading law under the guidance of William Herritage, one of the most prominent attorneys of the colony and clerk of the assembly from 1738 to 1769. Herritage's daughter, Sarah, became Caswell's second wife, though the date of marriage cannot be determined as the records were probably burned with the courthouse at Kinston many years ago. It is certain that he became a very successful leader at the bar and took an active part in trying to raise the standards of the legal profession. He sympathized with the people who lost their property in suits in court because of the ignorance of lawyers who had bought their licenses for money without having much legal knowledge. One of the surest ways to rise to a position of eminence in politics and society was to serve as a clerk of the court for practical training and to become a successful lawyer.

Caswell was undoubtedly an active speculator in land all his life, as were most of the prominent men of that period. It was the most promising way to acquire wealth and social prestige without long years of toil and drudgery. The first grant of land to him was signed by Governor Gabriel Johnston on October 4, 1738.6 This tract of eighty-five acres was in Johnston County on the north side of the Neuse River. Near his home Caswell obtained grants and deeds aggregating 7,338 acres in Johnston and Dobbs counties—much more than in any other counties. Much of this land may have been purchased outright, as the quit rents were less on such patents than on grants, a consideration which made many prefer to buy their lands. Also the dates of the records of purchase and sale show that he did not own all of this land at any one time, but was continually buying and selling. The following

⁵ Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Orange County, 1753, p. 35. State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁶ Land Grants, book 10, p. 188. Office of Secretary of State, Raleigh.

entries which were made in Caswell's name, but for which patents were not issued to him, may have been intended for immediate transfer to friends, as surveyors often aided others in this way to increase their land holdings; or they may indicate that his hunger for land and his ambition to rise in the community outran his ability to pay the fees or meet the legal requirements for receiving grants. On May 1, 1751, he entered 400 acres; on October 5, 1752, 200 acres; on April 2, 1754, 50 acres; on April 26, 1755, 160 acres; and on March 21, 1757, 200 acres. He was successful, however, in acquiring many tracts of land either by grant or by purchase: a total of 5,153 acres in Dobbs County, 2,185 acres in Johnston, 977 acres in Orange, 120 in Cumberland, 150 in Tryon, 640 in Carteret, 3,560 in Washington, and 557 acres in Greene.8

Like most of the leaders of that day he kept his interest keen on the fertile region beyond the mountains. On April 27, 1784, shortly before his death, Caswell wrote to his son, William, with whom he was associated in buying up Tennessee lands, that he was planning to make a trip to that distant river of the great bend.9 One of these plantations he owned jointly with John Sevier, the remarkable leader of the western settlers. Thus we find Caswell keeping up with the frontier to the very last. Governor Josiah Martin complained that Caswell was at the head of a "land grabbing expedition" which had been given encouragement, by the success of Richard Henderson, to form a similar project beyond the mountains. Caswell and his confederates, said Martin, were fitting out a vessel to go up the Mississippi and to treat with the Indians for purchase of land lying to the west of Richard Henderson's territory. "If a stop is not put to this, all the Indian country will be taken." 10 A stop seems to have been put to this expedition to the Mississippi, for we hear nothing further said about it. No doubt the absorbing events of the Revolution in which Caswell took a leading part account for the giving up of the land enterprise.

To the large number of acres purchased should be added the lands which Caswell acquired by marriage as well as several slaves so necessary to the clearing and tilling of plantations. We

 ⁷ Land entries in papers of Secretary of State, Raleigh.
 8 Land entries in papers of Secretary of State.
 9 State Records of North Carolina, XVII, 138.
 10 Colonial Records, X, 324.

do not know how many slaves Caswell owned, but he received about twenty in the will of William Herritage, and he named several to go to various members of his family, but he probably left the majority to be divided among the heirs equally with the rest of his personal property.

His home and social life was probably like that of most planters of the time. The name of his home was the "Red House." This was torn down after Caswell's death and rebuilt, in 1815, on higher ground for his daughter. Mrs. William Herritage. It stood about two and a half miles west of Kinston on the Tower Hill road. His plantation contained hundreds of acres of land on both the northern and southern banks of the Neuse River. Though the wide veranda overlooked the river, not far in the background were the forests, where bears prowled to steal hogs and cattle. Before the building of Kinston, where Caswell had a residence, much of the time must have been spent in lonely isolation with only a visit now and then from neighboring families, who were separated by many miles of forests and swamps along the river. Social intercourse must have been seriously hindered by these physical barriers. Yet the rarity of these visits made them all the more appreciated and the hospitality dispensed on such occasions all the more cordial. Since fox hunting was a favorite diversion in North Carolina as well as in Virginia and since Caswell's letters show that he was especially fond of good riding horses, it was doubtless his custom to take his guests on exciting fox chases with the hounds in full cry. Wild turkeys, deer and other game, then so plentiful in the woods where he spent much time as a surveyor, surely did not fail to appeal to his sportsmanship. The large number of fish-hooks of all sizes mentioned in the inventories of the period point to another pastime, most accessible to Caswell and his friends along the Neuse. Then, too, there were the famous horse races at Kinston, which attracted the picked men of the province to the town when, according to a newspaper of Kinston, Modock of Salisbury, champion of the west, ran against Culpepper of the east. King's Street (King Street), which is now the main street of the town, was then the race track; and it is noteworthy that in the bill against "deceitful gaming" introduced by

¹¹ Colonial Records, V, 873.

Caswell in 1756, the stakes won at horse races were exempted.¹¹ Gentlemen regarded the encouragement of horse racing as public-spirited and as tending to improve the breed and size of horses.

In the meantime Caswell had become associated with Lord Granville, whose land comprised a wide territory, the northern boundary of which was the North Carolina-Virginia line and the southern boundary lying just south of the town of Bath and following what is now the southern boundary of Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, Rowan, Iredell, Catawba, and Burke counties. The land warrants and surveys show that Caswell was deputy surveyor for Lord Granville, but there are no records telling where he got his training for this responsible work. The matter of securing their titles to real estate concerned the people most vitally. Land was the chief source of wealth of the colonists and the possession of good plantations was their ruling desire.

Since much of Caswell's surveying was carried on during the most critical period of the French and Indian War, some writers have supposed that he was in danger of attacks from savages lurking in the forest, especially since they regarded the surveyor as the forerunner of the encroaching white men. But careful reports show that there were no hostile Indians in the counties where Caswell was deputy surveyor. There were plenty of other difficulties and dangers, however, to challenge the courage and tax the endurance of a stout heart. Caswell like all surveyors must have spent much time in the forests, and this experience developed his self-reliance and keen observation of his surroundings. His long tramps by day and frequent sleeping by camp fires at night constituted the best preparation for his later leadership in military affairs. To make close observations of the trees, plants, animals, birds, and snakes was a necessary part of his professional knowledge. Although Caswell did not write any account of his experiences that has been preserved for us, several other surveyors of the period wrote first-hand descriptions, thus making it possible to reconstruct scenes with which he was undoubtedly familiar and which must have made on his memory impressions never to be forgotten.12

¹² John Lawson, History of North Carolina (1718 edition); Adelaide L. Fries (editor), Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, II, 557-587.

Surveying offered special opportunities for advancement, and many energetic and ambitious young men of that period found this field of endeavor most promising. The surveyor was in a better position than others to know where the choicest lands still unappropriated were to be had and so to be claimed either for himself or for his friends. A greater opportunity was afforded by the surveyor's intimate knowledge of the most fertile and most favorably situated lands, purchasable at small cost. These selected plantations already improved could be sold to newcomers at higher prices. In 1755 Governor Dobbs tells us that the best locations on navigable rivers had been taken and the lavish grants of land had ended. Caswell showed fine judgment in buying thousands of acres of valuable land along the Neuse in Johnston and Dobbs counties, which were then fast filling up with immigrants. He likewise acquired three plantations in Orange County, thus following the course of settlement into the back country through the heart of the colony. In addition to the advantages of speculating in lands, which surveyors enjoyed, their profession gave profitable employment at that time when money was hard to get. When Caswell came to North Carolina, there was an unusually heavy demand for the services of surveyors. There were many thousands of Germans, Scottish Highlanders, and Scotch-Irish immigrants calling for lands to be surveyed in this decade from 1750 to 1760 when Caswell did most of his surveying. Young Caswell had come to North Carolina just when the wave of immigration from Pennsylvania and Maryland was setting strongly southward, a movement which was to continue until the Revolution, making North Carolina the "most rising part of the continent," as Governor Tryon put it.13

A letter Caswell wrote to William Bryan and other justices of Johnston County, February 22, 1778, shows the painstaking methods and care for details which he habitually observed. 14 "I am sending a book for entries and have ruled one side to show how it ought to be done. I think there should be a waste book for rough entries which should be copied fair in this one. I want to serve the people I respect as of long and intimate acquaintance." Although there were a good many careless and dishonest survey-

¹³ Colonial Records, VII, 511. 14 State Records, XIII, 54.

ors, greedy for fees, the presence of these unworthy competitors brings out all the more clearly the honesty and integrity of Caswell and others on whose accuracy the property and vital interests of many citizens depended. Many were so corrupt and unscrupulous in their dealings with the settlers that great discontent and disturbances were produced. In 1756 Granville wrote to his agent Corbin that the persons he employed to make entries and surveys in the back counties were very extortionate in charging higher fees than was regular and he added that he did not receive his part of the quit rents. "Insinuations are made, too," he said, "that these extortions were connived at by my agents, for otherwise it is said, they could not be committed so repeatedly and barefacedly." 15

In the midst of all these avaricious land agents the only criticism of Caswell made by the committee of the assembly appointed to investigate complaints, was in connection with the case of one Moore and a certain Beckton which showed that fees were charged repeatedly for entering and surveying the same land. The report says: "It appears that Richard Caswell surveyed the land for Beckton where Moore was already in possession and on making his return Caswell made no mention of this circumstance which according to the duty of his office he ought to have done." 16 Previously Moore had paid the agent Halton for entering and surveying the land three pounds and nineteen shillings, no part of which was ever paid back to him. Corbin told Moore to have the land surveyed again in twelve months and he should have it. But Beckton had obtained the title to the land already and showed the deed. So when Beckton brought an ejectment suit, the court gave judgment against Moore. 17 In this case, as often happened, it seems that Moore had entered the land under one agent, Halton, but before he could go through all the steps necessary to get a title, the agent was succeeded by another one who granted the tract to Beckton. These officials overlooked previous entries in order to obtain the fees.

Caswell had been in the assembly only a few days when he was appointed on a committee, December 19, 1754, to prepare and bring in a bill to remove some of the evils of this land system, to

E. Merton Coulter, The Granville District, p. 44.
 Colonial Records, V, 1090.
 Colonial Records, V, 1090.

secure the payment of guit rents due to the crown and to the Earl of Granville, and to quiet the freeholders in the possession of their lands. 18 In the preamble to the law which he secured, it was stated that for want of proper officers to record the patents, deeds, and mesne conveyances, several tracts in the province had not been registered in the time limit required by law, and many had been lost by fire or by accident. Thereby the titles of rightful owners had been called in question by litigious persons to the great disturbance, molestation, and disquiet of freeholders. The remedy enacted was that all persons in peaceable possession of their lands for the preceding twenty years should be declared the rightful owners of such lands and subject to pay the guit rents of four shillings proclamation money for every 100 acres, when proof of their quiet possession was presented to the governor and council or to the county court. All deeds were to be approved and registered in the court of the county where the land lay, within one year, if the claimants had been in peaceable possession for three years and had paid quit rents. Again, all deeds, though not sealed or endorsed in due form, should be taken as valid and as if such "assignments" had been made. Other provisions for the benefit of landowners were made. 19

Later, when Caswell was appointed on a committee to revise the law regarding surplus lands, he suggested a good reform: that each county court should appoint processioners instead of leaving it to the vestry of the parish to mark out the bounds of each freeholder's land, since the vestries had greatly neglected this work. He added that the appointing of jurors for this purpose of establishing the line had not been very successful since they regarded themselves as arbiters. After a man's land had thus been processioned twice or the marks had been verified, they could not be called in question and the title was secured on that land. This proposal was a wise one and was intended to stop many disputes over boundaries.²⁰

Governor Dobbs reported to the Board of Trade that the duties of the surveyor related only to the land office and to the court of claims, his business being to certify and enter all warrants for surveys previous to the issuing of the land grants. The most

¹⁸ Colonial Records, V, 243.
19 State Records, XXIII, 432.
20 Colonial Records, IX, 500.

troublesome part of making the surveys was performed by deputy surveyors, of whom there was at least one in each county of the king's part of the province.21 Also Dobbs reported that the fees charged in the Granville office were nearly triple those paid into his majesty's office. The quarrels over the fees, quit rents, and fraudulent practices of the land agents finally produced the Enfield riots in 1759.

As Caswell lived near the dividing line between the Earl of Granville's land and the king's part of the province, where he did most of his surveying, he must have been familiar with the continual clashes between the land agents and surveyors on both sides. In 1764 he was one of the commissioners to run the boundary between his county of Johnston and that of Pitt on the north.22 This uncertainty of boundaries and the rivalry of agents claiming the right to grant lands and to collect quit rents led many people to become squatters on the border and to occupy lands without taking out patents or paying quit rents or taxes. The result was widespread disorder and this was a source of weakness to the government.

On the death of the first Lord Granville in 1763, his son closed the land office entirely, an action which retarded the settlement of the vacant lands. In the North Carolina Gazette for July 15, 1774, Governor Martin gave notice that there had not been since 1763 any person empowered to make surveys of vacant land in the Earl of Granville's part of this province and that every surveyor taking it upon himself to make such surveys would be prosecuted for such action. This closing of the land office probably explains why we find that Caswell's work as a surveyor ceased about that time.

In 1754 Caswell began serving as an officer of the militia in which service he continued for the next twenty years, rising from the rank of lieutenant to that of colonel of the regiment of the county of Dobbs.²³ As the minor officers of lieutenant and captain were chosen by the vote of the company, Caswell's occupying these positions for several years was proof of his popularity.

At the same time in 1754 he was "captain of the troop of horse" in Johnston County and continued to make his militia

²¹ Colonial Records, VII, 485.
22 State Records, XXIII, 629.
23 State Records, XXII, 331.

returns for the company annually until 1767.24 This cavalry organization appears to have been at first a voluntary one, for the law did not make provision for the cavalry until 1760. And yet in making his returns Captain Caswell was more punctual than most of the officers. A rather definite picture of Caswell riding at the front of his "troop of horse" may be constructed by referring to the law of 1760, which prescribed the outfit of the cavalry. The men must have good horses fourteen hands high, harnessed with bridle, saddle, breastplate, and crupper. They must also have holsters with pistols, a broadsword, a good carbine with belt, swivel, bucket, and boots. The governor was authorized to commission a captain, a cornet, and a lieutenant, if thirty to sixty men wish to organize and the colonel of the regiment consented. The cavalry was to muster as often as "the foot." 25 This militia act was continued with very few changes until the Revolution when it was found necessary to reorganize the whole system. Perhaps only a few of the wealthier men in the county were able to afford the expensive equipment required for the cavalry, for extreme poverty was given as the frequent cause for the lack of arms among the militia. Caswell was colonel of the regiment of Dobbs County in the general musters and commanded it at the battle of Alamance—experience which was valuable preparation for the larger operations in the Revolutionary War.

To the assembly which convened on December 12, 1754, the freeholders of Johnston County elected as one of their two representatives Richard Caswell, who was then only twenty-five years of age.²⁶ This confidence which the people placed in Caswell was repeatedly expressed during the next twenty years until the colonial assemblies came to an end. Before taking up other bills which Caswell presented, it may be mentioned that he was one of the legislative committee appointed to report on the selection of the seat of government. They favored Tower Hill in 1756, and Governor Dobbs purchased "Tower Hill" plantation to prevent others from speculating at the expense of the province. Accordingly on November 4, 1758, Caswell and Stephen Cade presented a bill for erecting a city on the Neuse at Tower Hill

²⁴ State Records, XXII, 306.
25 State Records, XXIII, 535.
26 Colonial Records, V, 231.

and for building there the governor's house and public offices.27 But the Albemarle members and other rivals, who wanted the capital elsewhere, by a close vote got a petition passed praying the king to disallow their former action in favor of Tower Hill, and this was done in 1759. It was reserved for Governor Tryon in 1766 to get New Bern finally agreed upon as the capital, after twenty years of wrangling.

For clarity and convenience in studying Caswell's legislative career, it may be well to classify his activities under four topics: (1) trade and industry; (2) reforms of the court system and of its officials; (3) provisions for better finances and public defense; and, (4) humanitarian policies. In each of these subjects he came to be regarded as a leader by his fellow members.

In 1770 Caswell was selected as speaker of the house, a position at that time even more important than at present, as it made him spokesman of the popular party as against the governor and council. As regards trade and industry there was probably not very much that legislation could do to overcome the primitive conditions, except such measures as he proposed. One of the first bills Caswell introduced in 1754 established several ferries and required the commissioners of certain districts to make roads to the same,28 and again in 1758, in a bill for improving the methods of building roads and in the bill cutting off Dobbs from Johnston County, there was a clause for the building of roads and ferries.²⁹ Further to encourage commerce and to promote navigation on the Neuse, Caswell got an act passed requiring the justices to build four warehouses. 30 To promote shipping a provision was made to exempt those who built and owned ships in the province from paying the duty on gunpowder and lead imported and exported.31 To prevent the export of trashy and unmerchantable tobacco, which had brought the tobacco trade into great decay, Caswell secured the requirement by law that all should take their hogsheads of tobacco to warehouses for inspection. However much he valued the blessings of trade and prosperity, he also valued human health and welfare. for on February 20, 1773, he introduced a bill to prevent the

²⁷ Colonial Records, V, 1021.
28 Colonial Records, V, 230.
29 Colonial Records, V, 1048.
30 Colonial Records, VI, 148; State Records, XXIII, 507.
31 Colonial Records, V, 246, 274; State Records, XXIII, 401.

spread of malignant and infectious diseases by stopping the importation of "distempered" persons into this province.32 It seems that smallpox was "rife" in the eastern part of the colony. which may have been largely due to the fact that the merchants in 1760 had secured the repeal of the act to keep out diseased persons on the ground that it was prejudicial to commercial interests.33

In 1765, in answer to Governor Tryon's message, Caswell's committee said that Parliament's encouragement of the culture of raw silk would meet with the hearty response here which such a worthy object deserved. A bounty was offered by Parliament for the secret of unwinding the cocoon of the silk worm, but nothing important in the silk industry seems to have developed in North Carolina. In 1768 Caswell presented a bill for encouraging iron works in Chatham County, but this industry does not seem to have developed much until 1777, when the stimulus of war was added.34

Measures for improving the finances and the defenses of the province may be considered best under one head. Caswell took no active part in the campaigns of the French and Indian War, and his work was almost exclusively that of providing funds for the troops and for building and equipping forts. In fact, the financing of the war was the chief problem which North Carolina faced, because but little of the fighting was actually done within her borders, except Indian fighting on the frontier. All previous issues of paper money had been so poorly redeemed that they depreciated rapidly in value, and therefore Governor Dobbs. when assuming office, was instructed to permit no more bills to be emitted without a suspending clause.35

In 1757, when Caswell was on a committee to raise £4,000 for the defense of the frontier, he recommended that treasury notes bearing interest should be issued, guaranteed by a poll tax of two shillings on each taxable and by taxes on liquors and other consumption goods. These treasury notes were redeemed and were so successful that this new policy was resorted to in several subsequent instances. 36 Public credit was thus faithfully main-

³² Colonial Records, IX, 518. 33 State Records, XXIII, 515. 34 State Records, XI, 489. 35 Colonial Records, V, 116. 36 Colonial Records, V, 847.

tained for the first time since the beginning in 1712 of the disastrous series of issues of paper money. Caswell was selected not only to raise this money, but to see that it was properly spent for defenses. In the summer of 1756 Caswell, Francis Brown, and Thomas Relf as a committee of the assembly undertook an arduous journey to inspect Fort Dobbs, which had been built under the direction of Colonel Hugh Waddell two miles north of Statesville as the sole defense of the settlers west of Salisbury. In the following December they reported that this fort was not adequate for the protection of the western settlers and suggested that a stockade be constructed for the safety of the Catawba Indians, probably at the site of the present town of Old Fort. 37 They also reported that the fort at Topsail Inlet was in no state for defense, having no guns, powder, or ball.

In December, 1758, Caswell introduced a bill for the apportionment of the £50,000 which Parliament had voted to reimburse the Southern Colonies for their expenses in the war. He tied this up with a proposal to fix the capital on the Neuse, which was a favorite idea of the Governor Dobbs. 38 This was a shrewd political move to secure the assent of Governor Dobbs, who insisted on regarding the money as a contingent fund on which he could draw at will and thus make himself more independent of the assembly. This caused much bad feeling and bitter recriminations on both sides, for only £7,789 finally came to North Carolina while Virginia got over £50,000. Altogether over £66,000 had been appropriated for the expenses of the French and Indian War, half of which was used for the defense of other colonies when many of these colonies had refused to contribute to the common cause outside of their own borders. Yet Dobbs was not satisfied with all these sacrifices and continued to call for more grants even after the serious dangers of the war had passed. These requests were firmly refused by Caswell's committee which drew up an answer.39

Still another financial conflict with Governor Dobbs in which Caswell was involved as a representative of the assembly was over the auditing of the public accounts, which was entrusted to him and his committee for several years by the house. Instruc-

³⁷ Colonial Records, V, 46. 38 Colonial Records, V, 1025. 39 Colonial Records, VI, 828.

tions had been sent to the governor to have the accounts audited and attested by the auditor general and to have copies sent to England, but the assembly ordered the treasurer to pay out no money by order of the governor and council without the consent of the house. And in their secret resolutions against Dobbs drawn up by the assembly in 1761 as an indictment of his administration addressed to the Privy Council, they censured him for not laying before the house the accounts of monies paid out by his order and for failing to show for what purposes sums were drawn from the treasury.40

When John Starkey, the treasurer of the southern district, died in 1765, the house nominated Caswell to succeed him. As a rival candidate for this important office the council nominated Lewis De Rosett, one of its members. There had been considerable contention between the house, the governor, and the council as to the right to choose the treasurer. The house, always jealous of any encroachment of its control of the public finances, warmly insisted on Caswell as their choice, but the council would not yield. After some fruitless negotiations, the two houses failed to agree, so that no treasurer was chosen at that session. On March 6, 1773, however, Caswell was appointed by the house as treasurer of the southern district.41 He gave bond for £50,000 for the diligent and faithful collection of the taxes from the sheriffs of the several counties to be paid to the assembly by him. This was no light task, for the sheriffs in some years did not pay into the treasury one-third of the taxes due, and in 1770 the aggregate indebtedness of all the sheriffs was £64,000.42 Still this office was so much desired and sought for that it may be well to quote what Governor Martin wrote to the Earl of Dartmouth, especially since these words of the chief executive give us his opinion of Caswell at that time, September 1, 1774:

My lord, alteration of the law of attachment has been more a spacious than a real ground for the opposition that has been so observable in the Assembly. The genuine cause was the disappointment of two candidates for the Treasurer's office. The House usurped the nomination to this office, so they tried to bring odium and reproach on Mr. Caswell.

⁴⁰ Colonial Records, VI, 410. 41 Colonial Records, IX, 592. 42 Colonial Records, VII, xvii; IX, 68.

one of the late appointed Treasurers, and a man of the fairest and most unblemished character in the whole country, who has acted as the commissioner of the court of over and terminer to the universal satisfaction and contentment of all the people. At the next appointment of treasurers, Mr. Caswell was to be sacrificed therefore on the ground where popular applause was erecting monuments to his honor. This was to be effected by impeaching the legality of the powers under which he had acted with reputation to himself and with so great advantage to the community. The common artifice of clamoring against the prerogative was played off with the usual effect. The leaders of the faction hurried for the time the current of popularity against Mr. Caswell. This, my lord, I believe was the true cause of opposition to these measures and that the courts of oyer and terminer would never have been brought into question if Mr. Caswell, the fittest man in the country, had not acted as judge in them, and been one of the Treasurers at this very conjuncture.43

This opposition to the special courts of over and terminer was more probably due in large measure to the same cause that had led the assembly for years to prefer the discontinuance of the regular courts laws, unless the foreign attachment clause were included.

Regarding Caswell's humanitarian policies in the assembly it is impossible to say just how much credit should be given to him personally for the work done by the committees with which he served. It should be pointed out, however, that it was just at the time that he took part in framing and reporting these bills on the care of orphans and their estates and for the relief of poor debtors in prisons, as well as making provision for the orthodox clergy and vestries, that some of the most humane legislation of the whole colonial period was enacted.

In December, 1773, near the close of his legislative career, Caswell was a member of the committee that favored the continuance of the vestry act, with the amendment that if the vestry neglected the levy for the poor of the parish, the county court should be given the power to make the levy so that the poor be not neglected as they "ought always to be one of the principal objects of legislation." ⁴⁴ In 1762 Caswell secured an amendment to the law of 1749 for the relief of insolvent debtors in prison.

 ⁴³ Colonial Records, IX, 1052.
 44 Colonial Records, IX, 785.

The amended act provided that the court should summon the attorney of the creditor in twenty days to show cause why the debtor should not be liberated when the creditor lived outside of the province, so that the debtor could receive the benefits of the act of 1749.45 This securing of a speedy hearing for that large class of unfortunate debtors was not only more considerate of a man and his family, but also relieved the public of the expense of supporting persons in prisons in idleness. Another class of helpless dependents who appealed to the sympathies of Caswell were the orphans, as he repeatedly served on committees in their behalf, and in 1762 he got the most comprehensive law of the period passed. This law differs from previous acts in providing for a special session of court for orphans instead of the regular court of pleas and quarter sessions and in requiring the grand juries to take over the work formerly left to the church wardens —a significant step toward the colony's regarding it as its duty to care for the poor and the education of the young.

Perhaps the most important reforms with which Caswell identified himself throughout his twenty years in the assembly were those concerning the courts and the personnel of those who administered justice. Although the records do not set forth directly the names of those who drew up the court bill of 1762, it seems proper to give Caswell the chief credit, since he was the spokesman appointed to reply to the governor on that subject, and since again on November 17, 1762, he was on the committee to smooth out difficulties between the house and the council over the bill, when he said:

We are sorry that you make new difficulties over the court bill. We hoped that the increase in the salary of the associate justice of the Salisbury district would have obviated all objections. If the manner of their appointment had been such as to render the judges independent, they could be very useful. But it seems that we cannot appoint them and we cannot agree to your amendments.⁴⁶

One of the provisions which he inserted in both the superior and inferior court bills was for the better regulation of the office of the clerk, with the duties of which he was familiar. They were

⁴⁵ State Records, XXIII, 312, 588. 46 Colonial Records, VI, 813.

to be skilled and discreet men and must take the oath that they had not given any reward, gratuity, or fee for their appointment. This was found advisable to prevent considerable graft, whereby the chief justice often charged an annual rental for appointing clerks of the district courts while these clerks in turn charged sums for appointing clerks to the inferior courts.⁴⁷ Clerks were to keep the records of wills and letters of administration in books for that purpose, making annual reports to the secretary of the colony. A bond of £2,000 was required for the faithful discharge of their duties.

The final clause of the court bill of 1762 regarding attachments authorized any justice of the peace to grant an attachment against the estate of debtors residing under any other government. When goods were attached the debtor could replevy them by giving bond with good security to the sheriff. Persons having lands in the province without having personal property sufficient to settle claims against them were liable to have such lands attached and sold at the next court by the sheriff.48 Governor Tryon, who succeeded Dobbs in April, 1765, was too wise and tactful again to raise the issue over the control of the courts. Therefore throughout his administration the laws of 1762 were continued every two years with only a few minor changes. But when the new governor, Josiah Martin, came to the colony in August, 1771, he brought instructions from the crown to disallow the court laws unless the attachment clause were omitted. The struggle began anew in February, 1773, when the assembly reenacted the old court law without change. After the governor rejected this bill the house passed it again for a period of six months only, but the council rejected this temporary measure.49 On February 24, 1773, Caswell and Thomas Person, one of the liberal leaders from the west, waited on Governor Martin to urge his acceptance of the court bill, but he refused to disregard his instructions.⁵⁰ The assembly next drew up a petition to the crown averring that the right of attaching estates of foreign debtors had long been exercised in this province as well as in others.

⁴⁷ Colonial Records, VI, 664. 48 State Records, XXIII, 550 ff. 49 Colonial Records, IX, xxiii. 50 Colonial Records, IX, 533.

When the assembly met again in December, 1773, Caswell and several leading men were appointed to draw up the court bills.⁵¹ The selection of Caswell on this committee shows that he had not lost the favor of the popular party by serving as one of the three judges on the special court of over and terminer. The assembly still regarded him as one of the advocates of its rights. On December 21, on receipt of the court bills including the attachment clause, the council replied to the house that it would agree to them provided the house would strike out the words, "a right essentially necessary to their commercial interests," referring to attachments.⁵² Then it was the governor's turn to disagree, which he did in a vigorous speech, proroguing the assembly until the following March. He said that the prorogation was in order that the people might be consulted as to whether they preferred the attachment clause which would not affect one person in a thousand, rather than the establishment of the court system to secure their property and safety. "I hope that you will accept the modifications of the attachment clause, but if you will not yield, I hope you will no longer make that point the indispensable condition for passing the laws for the general administration of justice in comparison with which the matter contended for is of little consequence." He reminded the assembly that in no other colony was the attachment clause a part of the general court laws and that it had been woven into the system in North Carolina for a short time only.⁵³ When the assembly reconvened in March, 1774, they voiced their disagreement with spirit, answering each point in the governor's message with skill and ability.

Caswell was on the committee instructed to answer the governor.⁵⁴ They said they could not agree with his mode of issuing attachments, but that the assembly would pass laws regulating the criminal jurisdiction of the province. They had again consulted the people, who "had expressed the warmest approbation of our proceeding and have given us positive instructions to persist in our endeavors to obtain the process of foreign attachments upon the most liberal and ample footing. We would violate the sacred trust imposed in us if we adopted your modification of

⁵¹ Colonial Records, IX, 876.
52 Colonial Records, IX, 786.
53 Colonial Records, IX, 831.
54 Colonial Records, IX, 875.

that clause." They assured the governor that the people were aware of the importance of preserving the security of trade that they had hitherto enjoyed by reason of the foreign attachment clause, and that they knew too well their own interests to make a sacrifice of it. The inhabitants were convinced by the fullest experience that it was necessary to their commercial interests in proceedings against absconding debtors. As to the other colonies having the foreign attachment laws separate from the general court laws, these laws had the sanction of the government and were as fixed and permanent as the court laws on which they necessarily depended.

Thus the long controversy came to a deadlock between the governor, representing the crown, and the assembly, representing the people, both bound by instructions which neither could disobey. The result was that no courts were held from March 6, 1773, until December 24, 1777, when the new court act of the state of North Carolina went into effect. When the revolutionary movement gained headway by August, 1775, the committees of safety took over the functions that were indispensable to good order.

The house said that "the right of foreign attachment is a right essential to every well regulated system of police, and is a security inseparable from traffic." ⁵⁵ The governor and the authorities in England, however, continued to insist on the elimination of the attachment clause, and thereby they drove the North Carolina lawyers and the general populace toward revolt. ⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Colonial Records, IX, 779.
56 Articles on Caswell's subsequent career by the same author, will be published in the April and July issues of The North Carolina Historical Review.

A FOOTNOTE TO SOCIAL HISTORY*

By HENRY McGILBERT WAGSTAFF

Through the years I look back upon the institutions and customs of the countryside where I was born and where I had my early life. I have never been so far removed from it that my interest has faded. Yet I have gathered perspective as the years have passed by. I have come to appraise some of our customs¹ in a truer way than when I shared so intimately in them. There was the "revival," for instance, a characteristic and important feature of rural community life wherever the Methodists or the Baptists were strong.

In my community, overwhelmingly Methodist, the week of the revival was a peak of the year. It was staged in mid-summer by the circuit rider in agreement with the elders of the church when the crops had been well worked out and the harvest period not yet begun. It was a season of physical relaxation, of spiritual renewal, of social contacts and refreshment. Every day there was dinner in the grove of trees on the church grounds.

All looked forward to this week. It was almost as much a peak of the year in our community as was Christmas time. Apart from the serious business of religion when the tide was at its flood in a successful revival, the elders talked crops and matters of general interest. The women worked over the dinners and minded their babies and kept the very young in order. To the young generation the period was a continuous feast of exciting contacts.

The word "revival" and the institution it covered in Southern Methodism needs no definition to the Methodists of the past century. In the present era the institution has well-nigh passed out even in the rural districts of this church. Its theory was that the communicants in the church, that is, the officially inducted membership, needed periodically a re-stimulation of their religious zeal, a revivification of their faith, a re-affirmation of their vows of loyalty—in short, a spiritual boost. This concept and the use of the "revival" included two other accepted ideas of the period: one, the restoration to the arms of the church of all members who

^{*} A paper read at the annual meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association, Dec. 7, 1944.

¹ The impressions here recorded were gathered in Person County, North Carolina, in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

had undergone the process known as "back-sliding" (or falling from grace); and two, the addition to membership of all whom the "revival" services "converted." The "back-sliders," a definitely recognized element in the church, were those persons who had at some former time been "converted," had become members by taking the vows of the church, and had afterward grown lukewarm, negligent, or wholly indifferent to the binding obligation of those yows. Stated somewhat more specifically, the "backslider" was a person who had reverted, both in his own conception and in the eyes of the community, to the classification of "sinner." He had "fallen from grace." In effect the point that distinguished a "backslider" from a regular "sinner" was that the former had neither been dismissed from the church membership nor had formally withdrawn his name. He was a reproach to the membership but was a straying sheep who must be kindly dealt with and recovered to the fold. This work of re-folding straying sheep was as much of the task of a "revival" as was the work of bringing into the fold the lost sheep, "sinners," who had never been inside. The technique was not essentially different—"conversion" for the sinner of the latter class, "re-conversion" for the "backslider." Yet the "backslider" might avail himself of simple re-affirmation of faith strengthened by renewal of vows. In other words he might resume where he had left off; while the plain sinner must run the whole course of conversion and induction. The great majority of the "sinner" class, as distinguished from "backsliders," was the up-coming generation, children and young people, the regular reservoir of recruitments to keep up and increase the membership. Among them, of course, was an occasional "hardened" sinner, a person who had reached adulthood or even passed into declining years without ever having yielded to social pressure and been "converted." Such an individual might be a good and right-living person or he might be a rank reprobate. Yet in either case he was a lost sheep unless and until he was enfolded in the arms of the church.

All this important work of the revival rested more heavily upon the circuit rider (preacher) who served the particular church than upon any other. This was one of his main responsibilities. Some were especially fitted for the task and looked forward to the revival period when their special gifts as spiritual leaders might be brought into play. Such special gifts varied, as did the technique of their employment, but a primary one was the "gift of tongues"—an ease of speech coupled with a close familiarity with the Scriptures. Imagination, logic, a fundamentalist faith, and a fervid zeal were other ingredients that made up the equipment of a successful revivalist. Many a Methodist preacher of that era had these qualities in high degree and could and did make his "revival services" the peak of his whole year's work. In such instances the local community was profoundly stirred; an emotional tension would grip the whole body of the membership and its waves extend outward to engulf the unredeemed.

An additional quality of the successful revivalist was his ability to wake the zeal, and therefore the aid, of the staunchest element of the church's membership—both men and women. This zeal and this aid were automatically held by many a member as automatically due, a part of their personal obligation to assist in saving souls. And I am sure it went even deeper, and tied up with the inherent tendency in human nature to set his neighbor straight in matters that concerned eternal salvation. So, in the church, in every local community, there were always to be found a zealous few who could be utterly depended upon by the preacher as his shock troops in a revival service. The way and manner of the exercise of this aid varied with the individual and with his or her predilections, special gifts, and standing in the community. Yet the rôle had evidently been evolutionary and, in the period here concerned, consisted in the main of some half-dozen different forms of endeavor.

First was the art of public prayer. In practically every Methodist church community there were to be found one or more men among the membership who were naturally gifted in this art, or had cultivated it from modest first attempts to a point where real eloquence, whipped up by religious zeal and profound emotional impulse, was not the infrequent result. Doubly effective was such a man whose piety and day-to-day religious life were things known to the community at large. Such a man commanded respect of his hearers when he talked to the Lord. Even fascination gripped many, and hearty "amens," and even sobs, were often wrested from the more emotional. The preacher, if he were a good

psychologist, and he often was, knew just the moment in a revival to employ this powerful aid, an aid the more effective because it rarely bore the taint of the least tinge of insincerity. Often, therefore, such prayers and their "offerers" were as effective, sometimes more so, than the logic, the imagery, or the fervid oratory of the preacher himself. Backsliders were reclaimed and sinners were converted under the powerful stimulus of such prayers offered in the simple faith that God heard the earnest appeal of his servant and directly intervened to turn the erring soul into the way of righteousness.

A second type of assistance to the end of making a revival truly successful was that furnished by especially zealous members who, when the moment was ripe (a period when emotional fervor had been got well under way, by the sermon, the appeal of the preacher, and the prayer which followed), passed about in the congregation and talked to sinners and backsliders. This rôle was usually taken by women, whom it seemed to embarrass less. This appeal to the individual was necessarily made in an undertone in order to keep the whole proceeding orderly. The object was to induce the sinner to take the "first step," which consisted in the routine of arising, going to the altar of the church, and there kneeling in penitence and asking forgiveness of God for his sins. At the altar attended other specialists who there took over the task of guiding the penitent through the miracle process of "conversion." This consisted in an arrival at the conviction that one's sins had been forgiven, that one's soul had been made clean and was now acceptable to God. This point, arrived at under the full tide of emotional waves beating upon the "seeker" and surcharging the whole group, was the climax for the individual, who arose and proclaimed that he was born anew. Nor can it be questioned that this was often true. I have in memory numerous instances in which this experience was a turning point in the moral life of particular individuals. Others, of course, were not long or profoundly affected. The process, despite all its embarrassments, brought most of the young people into the church and some older ones who had escaped, including backsliders. Some, of course, escaped again when the emotional upheaval had worn off, a few in fact becoming perennial backsliders—to the half-scandal of the staunchest portion of the truly Christian part

of the membership. Nevertheless this small group furnished continuing grist for the millstones of the revival until the mood and the concepts upon which the practice was founded had themselves in time worn away in face of a rising sophistication.

Congregational singing of inspirational and devotional hymns was another and very powerful method of sustaining a revival and rolling up the emotional momentum that made its objectives attainable. Psychologists have long understood the power of music to float the soul of the individual out of the orbit of self and unite the spirit of man in a common whole. Organized religion in all ages and in all stages of human evolution have used it to this end. Without it the majesty of the Christian church, of whatever division or creed, could never have been half so imposing. Hence it is no strange thing that congregational singing was a most intimate and effective part of Methodist revivals and that in this church, as in all others, it is so fundamental a part of worship that it must of necessity outlast all other practices.

In Methodist revivals of the past century the hymns for congregational singing were chosen with an eye to the particular stage of procedure, yet without any rigid adherence to that procedure. Improvisation, to meet a particular situation that might have arisen, was always possible. A song that would bite deep into the emotions at a critical stage, would raise the victory cry against the cohorts of evil; a song that would speak peace to a troubled and weary soul; one that would awaken memory of a departed loved one—the whole gamut of songs whose words and music drew away the self-consciousness of the individual impelled him to conform to the religious formula required for a righteous life. Many of our hymns were written by Charles Wesley, in the period of the rise of Methodism under the nurture and fervid zeal of John Wesley, the great organizer, founder, and inspirer of the Methodist movement in eighteenth century England. Conceding the power of music and lyrical poetry directed to an inspirational end, Charles Wesley must always have high place in any appraisal of the profound effects of Methodism upon the religious history of the past two centuries.

The picture of the Mehodist practice of the "revival" would be incomplete were it not pointed out that the institution was not static in any period of its history. Like most institutions, religious

or secular, it was subject to the law of growth and change. It had reached its climax around the end of the nineteenth century and had begun a slow decline. For instance, as has been pointed out, it was the long-time obligation of the circuit rider (preacher), and even clergyman in charge of a station (one church in a town), to hold an annual revival at each of his churches. This entailed a very heavy burden upon the preacher in charge of a circuit of from three to five churches. The wells of spiritual zeal were likely to run dry, even in the case of the most gifted preachers. All the revivals were staged in the summer time, a period most suited to the convenience of a rural community. Hence this was, for the preacher, by far the heaviest period of his year's work. And yet it must be performed, in the earlier period, largely by himself in the central rôle, assisted by the spiritually-minded laymen (and lay women) in the individual church. Too, it must be observed that not every preacher in charge of a circuit, or even of a station, possessed the gift of tongues, the dynamic spiritual drive, and the psychological qualifications that were requisite for a successful revival.

Hence the practice grew up of the preacher-in-charge securing the help of another preacher in the conference connection to aid him in his week of revival at his individual churches. Such individuals were available mainly from the stations where each preacher had charge of only one church and therefore was obligated for only one revival of his own. Thus his summer was largely free as contrasted to that of the preacher in charge of a circuit. Of course not every preacher in charge of a station was indubitably qualified with the gifts of a successful revivalist. But many of them were. They had, oftener than not, attained the charge of a station by virtue of superior qualifications in education, zeal, and general equipment for leadership. The stations, all in the towns, were the better paid posts in the church, the church there generally being composed of a wealthier membership than that of a rural church. Hence such a church could readily support the cost of a full-time minister, while the rural churches must be grouped into circuit units and must divide the time of the preacher assigned to the circuit. Therefore the station preacher was likely to be the better prepared, the better paid, and the better provided with that leisure which was necessary for quiet study to

increase further his effectiveness. A natural consequence was that the ablest of such station preachers were much in demand by the circuit riders who needed assistance in holding summer time revivals. This assistance, oftentimes the actual leadership of the revival, was ordinarily furnished without expectation or offer of material reward. It was a labor of love, prompted by zeal for the cause of the church in saving souls. If, incidentally, it enhanced the reputation by advertising the spiritual power of the preacher, then that was a matter in conformity with the general law of life governing a successful career in one's chosen work.

In the end, however, the trail blazed by the abler and more zealous station preachers in assisting or assuming charge of revivals for less well-equipped or over-worked preachers, led to the rise of the professional evangelists. Indeed this type of preacher had been gradually emerging through much of the nineteenth century and was at the peak of influence in its last twenty years. Most church denominations in America experienced the influence of the evangelists, who were but a sublimated species of the revivalist. Of the larger denominations of Protestantism perhaps the Baptists and the Methodists (in that order) produced the greatest impulse toward Evangelism in the nineteenth century, this becoming a strong echo of the great Congregationalist movement of the eighteenth century crowned by the work of Jonathan Edwards in New England. Spurgeon was preeminent, and had no peer in the Baptist group, while Dwight L. Moody was preeminent among Methodists. Both had superlative powers in moving great masses of men. Both had many lesser imitators, some with scarcely less power and skill. Among the Methodists perhaps Sam Jones and Billy Sunday, after Moody, were the greatest exponents of the movement, possessing more of natural eloquence and knowledge of herd psychology than any of the hosts of other preachers attracted to this field. And their imitators scaled all the way down to cheap and insincere persons capitalizing upon the opportunity that the prevailing mood of religion presented.

But it is not here intended to dig into the history of the widesweeping revivalist movement in America, but rather to present the simple procedures of the Methodist Church that were common to all its individual units and particularly to the rural church community in the late nineteenth century. It was in these units, basic in the whole church edifice, that the ground was unconsciously prepared for the all-embracing Methodist Revival on a nation-wide scale.

So, back in the simple Methodist revival in the average rural church, as in the station churches in the town, the spirit of commercialism crept in naturally when some preachers who formerly assisted, without pay, the over-burdened circuit rider in holding his annual revival, had made reputation enough, gained confidence enough, to pass into the ranks of the minor evangelists. They began to expect pay for their assistance and, at the same time, their prestige enabled them to assume chief direction of the revival, the regular preacher dropping into the rôle of assistant to the professional. The remuneration to the revivalist was necessarily on the contingent basis, dependent upon the depth to which the community was stirred in the revival and the sum total of the voluntary contributions the community would make when, at the climax of soul stirring, the touch was made.

This part of the business was tactfully left to the regular minister, with something of a behind-the-scene understanding between him and the revivalist in respect to the propitious moment. Also the regular preacher had normally felt out for the influence as well as the aid of the chief, or important members of the church. These were usually those who were best able to pay. These preliminary understandings arranged, the local preacher, at the strategic moment—always just before the announced close of the revival and when the emotional tension was at its height would take charge of proceedings and make the appeal for contributions. He pointed out that the Spirit of God had been in their midst, that there had been a great harvest of souls for the Kingdom, that God had used his agent (the visiting revivalist) as an instrument to this end and that a laborer was worthy of his hire. Of course the laborer himself was present, seated behind the altar, looking benign and exhausted. The art of taking the contribution had many nuances and varying techniques. Sometimes the method was to call for individual initiative from the congregation. In such case the most materially solid members were expected to rise and mention the amount of their gifts. From these varying but largest amounts to be expected, the less

materially solid members ran down the scale to the smallest voluntary contribution. The sum total, paid in cash at the end of the service, constituted the pay to the visiting revivalist. Sometimes the preacher in charge, out of fear that a wholly voluntary first subscription of an able member might be too low, followed the procedure of himself moving a beginning sum. "Who had been so blessed, and seen his loved ones, his friends, and neighbors so blessed" that he would give \$200.00 to the cause of God? From such a sum the standard would be constantly lowered and fitted in with each individual's willingness and capacity to pay. Here, of course, now two forces were working: one, the exaltation of the emotional mood not yet subsided and, two, caution and practicability attendant upon gifts of money. Indeed it is not too much to say that at this stage in Methodist revivals in a rural church a hot and cold current came into sudden collision, with the consequent result of lowering the spiritual temperature, though certainly not immediately to the point of the pre-revival period.

There was always a residium of effect lasting for longer or shorter periods. Some had actually been set on a new course in life; some had been brought to an awakening of thought processes; some had made new vows or new resolutions. Some walked more humbly before God out of sheer regard for consistency with protestations made in public. Some, of course, shed their recent exaltation within a month, or even a shorter time. A thoughtful few remained befogged mentally and spiritually, asking themselves what it was all about, how much of it was real and how much unreal. To the wholly thoughtless it had been an emotional "jag," the implications of which they understood not at all.

But along with these very mixed spiritual results there were other social results, possibly less obvious, or tangible, yet possessing their value to the community life as a whole. These were products of the physical relaxation, the social contacts of men, of women, of young people and children, before and after church, and especially the noon hour around the dinner tables in the shadows of the trees. The food was always well-prepared and good, each housewife vying with others as to the excellence of her basket or box of the best things the countryside afforded. There were always large platters of finely cured country ham,

of young fried chicken, brown and crisp, of many cakes of different varieties—baked in deep round molds, or in inch loaves, to be piled one on top of another up to six or eight, to be cut all the way through in wedge-shaped sections and taken off by the feasters in such thickness as appetite dictated.

And there were gargantuan appetites around most of the tables. Most of the men of our community worked hard on the land, either in its management or in its actual cultivation. All led out-door lives all the year round. Too, there were ordinarily not a few visitors from adjacent church communities, perhaps on the same circuit, having relatives, friends and acquaintances in our community. These were likely to come in the latter half of the week of revival, when the information had spread that a "real revival spirit" was present, that the preaching was good and the community profoundly stirred. Sometimes visitors came from the nearest village or town, the pious impelled by spiritual impulse, others by the opportunity for contacts and good food. Of this latter class of visitors, usually young people of both sexes, one unconsciously gathered a mixed impression of the effect of their presence. Our own young people, boys and girls alike, found pleasure in the visitors, deriving stimulation from the opposite sex in each group. This was normal for the reason that there was no wide gulf of a social sort between the best of our community and the best of the town. Perhaps a hardly perceptible difference in manners and dress, and a shade of difference in effects of the sun upon out-door skins and indoor skins, was all that set the groups apart—and youth took scant cognizance of these. Besides there was much of blood relationship between the town dweller and the rural dweller and this formed a solid basis for their intermingling.

Yet one other facet of this contact of the townspeople of the younger generation with the rural church in its revival week must needs be noted to make the picture truthful. This aspect was less obvious than merely felt. It consisted of a rising sentiment, mainly among the religious elders of the country community, that the young people of the town were less inclined to religious influence than the youth of the country; that their influence upon the latter was a thing to be suspected and watched to the end that it wrought no evil. The circuit preacher, and

sometimes the visiting preacher or the revivalist, undoubtedly shared, or even gave shape to this sentiment. These latter tended to regard the young of the town as more sophisticated and less amenable to the current of emotions they were seeking to effect. In short the implication was that the youth of the town were likely to impede the work of the spirit. Looking back upon the era of the country revival as I witnessed it, I now have the conviction that this attitude was rather strong, but that it mainly affected the religious leaders rather than the community as a whole. Certainly this was true of my own rural community—for it was healthful-minded enough in a social way to be unconsciously confident that it could absorb all comers.

One other feature of a rural community revival lingers in my mind as part of the picture that is now so rapidly fading from the memory of men. This feature concerns the changes of numerous sorts, wrought in the life of the countryside by the arrival of the motor car. The rural revival as partially pictured above, is a scene out of the horseback, and horse-and-buggy age. Its characteristic features began a transition all but simultaneously with the development of motor transportation, thus leading to the question whether the quickened tempo of life was the main factor that undermined the fundamentalist attitude in religion upon which the Methodist revival was so largely predicated. Whatever the answer to that question it probably would not, could not, represent the whole truth. But it is a well-recognized social fact that the last century rural revival as well as the great city revival, with its high-powered evangelist and all the paraphernalia of music leaders and choir singers, has, in this century passed into a decline that points toward early complete disappearance.

So the picture of the institution at its peak will be but a record of a past phase of social history, and that history would not be nearly complete unless the physical setting were painted in.

The average North Carolina rural church, of the Methodists as well as the other denominations, was usually set in a grove of trees, the grounds usually being well-chosen and containing several acres. The site had sometimes been bought by the group of persons who desired to form a congregation, erect a house for worship, and maintain it as a community center. Not infrequently the site was donated by a leader in the movement. Normally it

was large enough to provide space for a burial ground. This burial ground was laid off into plots assigned originally to individual heads of families. Space was left for later assignments when the need arose.

Here in these plots the elders lay first, by process of nature. men and their wives and children who died young. Sons who married and had families of their own were likely to acquire a separate plot from the unassigned area, and thus the community of the dead was constantly increased as the years passed by. In the earlier days the burial ground (later called the cemetery) was undifferentiated from the church grounds by fence or wall and for long was not very well kept. Later, with improving economic conditions, came greater attention to the burial ground. Fences, usually of "palings" painted white, and later walls of stone came to mark out the area. Simultaneously came the use of marble slabs (and rarely a monument shaft) to replace the crude stones set up at head and foot to mark the resting place of each of the dead. On these slabs were carved the name, dates of birth and death, and a pious inscription, sometimes a favorite verse from the Scriptures, sometimes a couplet from a favorite and familiar hymn. Here the dead rested, the memory of them gradually fading out as the generations came and went. The memory of a man, or woman, who had been especially marked in the community, or had gone out from it and made a career, of course lingered longest by virtue of natural community pride. A beautiful community custom nearly always existed of bringing flowers to church on preaching days and placing them on graves of departed relatives. This, however, was individual rather than general in application, depending upon the depth of memory and affection left in the hearts of those who yet survived.

The architecture of the rural Methodist church has undergone a rather slow evolution from quite crude to very much more tasteful and adequate buildings. This of course, is the product of economic changes reflecting themselves in increasing taste and greater pride. Better built houses for worship, with paint, and current for lighting and a furnace for heat, seem normal to the present generation. The cruder houses of the past century are but a fading memory. None except the very oldest in my home community remembers when the interior of our church had a built-in

panel down the longest axis, from the altar to the door. This divided the seating according to sex. This was in keeping with the old custom formulated in the early days of Methodism in the eighteenth century. Many other Protestant sects, especially those tinged with the spirit of John Calvin, followed the same custom. In my earliest memory of my own community church, this custom was beginning to break down, though it yet required something of a bold spirit for a young man and a young woman to march in and sit together on the same side of the panel. Curiously it was the young man who had to take the initiative in the breach of this custom and brazen it out on the woman's side of the church. Perhaps too that was natural—for thereby he offered proof to the young woman that he would dare all things for her favor.

The generous size of the grove and church grounds area was, in horse-and-buggy days, doubtless as much dictated by the need of room for vehicles and horses as by the cheapness of land. There, especially in revival periods, when attendance was apt to be large, horses and mules were detached from the vehicles and tied to limbs and trees furthest back from the church. Many of them, though not all, were fed by their owners during the dinner hour.

At our church it was custom to make sure that no visitor or other person, well-to-do or poor, who had not brought provision, should fail of invitation to some table. These tables in my earliest memory were individual family tables, and members of the family invited whom they would to eat with them. The individual tables were well-scattered over the grove under the shade of the trees. Sometimes several families, usually relatives, combined their food at a common table. This led to a larger crowd and greater sociability. Later the custom came to be to place all the tables together in a long row and the preacher, before the recess hour, delivered a general invitation for all present to partake of the generous and excellent food the women of the church always provided.

Being but a boy when these scenes of the past fixed themselves in my memory, I think I may be held guiltless of levity if I point out that dogs in our community seemed greatly to enjoy the revival season. They came in generous numbers, dogs of all descriptions, following their owners' wagons, carriages, or buggies—with a well-stuffed food basket or box inside. These

dogs had a social season of contacts, but the peak of their day was the dinner hour when they passed about among the feasters around the tables and received the wealth of bones and broken food thrown down by their human friends. Sometimes two dogs, desirous of the same bit, would come to clash, much to the interest of small boys in the group. But usually they were peaceful and courteous, proceeding on the assumption that where there was so much there would be plenty for all. And truly there was! For I have seen dogs at revivals with sides so distended they would pass over a discarded chunk of delicious cake with a disdainful sniff. I knew one dog whom I had reason to believe remained on the church grounds at night throughout revival week, not giving himself the trouble of journeying home and back again. Perhaps he was chagrined when a day came and the crowd did not return. But even so he had already well-lined ribs and the memory of glorious feasting.

Now and again some pet dog with a strong attachment for his master or mistress, or to a child, would slip through an open door of the church seeking out the object of its affections. His presence, thrust in upon the services, was likely to create a diversion, especially among the young fry and to the disgruntlement of the preacher. How could the spirit flow when attention was diverted by the uncertain actions of a puzzled dog? The picture here called up brings to mind a story told in my father's house by the Rev. G. W. Ivey. The latter at that time was in charge of the Leasburg Circuit of which our church, Concord, was a part. His was a strong and interesting personality, commanding respect and affection both as spiritual leader and man. For long years he was one of the most effective circuit riders in our denomination, serving charges from the mountains to the sea. On the occasion to which I refer he was conducting a revival at Concord church. Returned in the late afternoon from the arduous services at church he and my father were sitting in chairs drawn out on the lawn to catch the breezes. I sat on the grass and listened—for I knew him to be an interesting teller of stories. The talk turned to dogs in church, of which there had been an instance that very day.

Mr. Ivey said: "Once, when I was holding a revival on the Lenoir circuit, up in the mountains, the services were held in a shady brush arbor built for the purpose. Dogs were pretty thick, but generally well-behaved. But one afternoon during my closing prayer a little fice dog strayed in up near the altar. He became excited at my voice and began to yap in competition. I suppose I was pretty fervid. As I continued my prayer the little dog drew closer and closer, raising such a clamor that it was quite confusing. Finally he was in reach of my hand. I reached out quickly and seized him by the neck. I went on with my prayer, forgetting the little dog. When I had finished and withdrew my hand the poor little fellow was dead!"

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN

and

CRAVEN COUNTY, 1700-1800

By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

PART V POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL RISE OF NEW BERN

¶ If the Seat of Government Should ever happen to be established there, as it probably may, from its being nearly Central, it will become a place of Note very soon, and will outvie any other Town in North Carolina.

-LORD ADAM GORDON, 1765.

During the quarter-century between about 1740 and 1765, New Bern gained a political importance and commercial prosperity that made up for all the lean and hungry years the town had hitherto undergone. As the southern part of the province grew populous, New Bern found itself no longer on the fringe of colonization but in the middle of it. It enjoyed the enviable position of being a central town, convenient to both northern and southern settlers and therefore a logical residence for the governor and seat for meetings of the assembly. Such a place clearly had a future; and from northern provinces came merchants to establish themselves in it. dotting the broad mouth of the Neuse with the sails of schooners, sloops, and snows which brought modest fortunes to their owners and goods that meant a higher standard of living comfort to the inhabitants of town and county. But political preëminence, upon which to some extent this economic prosperity depended, was not won without sharp opposition from both Edenton, whose place as premier town in the province was threatened, and Wilmington, whose own bright prospects rivaled those of the town on the Neuse.

From the very first New Bern held one political advantage possessed by no other town—an advantage which seems to have made it the first one in the province to be represented by a borough member in the assembly. It was provided by a law of 1715 that Bath and the other towns thereafter to be founded might each elect an assemblyman to sit for them in the lower

house when they had attained a population of as many as sixty families. An exception was specifically made in the case of New Bern, which was allowed a representative "altho" there should not be Sixty families Inhabiting in the said Town." This concession probably was made because of the need for representation of the sizable Swiss and German colony, which existed for the most part outside the confines of the town. Not until 1773 did Beaufort attain sixty-family status.2 And since the assembly found it necessary in 1722 to confer borough rights on Bath and Edenton by another enactment, neither apparently having attained the requisite number of inhabitants, it would seem that New Bern sent to the assembly the first representative of any town and that for several years it possessed exclusively this privilege—a privilege which was confirmed several times through the century, by the constitution of 1776, for example, and which remained in force until 1835.3

This attainment of borough rights so early was prophetic of the political importance the town was to acquire. From the very first, New Bern was the logical place for the transaction of official affairs involving the inhabitants of the coastal midlands. In 1723 it had been designated as seat of the precinct, where elections and other precinct business were to be conducted.4 Some years later it became the place for the collection of quitrents in Craven.⁵ As time went on its convenience was recognized to such an extent that the sheriffs of surrounding counties met there to render account upon matters involving provincial business. 6 Being the "most sentrical town in the province," as the French traveler described it, assured New Bern's political future in a larger sense. As early as 1735 the council met in New Bern, sitting as a court of claims for land disputes and for issuing land patents.8 Thereafter the council convened many times in the town, not only as a court of claims but also as governor's council, its primary function, and as the appellate court of chancery. So obvious was the wisdom of this that in 1736 Governor Johnston recommended

¹ State Records, XXIII, 79.
2 Colonial Records, IX, 637.
3 Colonial Records, VI, 228, 263; State Records, XXIII, 980.
4 State Records, XXV, 204-205.
5 State Records, XXV, 217.
6 State Records, XXIII, 331, 349.
7 "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 734-735.
8 Colonial Records, IV, 61.

to the Board of Trade that a semi-annual court of chancery should be held at New Bern, "at present the most central place of the Province." ⁹ He explained this by saying that Edenton was within thirty miles of the Virginia line and two hundred miles from Cape Fear, "where most of the Council have their habitations." ¹⁰

I have not been able [he continues] to hold above two Courts of Chancery since I came into the Province upon this account. If there is any Law confining the Courts to Edenton it is more than I know but if there is . . . the Province is so much altered since by the Peopling of the Southern parts that it is highly proper to repeal it.

By law of 1722 Edenton had been made the seat of certain provincial officers and of the governor if he so chose; and thus in a legal sense but more strongly in a customary sense the town was the capital of North Carolina. However, as Johnston said, there was nothing in the act requiring courts to be held at Edenton. The governor went further than his recommendation that courts should be held in New Bern. He also urged that the "offices of the Secretary and Surveyor [,] Receiver and Auditor General with all other offices be for the future kept in the said Town of Newbern." Alas, this was easier to propose than to bring about in the face of the opposition of the assembly-controlling Albemarle.

Edenton was indeed the capital if by capital one meant the seat of the governor and, more important, the meeting place of the assembly. Though New Bern did not become the residence of the governor until 1754, the town soon began to attract sessions of the colonial legislature. These from earliest times had convened in the Albemarle and from about 1722 had met in Edenton. It remained for Governor Johnston to end this long northeastern monopoly. At the height of his bitter controversy with the representatives over the method of payment of quitrents, he called the assembly to hold its first meeting in New Bern on March 1, 1737. The upper house, the council, convened on that date, but the lower house, at first without a quorum, apparently did not meet until March 4 and then only to gather in joint session and hear the

⁹ Colonial Records, IV, 206.
¹⁰ Colonial Records, IV, 204.
¹¹ State Records, XXV, 175-178.

irate governor dissolve them because of their opposition to the crown's wishes. 12 Thereafter, though the towns of Bath and Wilmington shared with Edenton and New Bern these sessions. the assembly convened more frequently at New Bern than at any other town, 13

As a consequence, New Bern was the scene of many a political quarrel. Here was held the assembly's stormy impeachment of the arbitrary chief justice, William Smith, a trial in which figured several Craven politicians. 14 Here, too, occurred a violent dispute between members of the town and county delegations, in which one of them threatened his fellow-member with a pistol. on the assembly floor, "for proffering a bill to this House before he consulted him." 15 These and many other quarrels of which the records do not tell enlivened the daily courthouse gossip. Furthermore, many of the officers and employes of the assembly were residents of the town or county, and this added to the interest felt in things political. At one time the clerks of both houses and even the doorkeeper and messenger of the assembly were all of Craven County.16

Johnston did not press his suggestion of 1736 to a showdown until ten years later, when he determined that New Bern, in view of the continued growth of the southern regions and the inconvenience of Bath and Edenton, should be the capital. In June, 1746, a bill to fix the wandering seat of government met an impasse in the council, which, under the governor's influence, insisted that New Bern instead of Bath, which the lower house preferred, should be the capital.¹⁷ The governor then prorogued the assembly from New Bern, where it was meeting, to Wilmington, there to convene in November. This was a time most inconvenient for the northern members who were blocking his wishes. When the assembly convened anew, it lacked a quorum because of the non-attendance of the Albemarle members, but that did not prevent the speaker from declaring a quorum nor

¹² Colonial Records, IV, xvi (prefatory notes), 241, 271; South Carolina Gazette (Charles-

¹² Colonial Records, IV, xvi (prefatory notes), 241, 271; South Carolina Gazette (Charleston), June 4, 1737.

18 See pp. 76-77.

14 "A True and Faithful Narrative of the Proceedings of the House of Burgesses of North Carolina . . . Met in Newbern, February 5, 1739/40," pp. 31-33, reprinted by W. K. Boyd, "Some North Carolina Tracts of the Eighteenth Century," The North Carolina Historical Review, II (January, 1925), 30-82.

15 Colonial Records, IV, 399.

16 Colonial Records, IV, 1174, 1176, 1190, 1192.

17 Colonial Records, IV, 1169-1170.

the "House" from enacting, on December 5, 1746, a bill making New Bern the capital. 18 Along with it was passed a bill stripping the Albemarle of its traditionally preponderant representation a move which brought the bitterested opposition from that section and ultimately resulted in the repeal of both acts.

The act of 1746 fixed the court of chancery, the general court, their clerks' offices, and the secretary's office all at New Bern. 19 It also levied a tax of four pence per poll for two years to pay for the public buildings which it was planned to erect at New Bern. However, the governor and council soon wavered in their choice of a capital. They debated

... whether instead of New-Bern the present seate of government, it would not be more Eligible to make and establish the same upon Trent River the publick Buildings not being yet erected at New Bern pursuant to Act of Assembly in regard of the known unhealthiness of the former place from the badness of the water and other Causes, And the want of proper Accommodations in the said Town.²⁰

Where they considered erecting the buildings on Trent River does not appear, but it is not important since nothing further was done, though the council did agree "there was sufficient Reason for removing the Seat of government." By early in 1750 this action had been forgotten, and when a bill was enacted increasing the public buildings tax, which had proved insufficient, these buildings were again being projected "at New Bern Town." 21 At the same time, both houses agreed on the sort of buildings which were to be put up. It was planned to erect three structures: a courthouse fifty feet long, thirty feet wide and fifteen feet high; a house for the use of the council thirty feet long, twenty feet wide, and twelve feet high; and a third building of the same dimensions for the use of officials and clerks.22

The passive but effective resistance of the Albemarle members to the two acts of 1746 thwarted Johnston's plans for a permanent capital. The northern members spread it about that as soon as the crown restored their full representation, the seat of government would be removed from New Bern.²³ This report had a very depressing effect on the town. Many of its inhabitants, realizing

¹⁸ Colonial Records, IV, 836-837, 843.
19 State Records, XXIII, 347-348.
20 Colonial Records, IV, 898.
21 State Records, XXIII, 347-348.
22 Colonial Records, IV, 1062-1063.
23 Colonial Records, IV, 1166.

the need for accommodations in the new permanent meeting place of the assembly, had rushed to convert their homes into ordinaries or taverns. Indeed, in 1746 alone thirteen of these ordinaries were licensed by the county court, nine of them at least in the town itself. This number exceeded the licenses issued for any other one year prior to 1765; and the licenses issued from 1746 to 1749 exceeded those for the next ten years, so great was the expectation of a business boom at this time.²⁴ However, the stand of the northern members completely dampened these prospects. As Johnston put it:

One mighty inconvenience we have to struggle with at present is, That nobody cares to lay in Provisions for Man or Horse at Newbern. tho' it is the most central and fruitful part of the Province; ... nobody cares for advancing Money for the entertainment of the Publick, so that in a fortnight or three weeks time, we are obliged to seperate for want of the necessaries of Life.25

The "necessaries of Life" in so far as council and assembly were concerned completely depended on the ordinary-keeper or "victualler." Hence the strict regulation of these home-taverns by the county court, which required each of them to keep "good wholesom and clean Diet and Lodging for Travellers" and adequate fodder for their beasts, while at the same time strictly forbidding any gaming or tippling on Sundays.²⁶ And yet, oddly enough, it was not unheard-of for an ordinary to be licensed "at the Publick Goal!" 27 Occasionally, but only rarely, ordinary licenses were revoked for violation of the court-prescribed price schedule or for "keeping a Very Disorderly and Irregular House." 28 It was not unusual for women to be mistresses of these houses, and on the other hand some of the most prominent men also were ordinary-keepers, for example the patriots Thomas Sitgreaves and Richard Cogdell.²⁹

Despite the depression caused by the "unarmed rebellion" of the Albemarle, there were certain advantageous results of Johns-

All figures are based on tables compiled from the Craven Court Minutes, 1745-1765.
 Colonial Records, IV, 1166.
 State Records, XXV, 358-359. Ordinary bond of Thomas Bowers, March 12, 1784; Miscellaneous Material, Craven County, in archives of State Department of Archives and History,

Raleigh, N. C.

Traven Court Minutes, September, 1774.

Royal Craven Court Minutes, April, 1762: March, 1768.

Viz., Elizabeth McIntosh, Eleanor Welsh, Mary Howard. Craven Court Minutes, May, 1752; February, 1755; August, 1756; August, 1757; October, 1761.

ton's irregular effort to establish by law the capital at New Bern. One of these was the settling in New Bern of James Davis, the first printer in the province, who arrived in 1749 probably from an apprenticeship in the office of the Williamsburg printer, William Parks. Attracted to North Carolina by an assembly act promising him an annual salary of £160 as public printer, Davis lost no time in making a place for himself in the affairs of the town and province.³⁰ Soon after his arrival, he wed the widow Prudence Hobbs, daughter of William Carruthers, of Beaufort County, and began to acquire property.31 Among these acquisitions was Lot No. 1 on the southwest corner of Broad and East Front streets, where his printing office stood for many years.³² However, it was from a shop "near the Church" that Davis's early work was done. 33 Here in 1751 was printed the first copy of The North Carolina Gazette, the first newspaper in North Carolina.³⁴ A year later he issued the first printed revisal of the laws.35 From 1749 to 1760 no fewer than thirty-two imprints came from his press, The Journal of the House of Burgesses (1749) being the earliest of these.³⁶ All the While Davis was pursuing an active political career. In 1753 he became a member of the county court and served on it for the remarkable term of twenty-five years.³⁷ A year later he was chosen sheriff of Craven County, and during his incumbency was elected to represent the town in the assembly, but upon being refused his seat because of this dual office-holding, he gave up the former position after only ten months. 38 In 1755 he was again elected, and sat in the lower house for the next five years, serving on several important committees and introducing some vital legislation.³⁹ In 1755 Davis was appointed to set up a post route between Suffolk and Wilmington, and by this means supplemented his slender salary as public printer, which he called "not above half what every other

³⁰ Colonial Records, IV, 984; State Records, XXIII, 314-315.
31 Craven County Deeds, I, 531; IX-X, 41. Hobbs died about 1747. Craven Court Minutes,

³¹ Craven County Deeds, 1, 347-348.

32 Craven County Deeds, II, 347-348.

33 The North Carolina Gazette, November 15, 1751. This is the earliest extant copy.

33 C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790, James Sprunt Historical Studies, XX (1928). The first issue, according to Crittenden, was August 9, 1751.

35 Colonial Records, IV, xiv (prefatory notes).

36 Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The First Twelve Years of Printing in North Carolina, 1749-1760," The North Carolina Historical Review, X (July, 1933), 214-217.

37 Craven Court Minutes, February, 1753, and passim to 1778.

38 Craven Court Minutes, August, 1754; May, 1755; Colonial Records, V, 245.

39 Colonial Records, V, 529, 689, 716, 843, 889, 903, 1007, 1051; VI, 95, 145, 362.

Public Printer in America has." 40 Shrewd and apparently acquisitive. Davis built up a modest estate in slaves and real property, including a plantation at Green Spring, to divide among his four sons at his death in 1785.41 But his quick temper—he was described by a fellow-townsman as being a man of "prejudices and passions"—probably hindered his political career. 42 Nonetheless he was an ardent patriot from the beginning of the Revolution. At an early date he was a member of the Friends of American Liberty, and later he served as chairman of the Craven Committee of Safety, as New Bern borough representative in two provincial conventions, and even on the council of state. 43

Another beneficial consequence of the act of 1746 was the impetus it gave toward the building of Craven County's first brick courthouse. It was the assembly's original plan to erect in New Bern a courthouse fifty feet long and thirty feet wide. 44 To finance this and other public buildings, a tax of four pence per poll was to be levied for two years; but when this proved insufficient the assembly authorized the issuance of more than £21,000 in paper money to begin the work. 45 In pursuance of this encouragement, lots were purchased in New Bern as a site for the proposed courthouse and perhaps for the council house and clerical offices as well. By deed dated April 17, 1750, Jeremiah Vail, John Starkey, and Edward Griffith, the building commissioners, had conveyed to them Lots No. 248, 249, 250, and 251, being the southern half of the block upon which the present courthouse stands; and by October of the following year, at the latest, the work had been commenced.46

It was more than a decade before the courthouse was at last ready for use—a fact which shows the difficulties and delays of colonial public building. The financing of the work was slow and uncertain. The order issued by the crown in 1754 disallowing the act of 1746 and leaving the colony again without any legally fixed capital seems to have prevented the issuance of the £21,000 in public bills. The four-penny tax collections came in so slowly that Commissioner Starkey wanted to begin suits against the delin-

⁴⁰ Colonial Records, IV, 1344-1345; V, xxvi (prefatory notes), 516, 41 Craven County Records, Will Book A, 81. 42 State Records, XIII, 142-143. 43 Colonial Records, IX, 1027, 1144, 1179; X, 166, 826; State Records, XV, 417. 44 Colonial Records, IV, 1062-1063. 45 Colonial Records, IV, 836, 1064; State Records, XXIII, 252-267, 347-348. 46 Colonial Records, IV, 1274; State Records, XXIII, 364-365.

quent sheriffs but was prevented from doing so by the assembly.47 This revenue apparently was the mainstay of the financing prior to the disallowance of the act of 1746, for we know that certain funds from this tax were turned over to the commissioners and presumably spent to forward the work.48 Another fact which may be taken as evidence of financial difficulties is that the original specifications set by the assembly were scaled down by the county court, evidently when it became apparent that, with the impending disallowance of the act, the entire burden of the building would be thrown on the county. In the latter part of 1753 the justices specified, instead of a building fifty by thirty feet, a brick structure forty by twenty-five feet, to be raised on twelvefoot pillars.49 (The court's order also provided for a prison thirty by twenty feet, two stories high, and "Built of Brick, and Sealed, with Two Inch Oak Plank.") A tax of one shilling per poll was to be levied throughout the county, payable to John Williams and James Davis, who were named commissioners for the construction. Thus the problem, from being the concern of the province, had narrowed to becoming merely a county one. And the burden of taxation on the county during the period of construction was extremely severe, especially at a time when the province was laboring under the levies made necessary by the Seven Years War. 50

From 1751 to 1761 little was done to further the work. That is apparent from the amount of legislation passed in an effort to facilitate the construction. One can picture the partly erected building, from time to time abandoned by the masons, as it grew old in sun and rain before ever becoming the "new" courthouse!

In 1754 the assembly passed a bill empowering the county court to sell the original wooden courthouse, which by this time had "fallen greatly to Decay," and to build a prison on the rear of the lots bought for the new, brick courthouse, which was rising at the intersection of Broad and Middle streets.⁵¹ A few years later, work apparently having halted again, another act was passed

⁴⁷ Colonial Records, IV, 1292.
48 Colonial Records, V, 965.
49 Craven Court Minutes, August, 1753.
50 A table showing these taxes, county, public building, and provincial, has been compiled by the writer from the court minutes for the article, "Public Building in Craven County: A Local Government Problem, 1722 to 1835," The North Carolina Historical Review, XX (October, 1022) 221

<sup>1943), 321.
51</sup> Colonial Records, V, 208; State Records, XXV, 265-266.

naming John Fonveille the sole commissioner to complete the building.⁵² In 1758 he reported that he had spent £306:3:9 on the prison and on laying foundations for its office, but he says nothing as to what had been done on the much-delayed courthouse. 53 In January, 1760, the assembly again took notice of the situation at New Bern. The act it passed at this session declared the partly finished courthouse "now lies in a ruinous condition and the Work not carried on, by reason of a Commissioner [Fonveille] wholly neglecting the same." 54 It named seven commissioners to let out the work to the lowest bidder, who should give bond and contract to do the work within a specified time. In spite of the assembly's censure, Fonveille was included among the seven new commissioners. A little more than a year later this act was repealed by another which again enlarged the dimensions of the building. Perhaps this meant that the foundation on which work had already begun was to be abandoned and a fresh start made. At any rate, this bill, as it appeared before the lower house, proposed a structure fifty by thirty feet, as had the assembly ten years previously; but the council went this one better by amending it to provide a courthouse sixty by forty feet, "as such alteration," said the council, "will make it much more convenient for the sitting of the Courts and Jury rooms And also be attended with very little more expence." 55 The act as finally passed recited the usual complaint against the commissioners for neglect a familiar refrain in early public building acts-and authorized a two-shilling poll tax for three years in Craven County, to be paid to Richard Speight, Joseph Leech, and John Fonveille, who were appointed "new" commissioners to carry on the work. 56 Actually both Speight and Fonveille had been members of the former commission. The act provided that the courthouse might be built either on the public lot "nearly opposite Mr. Rice's red house" or on the one at the intersection of Broad and Middle streets, "where a courthouse is already begun." The commissioners chose to continue the work on the site already selected, though

⁵² State Records, XXV, 358-359.
53 Colonial Records, VI, 969.
54 Colonial Records, VI, 184; State Records, XXV, 401-402.
55 Colonial Records, VI, 652. New Bern at this time was the seat not only of the county court but the three-judge superior court of New Bern District as well; and by Governor Tryon's administration a few years later a court of admiralty also convened there, though whether in the courthouse does not appear.
56 State Records, XXV, 462-463 56 State Records, XXV, 462-463.

whether they used the same foundation that had been laid back in 1751 is not known. As a consequence, the northeast corner of this Broad and Middle intersection remained for more than a century the site of the Craven County courthouse.

While the courthouse was rising, New Bern, too, was rising from a coastal hamlet to a place of importance in the fast-growing province of North Carolina. Here again we see that Johnston's effort to fix the capital was not entirely without result, for when his successor, the elderly Arthur Dobbs, arrived in 1754, he took the oath of office and established his residence in New Bern.⁵⁷ During the four years he lived there, all sessions of assembly were held in the town, so it was at this period indisputably the capital.58

In keeping with this distinction, some badly needed improvements in both the government and appearance of the town were planned by James Davis. In October, 1756, the assembly passed a bill introduced by him which was the first municipal election and tax act. ⁵⁹ Hitherto, each able-bodied resident who could not send a slave in his stead had been liable for call for work on the streets. But James Davis's law permitted the inhabitants to tax themselves up to ten shillings per poll to defray such expenses, thus excusing the taxpayers from this compulsory labor. 60 This provision was repealed in a few years, but Davis's reform was not altogether in vain, for this later act did set a limit of twelve days on the period in which a man might have to work. 61 Another provision of Davis's act concerned the town commissioners, who up until this time had been appointed by the assembly. The new law provided instead for election by the freeholders, on the second Tuesday of November each year, of five such commissioners, who should choose one of their number as treasurer. To qualify for election as commissioner, a man had to possess an estate of at least £100 proclamation money and a house at least twenty-four by sixteen feet in dimensions, with a brick chimney. Furthermore, the act authorized the commissioners to require all wooden chimneys to be pulled down on six months' notice and replaced by

 ⁵⁷ Colonial Records, V, iv (prefatory notes); VI, 1.
 58 Colonial Records, V, 231, 495, 688, 829, 889, 998.
 59 Colonial Records, V, 687, 710; State Records, XXIII, 451-456.
 60 State Records, XXIII, 452.
 61 State Records, XXV, 402.

brick ones. It also authorized a general clean-up and improvement in the town's appearance by permitting the commissioners to require the drainage of lots and removal of rubbish in the streets, and to restrict the unconfined wandering of livestock. (An act a year later expressly forbade hogs to run at large and allowed anyone to seize and kill such animals! 62) Clearly, New Bern was growing up. In 1757 the citizens petitioned the council to make the town a borough of charter. 63 However, not until three years later was the petition granted. On May 13, 1760, Halifax and Edenton received charters, and two days later approval was likewise given to New Bern's petition, which asked for similar incorporation "Except that the number of Common Councilmen be eight instead of twelve." 64 With the adoption of this new system, the town administration had grown considerably more complex than when it consisted merely of three assembly-appointed commissioners; and within a few years there are newspaper references not only to a common council but to a mayor, recorder, and aldermen as well. 65 Unfortunately, little or nothing is known of the working of this early government due to the loss or destruction of its records.

Though Governor Dobbs was carrying on all official business at New Bern, he had determined soon after his arrival that it was to be only a temporary capital. He wanted the seat of government on Neuse River because it would be centrally situated, but he intended to fix it well above New Bern so it would be nearer the western settlements and would eliminate, for the sake of the Albemarle members, the wide ferries at Edenton and Bath. 66 In 1755 Dobbs made a trip up Neuse and selected as the site of the future capital a bluff at Stringer's Ferry known as Tower Hill.⁶⁷ The governor himself purchased the site to make sure it would be available for his purposes. Meantime, he found all kinds of fault with the situation at New Bern. Like Johnston, Dobbs noted the poor accommodations which the town afforded, though indeed he was sensible enough to perceive that this was the result of the uncertainty as to where the capital would be located:

⁶² State Records, XXV, 358.
63 Colonial Records, V, 812.
64 Colonial Records, VI, 333-334.
65 The North Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764.
66 Colonial Records, V, 147.
67 Colonial Records, V, 341-342.

We have no convenient houses here [he wrote] but most indifferent houses not 30 feet long and 20 wide exposed to the Weather and none can be undertaken until the place is determined. 68

As in the time of his predecessor, Dobbs found no fit offices and no suitable place for assembly and council to meet in, the courthouse not yet being ready and these bodies being forced to convene in private homes. 69 Most of the assemblymen naturally put up in private dwellings, and their perennial complaint with New Bern, throughout the eighteenth century, was the difficulty in finding a place to lay their heads. 70 Indeed, two assemblymen to a bed was the usual rule.⁷¹ Another objection was the scarcity of provisions. It was said that "the insufficiency of the markets" in the fall months made food somewhat less plentiful when the scores of assemblymen descended on the town. 72 But the chief complaint, certainly so far as the ageing Dobbs was concerned, was that the low ground, bad water, and autumn humidity made the town decidedly "aguish." 73 A French traveler's comments on New Bern are interesting in this connection. The fact that it was "afflicted with feavors," he wrote, was due to the stagnation of waters that depended on wind rather than tide or current for their movement.74 During hot calm days, it was not unusual to see on the rivers dead fish and a thick scum, "which occasions," he said, "a Disagreable Stensh."

Prejudiced against New Bern and obsessed by his failing health, Dobbs communicated his dissatisfaction to the assembly, which in 1756, on motion of a Northampton member, resolved that the town was unfit and unhealthy, and named a commission to choose a new site for the capital. 75 In the spring of 1758, Dobbs himself left the town, writing querulously that he had been living "in a small House at a high rent which I was obliged to pay without either garden or field to keep either horse or Cow in a low unhealthy situation in which I had several relapses in Fevers and

⁶⁸ Colonial Records, V, 573.
69 Colonial Records, IV, 243. The Assembly seems to have convened at various times at Richard Cogdell's and earlier, possibly, at George Bould's. Colonial Records, VI, 743; State Records, XXII, 401. The Council convened on at least one occasion at a Mrs. Lister's. Colonial Records, IV, 751.
70 State Records, XVII, 631.
71 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell (New York, 1857), I, 357.
72 Colonial Records, IX, 686.
73 Colonial Records, V, 439, 573.
74 "Journal of a French Traveler," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 735.
The writer is mistaken about the lack of current and tide at New Bern.
75 Colonial Records, V, 705, 716.

agues." 76 He moved to Cape Fear, whither the enterprising residents lured him with offers of "a new convenient house . . . in a healthy dry open situation." Dobbs believed to his dying day (which was not far off) that his health by this change had been reestablished. 77 He congratulated himself, too, that since a quorum of the council lived in the Cape Fear section, he could call them together easily. He began to hold courts of chancery and assembly sessions in Wilmington and transferred there the records of the secretary's office which had previously been in New Bern. 78 In December of the year he left New Bern, the assembly agreed upon Tower Hill as the site for the capital and proposed to build a town upon this barren bluff to be known as George City.⁷⁹ This was indeed a blow to New Bern. Richard Cogdell wrote to the merchant, John Campbell of Bertie County, about the letdown suffered by the town and its trade, and Campbell replied, perhaps all too justly:

The account of the dullness of your Town & buissness in it I am sorry for but the unthinking People in and about it must thank themsels who drove away the Govr & officers. These People could not bear a little flow of money, but Grew So Proud & Insolent they will feel the reverse and now may reflect on themselves when too Late. 80

Thus did the town go into political eclipse. Fortunately, this was only temporary.

During its political preëminence, New Bern developed in a commercial and mercantile way to an extent which observers of earlier years had not foreseen.81 This came despite grave natural handicaps—handicaps which were partly offset by the fact that New Bern, according to usage at least, was regarded as the capital.82 Therefore, merchants wishing to engage in business in North Carolina naturally selected as a place to settle "the first town" or the prospective "first town" of the province, where the assembly was meeting most of the time and much of the official business was being transacted.83 In increasing numbers, the shipping of these men arrived at the wharves of the Neuse and Trent

⁷⁶ Colonial Records, VI, 1.
77 Colonial Records, VI, 300.
78 Colonial Records, VI, 301, 601.
79 Colonial Records, V, 1036; State Records, XXV, 373-378.
80 Colonial Records, VI, 580.
81 For example, it never occurred to Burrington or Brickell that New Bern would ever become a port, though both predicted such a future for Brunswick. Colonial Records, IV, 169; John Brickell, Natural History of North-Carolina, p. 9.
82 Colonial Records, V, 760-761.
83 Compare Martin's statement, Colonial Records, IX, 636-637.

with valuable cargoes from the British Isles and West Indies and departed laden with products of plantation and forest. As trade thrived, modest fortunes accumulated, and in town and county men of substance began to appear. In short, a port came into being—a small one, it is true, but nonetheless a busy one, and one that was to render great service in peace and war.

It would be a mistake to think of New Bern and her sister towns as either large or wealthy in comparison with the principal ports along the Atlantic seaboard. The coast of North Carolina was never destined to invite safe and extensive navigation, even in the days of shallow-draft vessels. Each of the ports was cursed with some hindering defect. Nowhere did nature give advantages without stint. If Wilmington and Brunswick could boast a lordly river which made trade with the interior easy, the dangerous cape and ten-foot depth at the bar could be scored against them.84 If Beaufort enjoyed as much as a twelve-foot depth at Old Topsail Inlet, it lacked waterway connections with the interior. If New Bern and Edenton could point to Ocracoke Inlet's thirteen- or fourteenfoot depth, they must have admitted, too, that larger vessels had to navigate the swash, where there was but eight and a half or nine feet, and that these vessels often had to unload part of their cargoes into lighters in order to cross the bar. Besides, both towns were far from the open sea; and in the case of New Bern, at least in the early days, the rivers which served it were considered inferior to the Cape Fear and even the Pamlico in navigability.85 Furthermore, none of these inlets was notably safe, and Ocracoke, with its exposed roadstead, was particularly dangerous. It was not unusual for a master to wait there two weeks for a favorable wind or for storms to abate, and as many as fourteen vessels were driven on the bar at one time during a spring squall.86 As a consequence, the risks and costs of navigation off North Carolina were apt to be high, and notices such as these not altogether rare in the New Bern newspaper:

The Snow Dorothy, Capt. Graham, who loaded here lately for Europe, and had been sailed about 19 days, is ashore at Core-Sound; chief of the cargo will be saved.

⁸⁴ These depths are all low-tide soundings. A discussion of this is contained in C. C. Crittenden's The Commerce of North Carolina 1763-1789 (New Haven, 1936), pp. 3-5.

85 John Brickell, Natural History of North-Carolina, p. 7.

86 Commerce of Rhode Island 1726-1800, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, vol. IX (Boston, 1914), I, 489-490.

There are also cast away on Cape Hatteras, two brigs, one from Boston, and the other from New York, both bound in here: A Vessel has been sent to their Assistance, and 'tis imagined chief of their Cargoes will be saved.87

As if this were not enough, the shipping was troubled at times by freebooters, and though this may not have been peculiar to North Carolina, it certainly added to the disadvantages under which the ports already labored. A news item in the New Bern newspaper relates how a schooner captain with a cargo of slaves from Barbados was

... chaced many Hours by a fine clean Sloop, who both rowed and crouded all she could to come up with him, and was so near that the Shot she fired went over him: This great Curiosity of the Sloop, in Time of Peace, to speak with Capt. Williams, excited his Diligence to avoid her, which a lighter Pair of Heels enabled him to do.88

Often this "lighter pair of heels" meant the difference between a safe and a lost cargo.

If a choice had to be made of the North Carolina ports, Wilmington and Brunswick were better endowed by nature than New Bern or Edenton, yet they themselves could not compare as ports with the great harbors of Virginia and South Carolina.89 Charleston, for example, had flourished almost from the day of its founding. In 1680 as many as sixteen vessels at a time could be seen in the harbor, which one traveler said could contain 500 with ease. 90 Before the Revolution, 150 vessels sailed weekly with an export trade in rice and indigo that was said to amount annually to nearly a million pounds. 91 Like Charleston, Virginia's principal ports, on Hampton Roads, were both safe and near the sea. As early as 1728, William Byrd counted twenty brigantines and sloops riding at the wharves of Norfolk. 92 This place, enjoying the benefit of one of the world's finest natural harbors, had at the time, said Byrd, "most the ayr of a town of any in Virginia."

⁸⁷ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, January 11-18, 1765.
88 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, September 28-October 5, 1764.
89 As to the North Carolina ports, compare Johnston's statement, Colonial Records, IV, 418.
90 Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina Under the Proprietary Government
1670-1719 (New York, 1897), p. 185; W. C. Watson, editor, Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson (New York, 1856), pp. 55-56.
91 Edward McCrady, The History of South Carolina Under the Royal Government 1719-1776
(New York, 1899), p. 397.
92 W. K. Boyd, editor, William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line (Raleigh, 1929), 52.

A good port meant wealth—a fact which Byrd perceived so keenly when he wrote that "for want of Navigation and Commerce the best Estate affords little more than a coarse Subsistence" in North Carolina. Time and the earnest development of such natural gifts as North Carolina could command removed some of the fatalism of Byrd's observation. But geography, like justice, is inexorable and blind, and as late as 1765 the French traveler so often quoted here found most of the North Carolina wealth consisting of land and "few if any rich people in the whole province." 93 By European standards of wealth, this was probably correct, though there were planters and merchants in every locality who were rich according to colonial ideas and well off in any man's eyes.

New Bern developed as a port from obscurity and insignificance. Up until about 1730 it was a part of the Port Bath District, the Neuse and Pamlico rivers being included in one customs collection. After that date it was added to the Port Beaufort District, the collection for which was fixed at Topsail Inlet.94 Thus, strictly speaking, New Bern was "Port Beaufort." Governor Burrington found much fault with this arrangement, though he did not succeed in changing it.95 The shipmasters, he pointed out, usually entered customs at Bath, sailed to Neuse River (if they traded there) to load and discharge, then returned to Bath to load and clear. In this way they passed through only one customs district. However, if they chose to continue trading with Neuse River under the new arrangement, they had to ride forty miles overland upon reaching New Bern to enter and clear inspection at Beaufort. 96 On the other hand, those masters trading entirely with Neuse River and not in the Pamlico could, under the old plan, ride but twenty-three miles overland from New Bern to receive their papers at Bath. In the early days, when vessels were extremely shallow in draft, most of them being between twenty and fifty tons burden, they could visit each plantation landing with ease, and there was scarcely any need for "ports," meaning towns, except as points for customs collections. Even Bay River, little more than a good-sized creek, had a trade which, according

^{93 &}quot;Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 738.
94 Colonial Records, IV, 169.
95 Colonial Records, IV, 170.

⁹⁶ The overland trip was of course much shorter than the trip by water.

to Brickell, was "not despisable." 97 With no necessity for shipping to be localized in towns, it is not surprising that New Bern was unheard-of at this time as a port. Indeed, as Burrington's complaint would indicate, the Neuse was considered subordinate in trade to the Pamlico. Brickell, too, hints at this when he says the latter river was superior to the Neuse in navigation.98

However, as the century wore on, New Bern outstripped Beaufort, Bay River, and even Bath as a port, and drew to itself the trade these places had formerly shared. All declined in importance as New Bern grew. In 1739 the assembly passed the first of a long series of acts designed to facilitate navigation between New Bern and Ocracoke Inlet by marking the channel and setting up a system of pilotage. 99 From this may be dated the rise of New Bern as a port town. In 1746, recognizing its growing importance, the assembly established a customs office in the town in addition to the one at Beaufort or Topsail Inlet, and in time the newer office seems to have supplanted the older one. 100 In 1752 commissioners to mark the channel with stakes and beacons were appointed for Port Beaufort, and all three were Craven County men-John Williams, Joseph Balch, and John Clitheral, members of the county court. 101 About this time, the name of New Bern begins to appear in the newspaper shipping columns of such a port as Charleston, so it is evident that the trade was becoming more extensive. 102 Meanwhile Bay River had dropped into complete obscurity. Bath had declined to the point where, in 1759, its trade had decreased so that the duty collected was insufficient to defray the port's share of maintenance cost for aids to navigation. 103 The steady decline of Bath is shown just prior to the Revolution by the greater political importance attached to the position of collector of Port Beaufort than to collector of Port Bath. 104 After the Revolution, Bath ceased to grow almost entirely. The town of Beaufort also lost, or rather failed to gain, in importance. As late as 1765 there were no more than a dozen houses in the town, and

⁹⁷ John Brickell, Natural History of North-Carolina, p. 6. 98 Brickell, Natural History of North-Carolina, p. 7. 99 Colonial Records, IV, 506.

Tolonial Records, IV, 506.
 The New Bern collector in 1746 was James Mackilwean. Colonial Records, VII, 499; State Records, XXIII, 270.
 Colonial Records, IV, 1348; State Records, XXIII, 375-378. Williams and Balch were justices at the time, Clitheral a few years later.
 When Wern 'begins to appear after 1750 in the files of the South Carolina Gazette.
 State Records, XXIII, 506-507.
 Colonial Records, VII, 535.

the scant trade consisted almost entirely of the export of naval stores. 105 The inhabitants were quite poor and were said to live "mostly on fish and oisters, which they have here in great plenty." Just before the Revolution, Governor Josiah Martin summed up the relationship between New Bern and its neighboring community:

It is true . . . the Town of Beaufort, is advantageously situate for commerce, but there are no persons of condition or substance in it, and the Trade that was formerly carried on through that Channel, is now derived almost entirely to this Town [New Bern], since it became the seat of Government, which has promoted its growth exceedingly, by inviting many considerable Merchants to settle in it. 106

As New Bern's trade swelled, it found itself one of the four chief ports of the province. Its rivals in commercial as in political matters were Wilmington, Brunswick, and Edenton, and the gentlemen of the day debated at the drop of a hat the relative merits of these places. Typical of their somewhat impressionistic observations is this dandy's letter, written soon after his arrival in Wilmington, to a well-known resident of Edenton:

I have not yet had time to take a minute Survey of this Town; But from what I Have yet seen, it has greatly the preference in my esteem to New Bern. I confess the Spot on which its Built is not so Level nor of so good a soil, But the Regularity of the Streets are Equal to those of Philadelp[hi]a. and the Buildings in General very Good. Many of Brick, two & three Stor[i]es High with double Piazas w[hi]ch. make a good appeara[nce]. But I Cannot yet find a Social Co[mpany]. who will Drink Claret & Smoke Tobacco till four in the morning. I Hope, However to make some proselytes soon. 10,7

In 1760 Dobbs pronounced Wilmington "the most opulent town in the Province." 108 However, New Bern seems to have ranked not far behind, for five years later the French traveler adjudged "Cape Fear, Newburn, etc.," the chief North Carolina ports, omitting to mention Edenton or Bath (certainly unjustly in Edenton's case). 109 Unfortunately, shipping and commercial rec-

^{105 &}quot;Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.

106 Colonial Records, IX, 636-637.

¹⁰⁷ Peter du Bois to Samuel Johnston, Jr., February 8, 1757; Hayes Collection transcripts, in the archives, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

108 Colonial Records, VI, 300-301.

109 "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 738.

ords of pre-Revolutionary North Carolina are extremely scarce, and such of those as exist make difficult any statistical comparison of the relative importance of these ports. During the period from about 1740 to 1755, the ship movement of Port Beaufort seems, on the basis of incomplete figures, to have averaged roughly eighty per cent of that at Port Brunswick (Wilmington and Brunswick) or Port Roanoke (Edenton). 110 However, in subsequent years it is evident from its increase in population and from contemporary testimonials as to its growth that New Bern considerably lessened this gap and probably even surpassed its rival towns. There was a great boom in shipping in the years just before the Revolution, and New Bern, then at an expansive stage, probably benefited to an unusual degree. For example, Port Beaufort's thirty vessels entered annually in 1739 and 1740, an average of eighty entered over the period 1748-1754, became in 1764 a total of 127 vessels entered—obviously a remarkable increase.111

But what of the men behind this trade, the merchants? The records concerning them, though meager, do nonetheless give us a glimpse into their lives. Their principal investment, of course, was shipping. The firm of Assheton & Batchelor, one of the most prosperous of its day, with a store prominently situated on Union Point, held part interests in two sloops and one schooner; owned three-quarters of the overseas trading ship Harmony Hall; and possessed in entirety another ship, a sloop, and a schooner. 112 But perhaps these extensive holdings were not entirely typical: Edward Batchelor, one of the most well-to-do New Bern merchants, was wealthy enough at his death to leave his wife and four children £1,500 each. The colonial merchant usually owned a storehouse or two and a wharf adjoining them. A lease of the period gives us an idea of this type of riverfront property. It stipulates that the lessee

... shall be oblig'd to Extend the Ground into the River after the manner of a wharf at least twenty foot more to the southward and thereon build a Stanch new fram'd Warehouse of sound and good Mate-

^{110 &}quot;An Abstract of the Shipping & Tonnage & number of negroes Enter'd in North Carolina at a medium of 7 years ending ye 1 Janry 1755," Colonial Records, V, 314. Port movement tables for the five ports, 1739-1740, British Museum, Additional MSS, vol. 33028, folio 400; transcripts in the archives of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. 111 "Imports and Exports at [Port] Beaufort 1764," The North Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, October 12-19, 1764.

112 Will of Edward Batchelor, 1777, reprinted in J. Bryan Grimes' North Carolina Wills and Inventories, 30-32. Batchelor died November 27, 1777, a "Gentleman of singular Hospitality and Benevolence of Heart." The North-Carolina Gazette, November 28, 1777.

rials Equal at least to twenty four by sixteen and eight feet high from Joist to Top of the Sleepers. 113

The smallness of this particular warehouse does not altogether give a true impression as to the amount of goods kept on hand. Frequently the merchants stocked the cellars of their own homes with their imports. The cellar of the well-to-do Samuel Cornell, for example, held at one time eighty hogsheads of rum, several pipes of wine, and two hundred hogsheads of molasses. 114 In addition to this property, most merchants, like Cornell, owned a "ready money store," which they would leave in charge of an assistant who sold goods for them at retail prices. The principal merchants were held in high esteem in the community. A few of them even were influential in the province at large—Cornell, for example, who served as a member of the governor's council from 1770 to 1775. 115 They were usually spoken of as men of considerable wealth, with hints as to the rapidity with which this wealth was acquired in so thriving a town. Cornell, even at forty years of age, possessed a "genteel and easy" estate. 116 And David Barron was referred to as "a gentleman, who, in the course of a few years, with great industry and assiduity, has acquired a handsome fortune." 117

Besides Batchelor, Barron, and Cornell, there was another prominent colonial merchant, about whose life in New Bern something can be told, thanks to the preservation of certain documents in English archives. This was John Edge Tomlinson, whose self-confessed habit of "keeping by me a Great Deal of Cash or what is called there [in North Carolina] Hard Money," earned him the nickname of "Hard Money" Tomlinson. 118 A native of England, Tomlinson came to America in 1749 and settled in New Bern about 1760.¹¹⁹ He lived, according to the affidavits of New Bernians, "in a Great House by the Waterside." His place of business was a store opposite the church, and here he carried on

¹¹³ Lease of [Rev.] Alexander and Elizabeth Stewart to Robert Williams, [merchant], of a house then occupied by Thomas Sitgreaves, January 25, 1769; Miscellaneous Papers, 1742-1836, Graven County, archives of the State Department of Archives and History.

114 Colonial Records, VIII, 73-74.

115 Colonial Records, VIII, 126; IX, 1229. His daughter Sukey wed a Mr. Leroy of New York and became the mother of Daniel Webster's second wife. Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 166.

116 Colonial Records, VIII, 167.

117 The North-Carolina Gazette, February 13 1778.

118 British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundle 124; transcripts of the file on Tomlinson being in the archives of the State Department of Archives and History. Tomlinson's nickname served to distinguish him from a planter near New Bern of that name.

119 British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Bundle 36; Class 13, Bundle 123.

a trade whose profits, he asserted with some corroboration, enabled him to live better than upon £500 per annum in England. ¹²⁰ Indeed, he said he allowed his wife and children that much yearly for living expenses. Tomlinson later stated that he owned at the time of the Revolution seven slaves and 6,700 acres of land in Onslow, Dobbs, and Craven counties; household furniture, plate, carriage and horses worth £800; livestock valued at £300; cash and debts amounting to £2,220; eighteen hogsheads of tobacco worth £3,000; a schooner valued at £1,175; and unsold merchandise on hand amounting to £3,000—in all, an estate valued by himself at more than £12,600. ¹²¹ Even considering the fact that this is Tomlinson's own estimate, his wealth obviously was enviable. There were doubtless other merchants who could boast of an income and trade of similar proportions. Certainly there were many others about whom we know little or nothing. ¹²²

These merchants dealt with other merchants in (1) New England, (2) the West Indies, and (3) the British Isles; as well as with (4) the settlers of the North Carolina interior, and (5) the planters and turpentine-gatherers of the neighboring coast. Of these five categories, the first two were the most important.

Like other parts of colonial North Carolina, New Bern developed a profitable triangular trade with the busy provinces of the north and the tropical islands of the Caribbean. So thriving was this trade that an inbound New England skipper records how he hailed another, outbound, on his way to the bar, only to find still a third taking on cargo at the town wharves. Shipowning merchants in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, New York, and other provinces made New Bern a regular port of call for their vessels, where they loaded hogshead or barrel staves and heading, shingles and boards; tar, turpentine, and pitch; and corn, hogs' lard, salt pork, or hams. 124 In return, they brought to the town slaves, salt, rum, sugar, and molasses from the West Indies; as well as their own products—cheese, for example—and

¹²⁰ British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 12, Volume 103, Folio 9; Class 13, Bundle 124.

Bundle 124.

121 British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundle 123.

122 Crittenden gives a partial list including Robert Williams, James and Bernard Parkison, Robert Evans, Richard Ellis, James Green, William Thompson, McLin & Burroughs, Thomas Pyott, Alexander McAuslan, and others. C. C. Crittenden, The Commerce of North Carolina, 1763-1789, p. 97.

^{1763-1789,} p. 97.

123 William English to A. and A. Lopez, March 16, 1770, Commerce of Rhode Island 1726-1800, I, 318.

124 Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 296, 393, 413-414.

some manufactured goods received in their own bottoms from Europe. 125 North Carolina having no merchant fleet of a size to challenge them, the northern merchants more or less dominated this trade. Many of the New Bern merchants themselves were northerners. Samuel Cornell, for example, was a New Yorker. 126 Occasionally a New Bern firm consisted of a partner living in the town and another in a northern city-notably the firm of Assheton & Batchelor, Thomas Assheton being a resident of Philadelphia.¹²⁷ The place names that appear in the advertisements of New Bern merchants-"Rhode Island" cheese, "Philadelphia" or "New York" rum or beer, and "Newtown" (Pennsylvania?) apples—testify to the products sold by northern merchants to the tidewater North Carolinians, and sold, one may be sure, at their own price. 128 One New Bern merchant, selling "London-made nails" and other articles manufactured abroad and obviously imported by way of the north, advertised that his goods were being offered "at very near New-York price." 129 This premium which went into the pockets of merchants elsewhere was the price New Bernians paid for not being able to satisfy completely, and directly from Europe, their demand for such necessary articles. 130

Nevertheless, there was an overseas trade directly from New Bern, though it was subordinate to the New England-West Indies business and seems to have been restricted to the ports of the United Kingdom entirely. In 1769 the Welsh merchant John Owens was advertising "a fresh assortment of Goods" just imported from London in the brig Peggy "at Robert Williams's ready money store."131 Williams and Samuel Cornell also imported goods from England, advertising on one occasion shipments from Bristol. 132 William Thompson offered Irish linens and other textiles "imported from Europe," but it is not certain

¹²⁵ Commerce of Rhode Island, I, 313, 318, 413-414. For example, the St. Andrew "from London, but last from Boston," had imported in 1759 a quantity of goods which a merchant was offering at Beaufort, The North-Carolina Gazette, October 18, 1759.
126 Colonia Records, VIII, 167.
127 Will of Edward Batchelor, J. Bryan Grimes, North Carolina Wills and Inventories, 30-32.
128 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764; January 4-11, 1765. The North-Carolina Gazette, February 24, 1775.
129 Advertisement of Hutcheson Crozier, The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764.

¹²⁹ Advertisement of Hutcheson Vision telligencer, December 21-28, 1764.

130 In 1736, Burrington was complaining that North Carolinians lost "the value of half their goods by trading with the people of Virginia and New England" because they were forced to "buy and sell at the second hand." Colonial Records, IV, 171-172.

131 The North-Carolina Gazette, November 10, 1769.

132 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, October 19-26, 1764.

that he brought these over in his own vessel. 133 Considering the size of the vessels, they made good time over the rough Atlantic. A voyage from Bristol required about seven weeks, one from London about eight. 134 And in the holds of these little merchantmen were stowed an amazing variorum of wares. Cornell's schooner Sally & Betsey, for example, brought in:—textiles; felt, castor, and beaver hats; buttons, thread, needles, pins; writing paper; pewter ware, knives, locks, axes; carpenter's, shoemaker's, and cooper's tools; bridles and other sadlery; gunpowder, lead, and shot; kitchen utensils, spices; ivory combs; jugs and glassware; cordage and sailmaker's twine; razors; slates and pencils; spelling books, primers, psalters, Bibles; and Gloucester cheese and bottled beer. 135 All sorts of metal objects—snuffboxes, buckles, spurs, and brass warming pans—were offered for sale by the colonial merchant at his bazaar-like store, and these, whether or not they were specified as such, were most always imported articles, made in England. 136 The assortment of stock was curiously varied, ranging from patent medicines to "onions by the bunch." One merchant, in 1764, offered this odd mixture for sale:—one hundred-and-six-gallon still with pewter worm; two barrels of tallow; some barrels of soft soap; Madeira wine; "and a plate handle Sword, with a belt." 137 The manifest of Edward Batchelor's ship Harmony Hall, long in the overseas trade, would read like a roll call of useful household and shipboard articles. Included in one cargo were:—superfine flour, ship bread, white biscuit in kegs, loaf and muscovado sugar, cordials, cheese, butter in kegs, silver watches, silk handkerchiefs, men's silk hose, cravats, women's silk mitts, leather gloves, and "a few sets" of Leland's History of Ireland. 138 It also brought in bar iron, a most essential import to a place where metal was not naturally available to shoe beasts of burden and repair agricultural implements.

Finally, there was the trade with the interior and with the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside. Much of this trade

¹³³ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764.
134 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, October 19-26, 1764; The North-Carolina Gazette, July 14, 1775.
135 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, October 19-26, 1764.
136 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764. (Advertisement of Hutcheson Crozier.)

¹³⁷ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764. (Advertisement of Bernard Parkison.)
138 The North-Carolina Gazette, February 24, 1775.

was diverted by the backwoods' settlers' practice of shipping their products to the Virginia river cities or to Charleston, "where they get a better price than here [New Bern] or in any other porte in the province." 139 Nevertheless, a traveler crossing the Neuse by ferry might see at one time several flatboats coming downstream laden with pitch, tar, corn, shingles, or other products. Neither the Neuse nor the Trent was navigable above the town for anything of much greater draft than these flatboats or piraguas—much to New Bern's advantage, said the French traveler, "as all the trade is thereby Caryed on in the place."140 Wagon trains, too, brought down products from the interior. The industrious Moravians, for example, loaded up their carts with quantities of butter and such articles of their own making as leather breeches, and sent them rolling toward New Bern and other port towns. Sometimes they started for Cross Creek (later Fayetteville), but went on to New Bern in hopes of a better price; or, again, they might start for New Bern but, hearing business there was dull, proceed on to Wilmington to sell their wares. 141 In return for their products, the Moravians received goods for their stores and salt for curing meat and making butter. 142 In addition to butter and other home-made articles, the Moravians probably brought down some of the commodities which New Bern merchants, in their advertisements, were offering to buy. These products included salt pork or hams, corn, deer-or fur skins, beeswax, myrtle wax, and snakeroot. 143 Naval stores, however, were the chief commodities purchased by merchants, and quantities of these were bought from the tar-burners and turpentinegatherers of Craven, Carteret, Beaufort, and other near-by counties. Other commodities exported through New Bern and probably bought in by the merchants included beef, livestock, flour, tallow, tanned leather, rice, and (just before the Revolution) a little indigo. 144 Barter was quite the usual thing, and commodi-

^{139 &}quot;Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 735.

140 "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 735.

141 Adelaide L. Fries, editor, Records of the Moravians in North Carolina (Raleign, 1925), II, 820; IV, 1579. Later they sent down tobacco to New Bern.

142 Adelaide L. Fries, editor, Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, III, 1075, 1080, 1090.

^{1988.} The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764. The merchant Robert Evans advertised in this issue offering to purchase such commodities "at the Heighth of the Market."
144 "Imports and Exports at [Port] Beaufort 1764," The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, October 12-19, 1764. Colonial Records, IX, 281.

ties were almost coin of the realm. So acceptable were they that even such a valuable and costly item as freshly imported African slaves were offered to the planters "for Cash or Country Produce." 145

New Bern's waterfront must have presented a picturesque appearance at this period. The principal commercial street was Craven, at the foot of which the first county wharf was completed in 1775.146 Here and at other wharves along the Trent. vessels drawing as much as nine feet could dock, while those up to 200 tons burdens could approach the town and lie at anchor in the channel. 147 About Craven Street clustered many of the merchants' stores, where one could buy anything from a pound of tea to a passage to Barbados. So busy was this busy little port that sometimes there was no store vacant in which an incoming shipmaster might dispose of his cargo. One skipper, with a load of salt on his hands, wrote that he and his crew had searched for a place of business without success, "so," he says, "we was ableag'd to make a Store of the Sloop."148 Into this sea-going emporium filed the planters of Craven to buy of this much-needed commodity. On this street, too, were in all probability many of the tradesmen's shops. A variety of craftsmen and artisans were in New Bern at this time, judging from the apprenticeships that were legalized by the county court. In addition to the ordinary trades of cordwainer, cooper, and house carpenter, there is mention in the court minutes of a tailor, weaver, skinner and glover, sadler, tanner and currier, and turner. 149 In the decade prior to the Revolution, there is mention of a cabinet-maker, baker, hatter, barber, and perukier. The coming to New Bern of such skilled tradesmen testifies to the broadening of everyday comforts and conveniences and to the development of these crafts from a domestic to a professional status. "White-collar" ap-

¹⁴⁵ The North-Carolina Gazette, February 24, 1775. There were few large slave-holders in Craven. In 1769, out of 1,238 white taxables, only fifteen owned as many as fifteen slaves. Those owning as many as two dozen could be counted on the fingers of one hand. One Jacob Mitchell was the largest slave-holder, with fifty-nine blacks. "List of taxables for 1769," Miscellaneous Papers, 1742-1836, Craven County, in archives of the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

146 Craven Court Minutes, June, 1775. "New county wharf" in 1826 was at the foot of Middle Street. Craven Court Minutes, August, 1826.

147 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII (1922), 19. "Journal of A French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVII (July, 1921), 735.

148 Waters Hannars to Aaron Lopez, March 6, 1770, Commerce of Rhode Island 1726-1800, p. 313.

¹⁴⁹ Prior to the Revolution, there is only one mention of the bricklayer's trade!

prenticeships, too, begin to be evident about this time. In 1774 Samuel Cornell undertook to train a lad in the "art of a Merchant," and a year later Christopher Neale was to teach a youngster "the Duty of a Clerk." 150 About the business section clung the smell of oakum and the flavor of seafaring life, and in the streets walked the brown men with tarry pigtails who, judging from this quaint newspaper item, all too often met watery deaths, mostly at sea but sometimes even in port:

NEWBERN, August 24.

A few Days since, as two Sailors were going on Shore with their Boat, being very much in Liquor, one of them fell overboard; and the other not being able to help him, he was drowned, and went out of the World drunk.——A Warning to such Wretches who live as if they were to perish with the Brutes! 151

A word remains to be said about the early industries of Craven The most important were lumber and naval stores. The exports of naval stores alone in 1764 were worth far in excess of £20,000.152 The French traveler wrote that "great quantitys of tarr and pitch [were] raised in this part of the Country; indeed more than in any other part of America." 153 By "this part of the country" did he mean the section around New Bern or the province as a whole? Whatever his intent, the statement indicates the importance of naval stores. As for the lumber industry, sawmills were not unknown even in the earliest days. Burrington remarked that a number of these had been erected, by 1733, "in the South Parts" of the province, referring chiefly to Cape Fear. 154 Two years later Colonel William Wilson was building a sawmill on a branch of Brice's Creek. 155 these mills dotted the countryside. Wherever, says the French traveler, there was a stream that could be dammed up to as much as a five-foot depth, there was usually a little mill, busily cutting the timberlands into boards, scantling, heading, staves, shingles, and other products of the forests. 156 The water wheel was

¹⁵⁰ Craven Court Minutes, September, 1774; March, 1775.
151 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, August 24-31, 1764.
152 "Imports and Exports at [Port] Beaufort 1764" and "Prices Current in Newbern," The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, October 12-19, 1764.
153 "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 733.
154 Colonial Records, III, 432.
155 Colonial Records, IV, 61.
156 "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 735.

usually undershot, and quite small, being only about three and a half feet in diameter. More often than not there was a "tub mill" near by for grinding corn; indeed the combination of grist mill and sawmill was almost the rule, since the planters depended so much on this grain, rather than on wheat, for food. Millwrights were greatly in demand, but apprenticeships in this trade are all too rare in the minutes of the county court. James Davis, who owned a sawmill on Slocumb's Creek, advertised for someone who could tend it and also for a millwright who would undertake the building of another one and "making a tumbling Dam over a very rapid Stream."157 There were a number of these mills on the upper Trent, as if in continuance of the tradition of the Palatine-born colonists, who erected some of the county's earliest water-powered machinery in their enterprising urge to make the most of the new world's resources. 158

There were other industries but they were of minor importance. Shad, drum, and such fish were caught in the rivers and sounds, but since so little apparently was exported, most of this fishing industry must have been devoted to the home market. 159 There was also a small amount of weaving done, but this, too, was mostly a "home" industry. 160 Shipbuilding was not unknown on the Neuse and Pamlico and perhaps at Beaufort, but it did not become important until during and after the Revolution. 161 Most of the ship carpentry seems to have gone into the overhaul and repair of vessels, for the cost in labor and materials was unusually high. 162 Efforts made to promote or subsidize industry were not successful. In 1769 a bill was introduced in the assembly to encourage Maryland investors in constructing an "Iron Manufactory" on the Trent thirty miles above the town. Though it was passed by the lower house, the legislation died in the council, and before the year was out the project was aban-

¹⁵⁷ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, July 20-27, 1764. A branch of Slocumb's Creek is referred to as Mill Creek as early as 1716. Land Grant Records, II, 343.

158 See Part Two, "The Founding of New Bern," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (April, 1945), 171. In 1738, Johan Martin Franck and John Jacob Scheibe were preparing to erect mills on the upper Trent. Craven Court Minutes, June, 1738. Compare Colonial Records, VIII, 10.

159 "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 735.

160 The trade of a weaver is mentioned in the court minutes, but it is rare. Compare Colonial Records, VII, 429-430.

161 "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 736.

162 Sailcloth was especially costly. Commerce of Rhode Island 1726-1800, I, 401.

doned. 163 A few years later, "a manufactory of pot and pearl ashes" was being established in New Bern under the direction of a New York man, but this, too, soon faded out, though it had the benefit, as the Maryland promoters had not, of some encouragement from the assembly. 164 However, New Bern could claim a goodly share of such industry as had been established in the There were two tanyards, owned by Dr. Thomas Haslen and Colonel Joseph Leech, and a rum distillery, owned by Samuel Cornell, in the town at a time when there were not more than five or six of the former and perhaps two of the latter in the whole province. 165 There were about half a dozen hatters in North Carolina, and at least one was manufacturing his wares in New Bern. 166 There was also a brickyard, though it probably operated only intermittently. 167 This was at Lawson's Creek just off what is now New South Front Street. As late as 1854, the brickyard, which is now quite "forgotten," was a landmark of the area. A deed of that year refers to certain lots on Norwood and Crooked streets as being "near [the] old Brickyard." 168 A rather deep depression may be seen today where New South Front Street joins Pembroke Road, and this undoubtedly was the place where brick-clay was mined for such early structures as Christ Church.

Along with commercial prosperity, New Bern again acquired political preëminence. The majority of assemblymen grew impatient with meeting in so out of the way a town as Wilmington, and early in 1761 protested to the governor that the sessions should be held in a more central part of the province. 169 Dobbs, in reply, pointed to the resolution of 1756 condemning New Bern as unhealthy and unfit to be the capital. 170 A year later the assembly repeated its protest and prepared an address to the crown, which was read out by Alexander Elmsley, member from New Bern, asking that his town be fixed as the seat of government and that the act of 1758 be repealed, since Tower Hill had

¹⁶³ Colonial Records, VIII, 10, 154, 496.
164 Colonial Records, IX, 270, 443; State Records, XXIII, 923-924.
165 Colonial Records, VII, 429-430; VIII, 74-75.
166 The first apprenticeship to a hatter occurs in 1772 in the court minutes.
167 This brickyard is shown on the "Plan of the Town of Newbern / in Craven County / North Carolina / . . . Survey'd and Drawn in May 1769 by C, J, Sauthier." British Museum, King's Maps, CXXII-60. Photocopy in Library of Congress.
168 Craven County Deeds, LXII, 107-108.
169 Colonial Records, VI, 666-667.
170 Colonial Records, VI, 669.

proved so difficult of access and no inhabitants had settled The governor and Cape Fear members of the council turned a deaf ear to all these remonstrances, and refused to join in the assembly's petition. In December, 1762, another effort was made to obtain agreement between the two houses on the question of a capital, and this met with success, though by a narrow margin. A similar petition was approved by the assembly—and carried in council by a four-three vote, the presiding officer casting the deciding ballot. 172 Even then the Cape Fear councilmen did not cease their fight, but drafted a lengthy dissent calling special attention to the narrow margin in the upper house and hinting that the petition was approved in the lower house "we suppose . . . but by a small Majority." 173 Meanwhile, the Tower Hill proposal had become involved in a procedural technicality involving the king's prerogative and the potentially scandalous fact that Dobbs was the owner of the land which the assembly was to have bought. 174 At any rate, the idea died a natural death. Dobbs was compensated for his purchase, and the assembly majority turned their full effort toward making New Bern the capital. But to the bitter end the governor opposed this, "having been thrice at death's door," he wrote, "from its low stagnated situation & bad water."175

The rivalry of New Bern and Wilmington reached a remarkable intensity at this period. The trade of the former was threatening the position of "the most opulent town in the Province" to such an extent that, a few years later, Josiah Quincy, Jr., noted in his travel diary:

It is made a question which carries on the most trade, whether Edenton, New Bern, Wilmington, or Brunswick. It seems to be one of the two first. 176

Furthermore, New Bern had behind its claims to being the "first town" of North Carolina a quarter-century of being the capital de facto if not de jure. Between 1737, when the assembly first broke its habit of meeting at Edenton, and 1765, when Dobbs's administration was terminated by his death, there were

¹⁷¹ Colonial Records, VI, 832, 834-835.
172 Colonial Records, VI, 859-860.
173 Colonial Records, VI, 878-879, 968.
174 Colonial Records, VI, xxiii-xxv (prefatory notes).
175 Colonial Records, VI, 967.
176 Colonial Records, IX, 612.

forty-six sessions of the assembly, and of these twenty-nine were held in New Bern as against only ten in Wilmington, four in Edenton, and three in Bath. Nevertheless, Wilmington was a powerful and alert rival. In October, 1764, arrived at Brunswick one William Tryon, a young officer who had been appointed lieutenant governor to allow the feeble Dobbs to return to England.¹⁷⁷ Even before he set foot on Carolina soil, the citizens of Wilmington began to bid for his residence—and just as swiftly did the New Bernians act to outbid them, as this fiery little leader in James Davis's newspaper testifies:

The good People of Wilmington, ever intent on the Good of the Province, and always foremost in every Scheme for its Welfare and internal Quietude . . . [have] engaged a large House in Wilmington for the Reception and Accommodation of the Governor on his Arrival in the Province, upon a Certainty that he will settle among them there. But the People of Newbern, having, for their Disobedience, drank largely of the Cup of Affliction, and intirely depending on the Goodness of their Cause, have engaged a large Genteel House in Newbern, for the Governor's Residence; upon a Supposition he will settle rather in the Centre of the Province, than at Cape-Fear, a place within Fifty Miles of the South Boundary of a Province almost 300 Miles wide, and the Passage to it gloomy and dismal, through hot parching Sands, enliven'd now and then with a few Wire-Grass Ridges, and Ponds of stagnant Water: and where, on your arrival, not as Dr Watts 178 says:

> Sweet fields, beyond the swelling Flood, Stand drest in living Green; So to the Jews old Canaan stood, While Jordan roll'd between.

But as the Passage, so the Entrance, dismal;——a Turkey 15 s. a Fowl 2s. 8d. a Goose 10s. Butter 2s. 8d. and so pro Rata for every Thing else. -Terrible Horribility! 179

Tryon's friends lost no time in letting it be known that in accordance with the assembly's wishes, he intended to use his influence to establish the capital at New Bern. Then indeed did the zealous Davis exult:

Mourn, Mourn ye Wilmingtonians, and put on Sack cloth and Ashes, for the Measure of thy Good Things is full, and the evil Day is coming

 ¹⁷⁷ Colonial Records, VI, 1045, 1049.
 178 Isaac Watts (1674-1748) was, with Charles Wesley, foremost among the hymn-writers of 179 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, August 10-17, 1764.

upon thee! Mr. TRYAN, if we have Skill in Augury, is coming to live in PEACE among us, and deliver us from unlevened Bread; which nothing but his RESIDENCE on the GRASSY PLAINS can restore and accomplish. 180

Thus did the new Canaan of the "grassy plains" await in high hopes the coming of its benefactor-to-be. Once arrived, Tryon made no secret of his plans, judging from Lord Adam Gordon's comment in his journal about New Bern, which he wrote after he had visited and talked with the new lieutenant governor. Between these plans and their fulfillment stood only the ancient Governor Dobbs, and death soon was to remove him from the trials of a fever-ridden tidewater climate.

¹⁸⁰ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, September 28-October 5, 1764.
181 See the quotation at the beginning of this part. Newton D. Mereness, editor, Travels in the American Colonies (New York, 1916) contains Gordon's journal of 1764-1765, p. 401.
Colonial Records, VI, 1320. Compare also the "Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1921), 738.

LIFE OF ALFRED MORDECAI IN MEXICO IN 1865-1866 AS TOLD IN HIS LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

PART IV

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Chief Engineer's Office. Miss Laura Mordecai

Mexico, Febry 27th 1866.

Mo. 18.

My dear daughter

Your mother must allow me to address this No to you, to thank you for your nice letter which accompanied hers by the last steamer, & for the kind evidences of affection which it contains- I am very glad to hear that your school labors are more remunerative this year; but I hope very much that you will be able to discontinue them another year-To enable you & yr sisters to do so & to have some enjoyment, at least of ease, in your young lives is the greatest inducement for me to retain my present employment, & I trust that nothing may occur to interrupt it- I am pleased to hear that Gussie & Gratz are doing well at their schools, but I should like to have some particulars as to what they are studying, &c-Tell Gratz not to be too easily discouraged about Drawing: None of my father's family had any talent for it, but by dint of painstaking I managed to acquit myself pretty well at the Mily, acady, especially in instrumental drawing, which altho' not the most agreeable branch, is perhaps the most useful in common life- I hope however that Gratz does not neglect French, as it would be a pity for him to lose what he has acquired in it- Augustus will be interested in the map of our Railway which I send by this steamer, to be posted in N.York, together with a photograph of the Metlac bridge (Puente Maximiliano) that is to be. Let Mr Levis show them to Mr Leuffer- I hoped to have a large drawing of the bridge for Mr L. but have been unable to obtain it yet- The photograph was made from a painting which Mr Lloyd had made here, & I suppose all but the iron work is from fancy, at least as regards the details of the view- The monogram on the back is that of the amateur photographer, Pepe being the abbreviation of Joseph: Joesphine would be called Pepita here. I sent a copy of one of the groups you have to Sister E., & Rutson Maury was attracted by Miss Maury's photograph, taking it for the Empress because he had been told that the Empress was like his niece Sarah; I do not see the resemblance between Miss Mary & Sarah Maury, any more than that to Mrs Riggs- Miss M. has a very good face, but she is dark, as they nearly all are- I hope you

will have an opportunity of seeing her & Miss Fanny, as they leave here on the 2nd March, to take the steamer for N.Y. & expect to stop in Phil^a on their way to Wash Mrs T. left here a week ago, in a wagon, with the Col. & Charles, going on the line of railway. I had a telegram from the Col. this morning, from San Andres Chalchicomula, which you will find on your map of the road- The ladies will be accompanied to N.Y. by some gentlemen that came out lately on invitation of the Emperor, I believe. The Austrian Consul in N. Y. & Mr Hurlbut97 one of the editors of the N.Y. "World": a man that knows every body ever where-He was kept in prison in Richd a long time, at the beginning of the war, on suspicion of being a spy- He is going to write his impressions & observations during his very brief stay here, & you had better look out for them; they will not be in the World probably, but in a little book. His remarks will perhaps be unfavorable, altho' he has been much fêted here by some of the principal people- He befriended Col. T. in N.Y. & I have met him out there. Mrs McLain [sic] gave him a pic-nic (with her husband & two others only) under the Montezuma Cypresses at Chapultepec, last Sunday, which he said was the pleasantest day he had spent in Mexico; They came over afterwards to Tacubaya, where I had gone, as usual; to breakfast for the last time with the travelers. The sun is getting pretty hot now, but the nights & the shade are cool and pleasant, & the trees & flowers are coming forward rapidly; this is the real summer season now approaching. Mr Oropesa sent me the nice mats which Mrs Stevens left at V. C.- one of them is under my candlestick on my night table by the bedside, & the others on the washstand, where they are quite an improvement to my room.

March 2nd — I went yesterday afternoon to Tacubaya to take leave of the young ladies, & I staid there until this morning to take care of the house & the children whilst all the family came to town to dine & stay as late as possible with the travelers who went off at 3 o'clk this morning, with M^r Hurlbut & two Austrian soldiers as escort— With them & their mother many of the charms of the Casa Amarilla have departed, & the two married ladies will have a lonesome time of it, with only one

⁹⁷ William Henry Hurlbut was born in Charleston, South Carolina, on July 3, 1827, and died in Italy on September 4, 1895. He graduated at Harvard University and at its Divinity School; studied abroad; preached for a few years in the Unitarian Church; entered Harvard Law School; in 1855 became a writer for Putnam's Magazine and the Albion; joined the staff of the New York Times in 1857; and while visiting the South in 1861 was arrested by a vigilance committee in Atlanta, Georgia, and was imprisoned for a time. He was then released, but was refused a passport except on conditions with which he would not comply. He escaped in August, 1862, through the Confederate lines and eventually reached Washington; became connected with the New York World in 1862; purchased the Commercial Advertizer in 1864, intending to publish it as a free-trade paper; but he and his associates failed to agree so in 1867 the paper was sold to Thurlow Weed. Hurlbut went to Mexico in 1866; was invited to the capital by Maximilian, where he spent some time; represented the New York World at the World's Fair in Paris in 1867, and the Centinary Festival at St. Peter's at Rome; was taken to Santo Domingo with the United States commission in 1871; and then published the most complete history of the island in any language. He was editor in chief of the World from 1876 to 1883. He went to Europe in 1883, where he continued to reside most of the time, writing for British and American magazines and publishing books. Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, III, 328.

husband & he in town most of the day—There is nothing new or interesting to fill my sheet with; so I will bid you good bye here with my love & blessing for you & your dear sisters & brothers—

Yr affte father A M-

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico, Feby 14th 1866. Ash Wednesday,

Chief Engineer's office. No.

My dear Sister

I am not very bright to-day, for I was at a masked ball at the opera until nearly 3 o'clk this morning, winding up the carnival; but as it is a leisure day & near mail day for the steamer, I shall devote part of it to you- It is only about three days past that the festivities of the carnival have excited much attention; chiefly on Sunday & yesterday, when the whole population crowded the principal streets, & the Paseo (public drive) was thronged with equipages, & the Toras (Bull fights) in full blast- I went with a party of gentlemen to one of the better, to gratify the curiosity of a lady; but it was rather a dull affair- still the lady was amused to see the manner of the thing & the large crowd which filled the amphitheatre- Our street was a sort of centre of display in the evening, on account of the theatres near us- The one opposite to our house was brilliantly illuminated with colored lamps & chinesse [sic] lanterns & the latter were suspended in rows on cords across the street- The illumination was further aided by the little blazing fires kept up by the numerous venders of fruits & drinks along the curb stones- A party of us, with our lady, took a box at the other theatre, the opera, to see the humors of the market ball- The pit & stage floored over furnished a large ball room, with the orchestra at the end of the stage, & the usual grotesque exhibitions of fancy dresses, masks & dominoes were displayed, but with no great spirit; there were many more gentlemen in plain dress than in costume among the dancers- One of the gentlemen who spent part of the evening in our box was Mr Hurlbut whom you had in prison in Richd about 6 months, at the beginning of the War-He is now one of the editors of the "World" of N. Y. & has come out here with the Austrian Consul for N.Y. who was sent for, I believe, by the Emperor; I don't know what for- He is amusing because he knows ever body, every where, & talks well. I showed Maury the newspaper scrip you sent me about Maximilian & he says it is true what is said about schools, &c- I have no doubt that he is doing all that can be done by means of decrees &c; but I have great doubts about his measures being carried out by his ministers & Maury is more hopeful about emigration, especially from U.S. in consequence of the condition of

things in the south, present & prosepctive— He was to go on a visit to his family in England, but could not get off by the French steamer which sailed yesterday; he will go by the English of the 1st of March-One cause of his detention was to be enabled to answer a letter from Dr Hawkes, 98 enquiring how a Missionary Bishop or Episcopal Minister would be received here-Maury saw the Empr. & was able, I believe, to give the Dr a satisfactory reply to most of his questions; how the support of such a minister could be provided for I do not know- Mrs Talcott & her two unmarried daughters will go to England by way of N.Y. in the steamer of 8th March; not having been able to get off either by the French steamer- I shall send by them a sketch⁹⁹ of our road which will show you the position of Orizava & other places; I cannot imagine what kind of map of Mexico you can have that does not show the position of that important town, & the snow capped mountains of the same name near it- Chas. Talcott is not strong yet, but he is going next week down the road with his father. I wish very much that Edmund had come out; he could be of real service to the Col.; but he had better not bring his baby. Mrs Charles had a curious fright a few nights ago- Her wet nurse went out with the baby about 5 oclk in the afternoon & never made her appearance again- With the assitance of the police the baby was found early next morning in the hands of the nurse's sister- The nurse had perhaps got tipsy or was seduced away by some man, or both- Mrs Chas. has taken another Mex. woman over whom she will keep a better watch, no doubt- Imagine the night she passed.

Since the beginning of this month I have been taking my meals with the McLains [sic] & Mr Blake, 100 so we have a nice little mess, we live plainly & economically & I hope it will not cost me more than at my restaurant; but cannot be sure, as it is difficult for a lady with a very imperfect knowledge of the language & the people to manage the housekeeping Dept: as a general rule it is considered that the Mexicans are thieves & liars, & the system here gives such characters great facilities for the exercise of their propensities- There is no such thing as "keeping fresh beef, milk & butter" at all-butter there is none, or so little &

⁹⁸ He refers to Doctor Francis Lister Hawks or his brother Cicero Stephens Hawks. They were both born in New Bern, North Carolina, the former on June 10, 1798, the latter on May 26, 1812. They both graduated from the University of North Carolina, studied law but left it for the ministry. The former practiced law with noted success, served in the legislature, and was North Carolina Supreme Court Clerk. He held various positions in the church such as rector in many places like Philadelphia, Connecticut, New York, and New Orleans; was historiographer for the church and conservator of its documents; declined to become bishop in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida, in Mississippi, and in Rhode Island; was the first president of the University of Louisiana; received the degrees of Doctor of Divinity and Doctor of Laws from the University of North Carolina. His brother also held many rectorships; was bishop in Missouri; and was a noted civic worker. They were both outstanding preachers and writers. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, III, 121-122.

⁹⁹ The sketch or chart was a blank map with the railroad marked on it in red ink, and many of the distances and elevations given as well as other notes written in ink.

¹⁰⁰ William Phipps Blake (June 21, 1825-May 22, 1910) was an outstanding geologist and mining engineer. After receiving an excellent education he built up a reputation as a mining engineer and lecturer; was a mining engineer in Japan from 1861 to 1863; explored Alaska; was mineralogist of California; was professor of mineralogy and geology in California College;

was mineralogist of California; was professor of mineralogy and geology in California College; became commissioner for California to the Paris Exposition in 1867; and in 1871 was chairman of the scientific corps of the United States to Santo Domingo. He also held many other offices of profit and trust. Dictionary of American Biography, II, 345-346.

so dear that very few persons use it; nor is it required, for breakfast & dinner are very much alike, meat, vegetables, fruit & coffee- & lard is used for cooking & used with great skill, so as not to be offensive- Meat & vegetables are procured in the market or at shops which abound all over the city, as do bakers shops which furnish all the bread; hot bread or cakes being almost unknown. The common people eat chiefly Tortillas, thin cakes made of corn soaked in lime water & mashed on a stone in a peculiar way, just as their ancestors did before the conquest-I used to think in travelling that they were pretty good- especially when I could get no other bread- The way Mrs McL., (& housekeepers generally,) manages is to give the cook in the evening as much money as she wishes to spend for meals the next day & tell her what to get, including charcoal to cook with- usually a clean sweep is made every day, or any little left over & not required for the servt is put away in a closet- nothing need be kept in the house except coffee, sugar &c, which are usually purchased in small quantities- Our coffee is made on the table with a peculiar french coffee pot & a spirit lamp- tea could be made in the same way, but we never have it. We have but one servant, who is a very good cook & always delighted to be permitted to exercise her talent- she has \$7 a month & 12½ cts a day (rations) for her breakfast, getting her dinner from our table- she has the native talent for making dulces (every day) (preserves) & makes excellent chocolate, when required- Milk is bought every morning "al pié de la vaca" "at the cow's foot:" that is to say, the cows are brought in to some open square & the customer sees the milk drawn- at other times it can be bought from shops. Eggs, a great resource here, are always to be had fresh at 2 cents a piece- We had a nice little supper last night, about 10½, before going to the ball- Wild ducks, chicken salad made with lettuce, which is always in season, fruit & punch- The ducks cost $12\frac{1}{2}$ to $37\frac{1}{2}$ cts a piece according to size; they are abundant in the Lakes at this season; beef 18 cts a pound-white sugar 12½ to 15 cts-

I cannot tell you what a business man could do here—There are Confederates very anxious to do something, but it is difficult without capital—Many of them are on the Railroad either as Enger^s or contractors—One who has no employment yet is young Meire late of the Marine corps, who married a daughter of Admiral Buchanan—101 She is not

¹⁰¹ Franklin Buchanan was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on September 17, 1800; was appointed to the Navy in 1815; became a lieutenant in January, 1825 and master commander in 1841; organized the Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1845; served as the first superintendent until 1847; helped capture Vera Cruz in the Mexican War; was with Perry on his trip to Japan in 1853; became captain in 1855; and was made commander of the Washington Navy Yards in 1859. Thinking that Maryland was about to secede, he resigned on April 22, 1861, but when he found that Maryland would remain in the Union he withdrew his letter, but Welles would not restore him. On account of this he enlisted in the Confederate States Navy in September, 1861. He superintended the construction of the equipment for the Merrimae, and was commander when she destroyed so many boats in Hampton Roads, but he was wounded so he could not command in the engagement with the Monitor. For this he was thanked by the Confederate Congress, and was made an admiral and senior officer of the Navy. In 1863 he was assigned to the defense of Mobile by water, where he built and equipped the ironclad Tennessee and commanded it in the battle of August 5, 1864; he was made a prisoner, but was exchanged in February, 1865; served as president of Maryland Agricultural College for years after the close of the war; and then served as agent for a life insurance company, before he died in Maryland, on May 11, 1874. National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, IV, 38.

here—he is a son of Gustavus's (& my) former teacher in German—A book store has been lately opened here, with an agency for English & American books, by a Mr Barksdale, a Yankee I believe—I am told he is doing well, but I never go into his shop—There would certainly however be no room for another of the same kind—

The "farming utensils used in cultivating the land" are generally of the crudest kind; a crooked branch of a tree is the most usual plough; a crow bar is often used for digging & if the earth is to be carried away it is scraped up with the hands & put into a sort of basket made of the fibre of the maguay. You may see it carried through the streets in such baskets, of larger size, hung on both sides of a donkey- flag stones are strapped on donkeys, one on each side- &c- The English contractors on the railway are introducing wheel borrows, carts & shovels, but a great deal of the work in easy ground is done as I have described.

The Emperor & Empress are at Cuernabaea, in the "tierra caliente." south of this city about 60 miles, & a small party of us took advantage of their absence, the other Sunday, to visit Chapultepec, & we were charmed with the beauty of the situation & the lovely view over the valley- much has been done to improve the roads & grounds, but a great deal yet remains to carry out the Empr's plans to make the buildings & grounds take an Imperial character, which they are very capable of- his great passion is for this kind of work- The day was lovely as all days are here; spring seems to have fairly set in, & tho' we have had no rain since the middle of October, the trees are putting out green leaves, which they have been deprived of about 6 weeks, & the hot weather will soon begin; the time from this to the beginning of the rainly season, about June, being the hottest of the year- The roads are, as you may imagine, thick with dust, which gets into the houses, altho' there is seldom any wind- March is windy, I am told, & must be exceedingly disagreeable- I always said I should regret the rainly season; but all are delightful.

I note what you say about every body & read it with interest, tho' I have not room to say much about them—I wrote Mrs Butler, intending to send by Maury, but as he did not go I sent my letter otherwise—Give my love always to my cousins & to Rose & her family; & to my brothers & Emma & all, when you write.

Feby 15th — closed for the mail.

Ever Your affte brother A. M.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. Chief Engineer's Office.

Mexico, March 15th 1866.

No. 19. My dear Wife

I am delighted to see the improved tone of the supplementary sheet of your last letter & to know that your pleasure was caused by my ex-

pressions- Though I cannot now remember what these were I know that I think constantly of you & our dear children, & lament our separation & desire earnestly that it should be terminated; but without being able exactly to see how- I shall look anxiously for your answer to my suggestions on the subject, & until I receive it I will say nothing more about the matter- Magruder returned a few days ago from V. Cruz, bringing his family just arrived from England- They had an uncomfortable & tedious journey up. & Mrs M. has not been well since her arrival: I have consequently only seen the son & daughter who make a favorable impression, especially the daughter, quite & lady like tho' not at all handsome- They have a roomy & comfortable house, just near our office; but I imagine they are not the sort of people to enjoy the novelties of Mexico much, I do not predict a long stay for them- Magruder stopped some time at Cordova, where the U.S. colony is established, & he speaks favorably about them; but we understand that measures have not been taken for providing lands for a considerable number of emigrants lately arrived & I fear the authorities here do not appreciate the importance of making a good beginning in this respect, or else are not sincerely disposed to do so. The effect of the reports which may be made by these new comers on this subject & on the too frequent acts of violence which occur even on the main road to the coast, may be to check the spirit of emigration to this country which late reports, even from my friend Rutson, represent to be very rife in the Southern States- You will have seen perhaps in your papers an account of one of the most flagrant acts of violence which occured recently- a party of Belgian officials who had come out to bring a message of condolence to the Empress, were attacked on the morning of the very day they left the palace on their return & one of them, Baron D'Huart was killed-This morning's paper announces the arrest of some of the robbers, but punishment seems scarcely to deter others- I shall send you the paper on account of the publication, made by the Emperor's authority, to explain the Iturbide business. Yesterdays paper's contained an account of the Montholon's 102 grand ball, translated from the Nat. Intelligencer, 103 which Laura spoke of in her letter- Thank her & Rosa for the letter which, however, I shall not answer this time otherwise than in this to you- Rose will have seen that I did not forget her birthday

¹⁰² Doubtless he here refers to the son of Comte Charles Tristan de Montholon, who was born in Paris on July 21, 1783, and died on August 21, 1853. He was a noted French general and companion of Napoleon at St. Helena and one of the executors of Napoleon's estate. He was also a writer and editor. Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia, IX, 703.

103 The National Intelligencer was a tri-weekly, weekly, and later a daily newspaper of Washington, D. C. It was begun in Washington by Samuel H. Smith on October 31, 1800, as the official organ of the Jeffersonian Party. It began as the National Intelligencer and Washington Advertizer, but in 1810 it was called the National Intelligencer. It was made a daily in 1813 and continued publication until 1870. In 1810 Smith sold his interests to Joseph Gales, Jr., who in 1812 took William W. Seaton into partnership, which lasted until Gales died in 1860. Under the administration of Andrew Jackson it became the Whig organ. Dictionary of American History, IV, 60. American History, IV, 60.

although I could not send her anything but good wishes: I hope she has long before this recovered from her cold, & is able to relieve Laura from the task of darning her stockings- Mine have got along so far without darning, owing to the very modest exercise that I take- a short walk perhaps before breakfast & another before dinner- my shoes are about as good as they were when I left you- as to Rosa's correlative question about the books I am reading, I am almost ashamed to say- almost none. Immediately after breakfast I come to the office & by the time dinner is over it is 7 o'clk & generally one or two gentlemen come in to talk or play cards until bed time- I do not care much about reading, of which I believe I have done my share, & I am very willing to pass the time in some other way; but now & then I regret not having access to books. especially in Spanish, & I have thought of taking a Master in that language, simply that I may feel compelled to study it—I should like to find a teacher that would come to me in the morning before I am up, as the little priest used to do the few days I was in Florence; for I wake very early & lie in bed because I have nothing else to do- To-morrow morning I think I shall rise early & go to the cathedral to hear the mass which is to be performed on the tenth anniversary of the birth of Louis Napoleon's son, 104 at the celebration of whose birth I "assisted" in Paris in 1856- The emperor's going off to Cuernavaca yesterday looks as if he wished to avoid it: why I don't know.

I am glad to hear that the boys are so attentive to their studies, as I never doubted they would be; but I really wish they would pay more attention to physical education; they will regret the neglect hereafter, when they find themselves unable to do things which their companions, of inferior intellectual capacities, understand well. It seems odd that Gratz should take a notion to be a miner; for it is a rugged occupation, hardly suitable, I fear, for his rather delicate frame. But the notion is by no means ridiculous, as you suppose; for besides the profits of such a profession if successful, the preparatory studies are very interesting & of a high order- Geology, Minerology, Chemistry, Theoretical & practical Mechanics & surveying are all necessary to an accomplished miner. One of the largest & best buildings in this city is the "Mineria," or School of Mines; of its merits as a school I know nothing- I should have, therefore, no objection to indulge Gratz's taste, if it continues, so far as regards the course of studies; but I confess I should prefer for him, in practice, a less laborious pursuit. I hope Alfred may be with you, to rece[ive] my love, when you receive this letter, or soon after, as Rosa Laura thought he might. . . . I depend on your letting him hear

¹⁰⁴ Napoleon Eugène Louis Jean Joseph Bonaparte, son of Napoleon III of France, and Prince Imperial of France, was born at Paris on March 16, 1856, and was killed in Zululand, South Africa, on June 1, 1879. Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia, IX, 168.

from me, or of me, & am surprised . . . you should not say more about him, which I attributed to the uniform . . . of his life at W. Pt., & not to the reason you mention—I do not pretend to send . . . messages to your aunt, because I know that it is useless so far as she is concerned, She probably does not know or recollect when I am—I am glad to hear of Henry's having been to his brother's, & hope with you that he will continue to go there—Mr Postell¹⁰⁵ told me yesterday that he had a letter from one of Octa. Cohen's daughters, who was in Phila, & he thought from the account that the Savannah people were getting into business again; I hope it is so. At this distance I do not like to advise my dear daughters about their bonds; but I do not relish the idea of their losing the accumulated interest, & if the interest due on them should be funded I suppose the original Bonds & the interest bonds would command a good sale. It is strange that I do not hear from Mr Roy to whom I wrote some time ago— is he in the country, or abroad?—

I am much obliged to you for thinking of me about the Purim beef-It would be a treat indeed to enjoy some of your home "fixings" again; but eating is a matter which never gave me a serious thought, except when I had to go to market, with very little money; whenever & wherever any body else can eat, I can. I should like to send you, for your Etagère, a figure which a man has this moment brought in to sell- a Mexican dandy on horseback, with all his trappings complete- The horse's skin filled with "a permanent dinner of wood," & the man made of rags (a sort of rag-maché) in which these people are very skillful, as also in wax- Col. Talcott is still absent, Mrs T. & daughters, who sailed on the 9th. I hope you will see. I shall probably go out to Tacubaya to stay for a week or so, whilst Boteslawski goes to V.C. to escort the Austrian N.Y. Consul on his way back- The latter is about to establish, as you will see, a line of steamers to N. Orleans, a great convenience. I shall close this, as usual, for the ordinary mail, to-day, as there is none the day after to-morrow: The mail leaves this city at 3 o'clk in the morning.

Thank Margaret Meade for her kind message of recollection & give her my love in return. Chal. Talcott has been sick again, with chills & fever, at Orizava; The country does not agree with him.

Believe me always truly & faithfully Y^r affte husband A. M.

In Mercantile style, I may repeat here that I sent Rutson M. a remittance for you by the last steamer.

¹⁰⁵ Doubtless he refers to a descendant of Benjamin Postell or of his brothers Major John or Colonel James Postell of Revolutionary fame. Benjamin Postell (1760-1801) of Charleston, South Carolina, was a lieutenant in the army; was made prisoner in 1780; became a member of the legislature; and served under Francis Marion and rose to the rank of colonel. Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, V, 85.

M^{rs}. Alfred Mordecai 1825 Delancey Place Philadelphia P^a

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico, March 30th 1866.

Chief Engineer's Office

No. 20 My dear Wife

This is a holiday ("Good Friday") & I take advantage of this quiet in the office to write my letter for the next steamer, lest I should not have much time to-morrow when it ought to go to the post office. I have commenced on this large sheet, which happened to be lying before me; taking it for one of the half sheets on which I write most of my official letters, & which I thought would be large enough to contain all that I have spirits to write to you, since the receipt of your last fragments of letters. I could easily fill a large sheet with an account of the humors of Easter here & of the feet washing by the Emperor & Empress which I witnessed yesterday at the Palace; but I believe it would not interest you & I have no spirits to write to you about the Mummery that is going on; Indeed I should not write at all, but to spare you the worry of uneasy imaginings, until I get your answer to the letter which you had just received when you wrote last-Without feeling confident about any arrangement which I may have suggested for your consideration, to enable us to be again together, I wished to give you as much time as possible to consider the matter & do not write to me about it & receive my answer before deciding, which there is still time enough to do; but it seemed to me absolutely necessary to make a decision before I return to the U.S., as our landlord ought to be informed early in August, at the latest, whether we will retain the house for another year, or give it up; & as I do not propose to leave Mexico before the beginning of August. There seems to be a sort of uneasy feeling in the air here, with regard to the stability of public affairs, under the present arrangements of Government, & there are other circumstances connected with the work on which I am employed, that have given me of late a less easy feeling than I have had before— I did not wish to say anything to you about this before, & I do not wish anything said of it at all out of the family; but I hope that before I leave here all uncertainly on these points will be removed. If it were possible to engage the house in Delancey Place for a quarter after Septr 1st, with the privilege of continuing the lease or giving it up on a month's notice or so, it would be well to do so; but it is not of much use for me to speculate without knowing what you are willing or able to do- So I leave the subject for the present.

I have been rather surprised that you did not mention Dallas Bache's 106 condition before, as I had no idea whether he had even got back to the U.S.; I consider, from your expression, that his disease of the brain has gone on increasing.

I hope you have seen some of the Talcotts- none of the sons have gone back- Charles, who has been talking to me a good deal since I began to write, has just gone to his room to take quinine, not having recovered entirely from a bilious attack at Orizava- he has had no more bleeding from the lungs, but is not strong or free from cough. He returned a few days ago from V. Cruz, & his father soon after, looking very well indeed.

March 31st — We had last evening just before the eclipse of the moon, the unusual phenomenon of a thunder shower which was a damper to the festivities in the streets, but has made to-day only the more pleasant; a cool soft air & the dust laid in the streets- I ought perhaps to mention that there are some persons here who are going to Phil^a. by the next steamer- Dr Prevost, 107 a resident in Tacatecas since the War with the U.S., & married to a Mexican lady, takes his children to be educated; he is a brother of Col. Provost¹⁰⁸ who lives in Pine St below 18th I believe; & Dr Davis 109 also a resident of Tacatecas, who will visit his friend Dr P. in Phila & promises to call on you- I have seen but little of either of them, but have thought favorably of both- Dr P. & perhaps both of them will probably, if you see them, give unfavorable accounts of the prospects of the Empire, unless he is restrained from speaking freely by regard for his connections & large interests here, being engaged in a profitable mining business: his wife speaks a little English & understands it; the children not at all. I do not send anything by them.

I saw the Magruders yesterday: as I conjectured, the ladi[es] are very insensible to the attractions, such as they are, country, & hardly hesitate to say that they regret their mo[ve] They are not the sort of people to derive amusement or instruction from the society, or

¹⁰⁶ Dallas Bache of the District of Columbia and Pennsylvania became assistant-surgeon on May 28, 1861; major surgeon on August 5, 1867; lieutenant-colonel surgeon on February 9, 1890; and colonel assistant surgeon-general on April 18, 1895. He was brevetted captain and major on March 13, 1865, for faithful and meritorious service during the war; retired on January 1, 1902; and died on June 2, 1902. Heitman Register, I, 178.

107 Grayson M. Prevost of Pennsylvania became assistant surgeon in the Army on December 31, 1845; resigned on June 7, 1848; and died on May 1, 1896. Heitman, Register, I, 806.

108 Charles Mallet Prevost of Maryland and Pennsylvania became captain and assistant adjutant-general of volunteers on May 1, 1862; resigned in August, 1862; became colonel of the 18th Pennsylvania infantry on August 28, 1862; was raised to colonel of the 16th Veterans' Reserve Corps on September 29, 1863; brevetted brigadier-general of volunteers on March 13, 1865, for meritorious service; was honorably discharged on June 30, 1866; and died on November 5, 1887. Heitman, Register, I, 806.

109 William Bramwell Davis was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on July 22, 1832; graduated from Wesleyan University in 1852 and from Miami Medical College in 1855, being professor of therapeutics there after 1873. He was surgeon of the 137th regiment of Ohio volunteers and of the West End Military Hospital in Cincinnati. He was a civic leader and held many offices of profit and trust in Cincinnati; travelled in Europe in 1872; and wrote a number of medical treatises. Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, II, 107.

the country- M^{rs} M. spoke kindly of your sister & her husband's family & remembers you.

With dear love to my good children & blessings on their heads & yours my dear wife,

Every truly
Y^r affte husband
A. Mordecai

The gentleman who has charge of Rosa's parcel, which Rutson M. mentions has not yet made his appearance.

Mrs. Alfred Mordecai 1825 Delancey Place Philadelphia Estados Unidos del Norte Vapor Mexico- Americano

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Mexico, April 18, 1866.

Chief Engineer's Office. No.

My dear Sister

If I were inclined to avail myself of your considerate permission to let a mail pass without writing to you, I should do so now; for I have foolishly waited for the last day of the "ordinary mail," (by which I always send, except in extraordinary cases,) to commence my letter, which I might as well have done weeks ago; but it is not fair that you should be deprived, by my negligence, of any pleasure which, as I am very willing to believe, my letters may afford you. Moreover, I may very well take a little time to-day, for Col. T. went down the road yesterday, & you know the old proverb; when he is away I have generally less to do & more time to do it in, as I have no one to consult but myself about the business of the office. You are right in thinking that I would advocate your accepting our kind friends' invitation to visit them & I hope this letter will find you in N. York, where you cannot but be amused with the extravagance of life as well as interested in the society of your friends- I wish you would say to Mr Maury that Col. T. answered Mr Glenn's letter immediately, telling him that there was no place for him on the Railway, with the arrangements which he was then making- The Col. wants now only a few good constructing engineers, men of experience & ability in the supervision of work, & these he hopes to get very soon. Charles's health is better, but by no means reestablished- My own health, about which you ask me to speak, is uninterrupted & mere existence continues to be an enjoyment to me in this delightful climate. The pleasant arrangement of lodgings which I

have had for some months past is about to be broken up at the end of this month, by the removal of M^r & M^{rs} M^cLean to Orizava, where M^r M^cL. will be employed still on the railway— I cannot yet tell what new arrangements I may make; I should be less embarrassed if I had not purchased the furniture for my room, which I do not like to sacrifice.

Since I last wrote to you the Easter holy days have passed, & among these simple, ignorant & withal priest-ridden people, whose religion consists so much in external observances, the ceremonies of Passion Week are celebrated with great observance- All labor nearly is interrupted; on the principal days the stops are closed & not vehicles or beast of burden are allowed to circulate in the streets, where a curious silence in consequence prevails, although the pavements & foot walks are crowded with people- The Liquor & pulque shops are shut, but the corners of streets & other available places are occupied by booths decorated with fragrant greens (vanilla grass) & flowers, in which fruits & simple drinks are sold- On Friday, when etiquette requires all "gentes finos" to dress in black, I attended mass at the cathedral, where it was celebrated with millitary pomp by the French troops- The finest ceremony of this kind that I have seen here, or one of the finest, was on the birth day anniversary of the son of Louis Napoleon, the celebration of whose birth I "assisted" at in Paris ten years ago; but perhaps I mentioned that in my last letter, for it seems more than a month ago- One of the ceremonies of Easter Week which is kept up by the Austrian Dynasty & has been brought with them to this country, is the washing of the feet of the poor by the Sovereigns on Holy Thursday, You may remember my account, or some body else's, of that ceremony as performed by the Pope & the nobles, in Rome, when I was there 32 years ago- Mrs McLean being very desirous to see it & also to have an interview with the Princess Iturbide, I wrote that lady a note proposing to call on her, & in the course of our visit Mrs McL. introduced the subject of the feet washing & the next day the Princess sent us four tickets for the occasion- The ceremonies of the week are celebrated by the court in the palace & the programme issued by them forms a folio book of some 20 pages, in which the order of arrangement for each of the four days, (Thursday to Sunday,) is minutely prescribed, showing where each person of the court is to stand or sit, who are to take the Emperor's sword & the Empress's gloves & fan, preparatory to the washing of the feet; who is to take the dishes for the supper of the poor, off the tray & to whom he or she is to hand them to be presented to their Majesties who place them on the table & take them off- These minutia sound very riduculous when read out of great type on large fine paper, but they have the good effect of introducing perfect order in a ceremony which confusion & blunders would make ludicrous-The courses for the meal, which preceded the washing of feet, were brought in on wooden trays by the fine looking Palatine guards in full

dress, red coats; steel & brass mounted helmets & high boots, & their majesties performed their part as gracefully as if they had been graduated head waiters- The guests were not expected to eat much, I believe, but the numerous courses were successively brought on & after a short interval taken away, to be sent to the houses of the guests-When the priests who were intoning the appropriate Gospel (Luke?) in Latin, came to the words about girding himself with a cloth, the sovereigns standing in front of their respective suites, tucked on their apron towels & proceeded to their lavatory operations- The spectators who were not more than about 250 were provided with places & even with seats, towards the upper part of the saloon of Iturbide, about 300 ft long by 50 ft wide, in the middle of which the tables &c were arranged, & the whole thing passed off as well as possible- I only marked the omission that the head waiter did not bow to the company when they turned to retire- You will laugh at me, I am afraid, & think I am cheating you, to pretend to fill up a sheet with such stuff, about which in fact I intended to say but a few words & refer you to the enclosed piece which I cut out of a newspaper.

I have been very quiet since Easter, always finding enough to occupy my days in the office, & sleeping well enough at night, unless, as I did last evening, I take too long a nap on the sofa after our 61/2 o'clk dinner-Rutson will sympathize with me there- Last Sunday, instead of going as usual to Tacubaya, I borrowed Col T's engineer wagon, holding seven persons besides the driver, & drawn by four mules, with which & quite a pleasant party I made an excursion to the "Canada," a little gorge in the mountain that shut in the valley on the south- The owner of the lower part of this valley has made some rural walks, not at all artificial looking, along the bank of the mountain stream which even at this dry season rolls a considerable body of clear water over its rocky bed. On the sides of this walk are placed roses & other flowers, many of which, except the Calla Lily, we might see in a similar locality in Virga or No Ca; nor does the character of the trees impair the illusion of country, for you find the birch, the oak &c, the dry leaves of which rustling under our feet united with the pleasant & now unusual sound of running water, to carry us back to the scenes of other times & climes. & I sat on a rock & began to change the "regimen" of the stream by throwing stones into the water. In returning we stopped at a pleasant house, kept by a Texas man & a Florida woman, in the village of San Angel to have a dinner, al fiesco, over which we sat so long that it became quite dark before we reached Tacubaya & we had some difficulty in finding our way. Between San Angel & the Canada we passed under the hill of Contreras, & one of our party was Genl. Magruder who commanded the Battery of Artillery which was engaged in the fight at that place during the Mex. War- another of which was engaged in the fight at that place during the Mex. War- another of the party was an Amer-

ican named Grayson, 110 who self taught has devoted some 10 years to the ornithology of Mex. especially the Pacific coast, & his portfofio of life sized & colored drawings is almost, if not quite, equal in execution to Audubon's111- he hopes that the acady, here may enable him to publish them; but money is very scarce.

After six months of drought you might suppose that driving is not pleasant; it was dusty in the morning, but the air, under shelter, is never hot, and the approach of the rainy season is already indicated by the frequent cloudy afternoons with sometimes a smart shower, & but for the darkness our drive back would have been very pleasant- When we reached Tacubaya we could not get places in the first train to the city, but an acquaintance of mine, an English bachelor gentleman who has a very nice place in the room, happened to meet us & took us up to his house where he entertained us very pleasantly, with tea, &c, until 10 o'clk, making a complete day of it; & all the party went home delighted. An unpleasant & melancholy thought connected with the excursion, which you must not mention to Rutson, was that the gentlemen thought it Prudent to buckle on our loaded revolvers, to go some 10 or 12 miles from the city- I dont think I have any thing to make it worth while to take another half sheet- I have just been to pay a "party call," at the Magruders"- The ladies & young Henry, who have lived almost always, in Europe are not at all charmed with Mex. & are not of a disposition to make the best of any thing- The young people are very good musicians &c- Rev. Tucker 112 & his wife have arrived at V. C. but have not yet reached the city- Their son is in our office- I see by our papers that you have a new edition of "Who Killed Cock Robin"- Kind remembrance to the Maurys from yr affte brother

A. Mordecai

¹¹⁰ Doubtless he here refers to Andrew J. Grayson (1819-1869), the author of Natural History of the Tres Marias and of Socorro. The caption title of this work was: "On the Physical Geography and Natural History of the Islands of the Tres Marias and of Socorro," by Col. Andres J. Grayson. Ed. by George N. Lawrence. . . From the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, June 7, 1871. Boston, Press of A. A. Kingman, 1871. (Library of Congress Card Carlogue). Congress Card Catalogue.)

Society of Natural History, 1811. Boston, Fress of A. A. Kingman, 1811. (Library of Congress Card Catalogue.)

111 John James Andubon, the noted naturalist, was born near New Orleans, Louisiana, on May 4, 1780, and died near New York City on January 27, 1851. He was reared in Santo Domingo and Louisiana and was educated in France; was taught the love of nature; and early began to draw pictures of plants and animals, but he made bonfires each birthday because his art was so poor. His father placed him under the celebrated artist David, and he was then sent to a farm near Philadelphia. His home at Mill Grove, near Philadelphia, soon became a museum. He moved to Kentucky in 1808 with a stock of goods and tried various kinds of business; but, after going broke more than once, he turned to natural history, the first love of his youth. He even gave drawing lessons for a living. Perhaps his greatest work was The Birds of America. He became famous in his later life and more so after his death. Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, I, 117-119.

112 Henry Holcombe Tucker was born in Georgia on May 10, 1819, and died in Atlanta on September 9, 1898. He was graduated from Columbian College, Washington, D. C., in 1838, after studying in Philadelphia and at the University of Pennsylvania; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1846, but quit practicing in 1848 to enter Mercer University so as to become a Baptist minister; and preached while he was professor at Mercer. After the reorganization of Mercer, following the close of the war, he was president of that college. He was quite a voluminous writer and traveller. Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VI, 172.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. Chief Engineer's Office, San Juan de Letran No. 13.

Mexico, April 20th 1866.

My dear Sister

When I had closed my letter to you the other day I went to make an evening call on the Princess Iturbide & something that was said there reminded me that my account of the Easter festival was like the old story of the "Prince of Denmark" omitting the part of Hamlet! for I had omitted the peculiar feature of the celebration here; the use of rattles of all sorts & sizes: angels, cupids, dolls, Judase's, household furniture of all kinds, from a bedstead to a slop pail, are mounted like watchmans rattles & all the children as well as many of the Indians are furnished with them; disturbing on certain days the otherwise silent streets- some of these rattles are as large as a small carriage wheel & the children roll them on the pavement, generally with a hideous figure of Judas perched on the shaft or handle- The newspapers attempt to give an explanation of the origin & significance of these toys, but nothing very satisfactory is elicited. It was formerly the custom to burn the effigies of Judas in the streets, but this year that practice & the firing of crackers were prohibited. The newspaper carrier, who chooses this season to bring round his doggrel rhymes, asks for a little money to buy "his rattle, his chia (for making "dulces," or sweetmeats,) his Judas" & something else which I forgot- another circumstance which I intended to mention was the visit of the Emperor & Empress, on foot, in the hot afternoon of Good Friday, to the principal Hospitals of the city; they were attended by a very small suite & not a large crowd of ragamuffins; the people here are the most impassive I ever saw- Nothing seems to excite their curosity,- at least nothing of the kind which generally attracts in other countries- It looks very much as if the disfavor with which the masses are thought to regard the Imperial Govt had its share in this; but I believe that habitual apathy has more.

I should not have thought that the preceding pages were of sufficient importance for an "extraordinary" letter; but the papers this morning confirm a piece of news which I heard yesterday & which to Richd Maury & others is "extraordinary." Mr Langlais, a frenchman of ability, who was sent out here to rearrange the financial affairs of this embarrassed country, obtained the adoption of executive measures of economy & reform in the administration— He died suddenly of applexy [sic], a few weeks ago; but it seems that some of his measures are to be carried out, & among them is the abolition of the colonization Bureau & Land surveying office—Maury & Magruder were therefore notified yesterday that their offices would be discontinued on the last of this month—This is a

distressing thing to them; here in a foreign country, without nay means of support— Charles Talcott is a good friend of Maury's & will do something for him if possible— I shall take one of his rooms I think, which you know adjoin our office.

What the Magruders, or rather the Genl. will do I have no idea— He has been at some expense in furnishing a nice house & they gave quite a handsome little ball a few nights ago— The ladies & Maury will no doubt make their way back to Europe, & will hardly regard as a misfortune an event which it attended with such a result— Richd Maury writes to Rutson to-day which gives me an opportunity of sending you this supplementary dispatch, with the love of Yr affte brother

A. Mordecai

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Chief Engineer's Office. No. 22 Mexico, May 3d 1866.

My dear Wife

Owing to the loss of the "Vera Cruz" I am obliged to begin another letter to you without being able to acknowledge the receipt of one. We hope to have the mail of the V.C. with that of the "Manhattan" which is due at V.C. on Sunday 6th— We have scarcely any thing more about the disaster than the information of the loss of the steamer on the coast of No Ca, & the saving of the passengers, crew & mail. I wrote to Rutson by the British steamer, viz Havanna, to tell him how to send my letters, in case of a continued interruption of the regular communication with N.Y., which will take place at any rate in July & August; You have only to send your letters to him as usual.

My last letter informed you of the contemplated breaking up of our little household, by the transfer of Mr McLean to Orizava; he went down on Monday the last day of April, & before night the house was stripped & Blake & I were installed in two adjoining rooms in our office building: They are the first rooms in the back building under Maury's rooms; they are large (about 20 ft X 18) but not well ventilated, having no opening but the door-windows, which cannot well be left open, on account of the publicity of the corridor on which it opens- This is a very common arrangement of houses here, I may say the most common; but it is not pleasant, & we were remarkably fortunate in our late dwelling in having windows in every room- I have returned to my mode of life after the breaking up of our little mess in Maury's room at the San Carlos; & if you could see me taking my solitary cup of chocolate in the morning & my lonely meal at the Restaurant of the "Ciudad de Mexico"; with no cheerful parlor, but only my close bed room, to retire to after my evening walk, I think even you would regret the break up of

our little party- Blake is a very quiet, upright & amiable man, & although he is by no means bright, I may consider myself very fortunate in my companion; our rooms communicate- & it is convenient to leave the door between us open. We had engaged rooms in the house of Mr Benfield, a paper manufacturer, an Englishman, whose wife is a Kentucky woman- They have been very kind to us, but the rooms are very small & inconvenient, & as the Prussian Minister who occupies a part of the house, wanted them for his secretary & would give a better rent than we, we gave them up without reluctance. Mrs B. is from Lexington; her maiden name was Moffit & she is nearly related to some Hunts; do you know anything of them- Rev. Tucker & his wife have taken Maury's two office rooms for which the latter has no further use; as among the measures of economy recently adopted by the Govt. is the abolition of Maury's & Magruder's offices. A decree this morning announces a great reduction in the personal expenses of the court: so I suppose other people cannot complain. The Tuckers were so unfortunate as to lose all the baggage they had with them on the stage; it was cut off, & some parts of other baggage that was dropped at the same time has been recovered; but they have not as yet heard anything of theirs- My package from Rosa, which Mr Crutchfield brought, was probably lost too; what did it contain?

Young Hill, a nephew of Clem. Hill's, brought me a kind letter from J^{no} Lee which I was glad to receive— The young man is discouraged, I believe, & intends returning in the next steamer, I understand; he was here but a few days— Things generally do not look very bright just now for emigrants or for the Govt in Mexico, nor anywhere else it would seem from the papers. I had one of M^{rs} Butler's usual kind letters by the last steamer, in answer to one I wrote in Feby. to go by Maury; she does not say anything about the Fenians¹¹³ or the state of the country.

We have had some sad scenes here lately among the U.S. people—Gov^r Allen of Louisiana, the editor of the "American Times," who has been ill for some weeks, died a most painful death, from attacks of epilepsy, & was buried last Monday week— The day before (Sunday) I made an excursion up the canal towards Chaleo, with a small party, one of whom was Judge Austin from Albany—His son is purser of the Manhattan & the father going down to see him before he sailed the last trip, was induced to get on board the steamer for a trip to Havanna & then to Mexico & was amusing himself here, expecting to return on the next trip of the steamer; but last Saturday evening a gentleman who had been a good deal with him came to tell us that Mr A. had just died

¹¹³ Fenian is a name applied, in Irish tradition, to membership in certain tribes who formed a militia of the ardrigh or king of Eire. The Fenian Brotherhood was founded in New York in 1857 with a view to securing independence for Ireland. It spread over Ireland and then United States and absorbed the Phoenix Society. It also spread to the Irish inhabitants of England, and made several attempts to gain independence for Ireland. Its plan was to start an insurrection in Ireland and an invasion of Canada from the United States. It was organized in district clubs called circles. Between 1863 and 1872 eleven national congresses were held by the Fenian Brotherhood in the United States, after which time it continued as a secret society. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 385.

suddenly, with neuralgia of the heart, & on Sunday we performed the last rites for him—I had hardly got back from the funeral when I heard of the death of another Louisianian, an old gentleman named Blane, whom I had observed to be much affected at Gov Allen's funeral; but I did not know him—These incidents took place in the U.S. cemetery, a small lot of ground on the western confines of the city, which was purchased by Congress after the Mex. War: It is quite a neat spot, adjoining the English cemetery, & is planted with willow & ash trees.

Thursday May 3d— After an intermission of showers for several weeks, it has clouded up this afternoon & a light rain is falling—I am closing this letter for the ordinary mail to-morrow, without having any thing special to add—Col. T. is still absent & will remain so probably for a week or two longer, as he has to meet some gentlemen from England on matters relating to the Railway—I shall look anxiously for your next letters, as indicating the arrangements which y[ou] may wish to make for the immediate future, & I hope very [soon] to be able to reply definitely by the last of this month or the first of next; I shall write by way of Havanna if there is any delay in the direct line—I trust to hear that you & our dear children were well; it is a long time since I heard from any of the children directly; with best love & kisses to them, be assured my dear wife of the constant affection of

your loving husband

A. Mordecai

M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai 1825 Delancy Place Philadlephia P^a

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY.

Chief Engineer's Office. No. 25

Mexico, June 17th 1866.

My dear Wife

If I could hope that my letters would give you any other satisfaction than that of knowing that I am well, I should take great pleasure in devoting to your entertainment this cool, quiet, summer Sunday morning, when I am not subject to any interruption from business, visitors or opportunity of amusement—I have, not yet resumed my Sunday excursions to Tacubaya, although Mr Southgate is well enough to have been in town yesterday & Col. T. has been staying out there for a week or so—Mr S. is going away next week & the house will be re-established in some regular manner—Charles T. will probably move out there with his family; he has been quite unwell lately, tho' not with any attack

of the lungs, & perhaps change of air & country air will do him good-I have just been in to Mr Tucker's room to give him a dose of my cholera medicine. He & his son have been both affected pretty severely & there is a good deal of premonitory cholerine about, altho' the cholera itself has not made its appearance in this country—As the last accounts from the U.S. say nothing about it, I hope the alarm there has passed off. I am thinking of you as pleasantly installed in housekeeping for our son¹¹⁴ at W.P^t. where I hope your [sic] are permitting yourself to enjoy the pleasure which a visit to that place always used to give you-My dear, there is no "twist" between us, except that which your disordered imagination has contrived to make, & I hope & trust there will never be any more embarrassing than to be twined in a loving embrace, as we have so often been. That I feel obliged to defer this happiness is a cause of real grief to me; but I see no remedy just now- I have told you already of troubles in the affairs of the Railway; the disturbances in the political & financial circles of Europe have naturally combined with other causes to bring these troubles to a crisis, & orders have now been given to suspend a great part of the work which was going on with great vigor- Operations are continued on the line between this city & the Puebla Junction & it is hoped that at least so much of the road will be completed & put in operation by the month of August, through means obtained by French cooperation with this Government, whose failure (no doubt almost unavoidable) to comply with its engagements to the company is one of the principal causes of the present embarrassments- What measures can be taken for the further prosecution of the works will probably not be definitely known until the action of the general meeting of the stockholders in London which takes place in August- In the mean time the suspension of work throws a great number of people out of employment, not only of the natives, who soon accommodate themselves to these changes, but of foreigners, engineers & contractors, who have few resources at present in this country- As the head office must be kept up & I can be useful to the Col. I do not wish to leave here in this uncertain state of things & to incur the discomfort & expense of a long voyage, until I can see what the final result of the difficulties is likely to be; & therefore, I am sorry to say, I think it best to defer my departure until the Autumn-If any thing should occur soon to change these views I may resume my original plan of returning to you by the steamer of the 23d July; but this I do not expect- One of the most unpleasant consequences to me of this change of affairs is its effect on the position of our dear girls, whom I had hoped to release, for the ensuing year, from the drudgery

¹¹⁴ Alfred Mordecai, Jr., was twice instructor at West Point Military Academy, spending in all eleven years instructing the students. National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, X, 443; Heitman, Register, I, 724.

of keeping school; but in the present condition of things I am obliged to recommend to them to continue their occupation, as a necessary resource in case I should be thrown out of employment here, without an opportunity of making other arrangements for the support of my family. That they have stout hearts & bear their burthen cheerfully makes me proud of them & grateful for their love & affectionate patience, but does not diminish my sorrow at having to inflict this labor on them: May a father's love & blessing lighten it for them, & encourage them to persevere!

I am provoked with myself for having omitted to write to Sister Ellen, or to ask you to write to her, to go to Phila. & wait with you until the Maurys were ready to receive her; for I believe I had time to do so after I heard of her acceptance of their invitation—I am sure she would have been glad to do so, & if she passed through Phila, (which she had not when you wrote,) without stopping it would be only becase of the difficulty & inconvenience, travelling alone as she expected to do. By the bye, Mrs Talcott & Miss Mary both made s[ome] excuse in their letters about not seeing you, as they intended, on th[eir] way back to N.Y.; bad weather & loss of your address- they did not stop- The[ir] conduct to you in N.Y. has quite alienated my feelings & I have never even enquired about them; but I know that they are charmingly situated at Ventnor (see "Harts Ease") in that most lovely spot of earth, the Isle of Wight. With the diminution of work on the Railroad, my time will, I fear, be less occupied & will hang more heavily on my hands. I have still had enough to do in the day time; but with sickness & the reduction of our little circle at No 13, the evenings are sometimes hard to get through- Blake & I go one or two evenings in the week to Mr Benfield's where the old gentleman & his wife, who live alone, are always glad to see us & to give us a cup of tea & a game of whist- They are not interesting people, but they are kind; & I now value kindness more than brilliancy & wit- I have found, our mess has found, the French woman's cooking & provisions too much for us, & went back yesterday with great satisfaction, to my solitary dinner at the "Ciudad de Mejico," content to run the risk of the rains, which however have not yet regularly commenced- Our French paper announces the death of Genl. Scott, 115 with a very suitable notice of him, taken I suppose from the French paper in N.Y.- I do not write to any one else by this mail,

¹¹⁵ Winfield Scott was born in Virginia on June 13, 1786, and died at West Point, New York, on May 29, 1866. He studied at William and Mary College; was admitted to the bar in 1806; entered the army as captain in 1808; and served in the War of 1812. He became brigadier-general and brevet major-general in 1814; commanded in South Carolina during the nullification controversy in 1832-1833; served against the Seminoles and Creeks in 1835-1837; became major-general and commander-in-chief in 1841; and then commander-in-chief in Mexico in 1847; defeated the Mexicans in several battles; and occupied Mexico City on September 14, 1847. He was defeated for the Presidency in 1852 on the Whig ticket; was brevetted lieuten-ant-general in 1847; and retired from active service in 1861. He also wrote on military affairs. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 912.

except a note to Rutson M., so you must send this to the girls and boys to read, or a copy of it, if you do not wish them to see all of it—Give my best love to our son Alfred & to Miriam, in person, & send it to all the others.

Ever truly

Yr affectionate husband A. Mordecai.

Your last letter received was by the steamer of 25th ult.

Mrs Alfred Mordecai care of Col^o. A. Mordecai West Point Orange C^o: State of New York (Rec^d. 4 p.m. 6 July R.M.)

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. Chief Engineer's Office.

Mexico, August 13th 1866

Nº. 28

My dear Wife

The French steamer has brought me no letter, by way of Havana; but I hardly expected one, neither did I write by her, as there was nothing new to say—I received your letter from W. Point & Laura's from Phila & Sister E's from Barrytown by the last N.Y. steamer which did not get in until near the end of the month, being quarantined in Havana, on account of cholera in N.Y.

I do not wish to say anything unpleasant to you, my dear, I have endeavored to avoid it all along, as much as possible; for this sort of unnatural & unnecessary controversy between us is most painful to me. Being obliged to assist Col. T. lately in a controversy on official matters, I said to him: "I do not know two men to whom such a task could be more unwelcome than to you & me"— How much more so with my own wife— It is really dreadful, & I am perfectly at a loss to understand how you can deliberately sit down & harp continually on unpleasant topics, in writing to me. You complain of my letters; but as I told you before, I have no spirits to make them other than they are, when I think of the captious spirit in which you read them— I take little notice of what you say, in my replies, because I always hope that the next letter will be different; but so far have hoped in vain—

Col. Talcott went down the road about a fortnight ago, in his wagon, & as there was so little prospect of anything to do here, for a month or two, I proposed to accompany him & go on to the U.S. But after I commenced packing (he was to go the next day,) we both thought the departure was rather too hurried & our business could not be arranged in time: so I gave up the trip for the present month; but time hangs so heavily & idly on my hands that I regret having done so—I have just

received a despatch informing me of the Col's arrival at Apan & he will probably be here to-morrow- He is accompanied by Randolph & his wife & by Richd T .- The difficulties of travel & transportation of baggage at this season of the year are so serious that I was not unwilling to defer the journey; though there is no probability of their being less whilst the rainy season lasts; but I hope to be able, before I close this, to fix the time of my return- I think with you that Sallie M's explanation was a very imprudent one; but I hope, under your guardianship, that no evil may have resulted from it- Thank Laura for the neat little memorandum book which I shall take care of, though I cannot give up yet the shabby old one which I have carried so many years & which you gave me. You must give my best thanks & love too to aunt Becky & to Josephine for their unceasing kindness to our children. I trust to hear that Laura has had her trip to Newport, with kind Mrs Wharton's aid- She asks me about Alice Iturbide's story: It is strange that nothing seems to reach you except my letters; I sent by some one a newspaper with a 3 ct stamp on it, to be mailed in N.Y. containing the contract for giving up the child, signed by herself, & an explanation of all the circumstances- I have seen the little boy frequently- His aunt (& guardian) occupies very handsome apartments in the Palace where I see her occasionally in the evening- The child is very handsome & stout & well behaved- quite different from the fretful, spoiled & not very healthy boy that he was in the hands of his parents & uncles-If I recollect right the separation from his parents was limited to five years; but events may very likely change all that much sooner- I have sent other newspapers in the same way, & parcels of stamps for Rosa, only one of which seems to have been received.

August 14th — A steamer arrived yesterday from Havanna brings the great news of the successful laying of the Atlantic Cable 116 & of the conclusion of peace in Europe, both of which I hope may be true: but she brings also intelligence of serious ravages of the cholera in N. York, which I hope may not prove true—The establishment of peace in Europe¹¹⁷ may have an important influence on the destinies of Mexico, & perhaps on those of our Railway Company; but it will be

was salvaged after it was pulsed from the bottom of the unification of Germany. In 1871, 135.

117 This was the time when Bismarck was waging wars for the unification of Germany. In 1864 Austria and Prussia waged war on Denmark over the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. In 1866 occurred the Six Weeks War between Austria and Prussia relative to the control over these two provinces. Prussia completely defeated Austria, thereby leading to the North German Confederation. Bismark was not satisfied yet, so he alienated France from her friends and allies and then brought on the Franco-Prussian War, 1870-1871, which resulted in the crushing defeat of France and the formation of the German Empire early in 1871. Ernest F. Henderson, A Short History of Germany, II, 385.

¹¹⁶ After Cyrus W. Field refused to give up urging the practicability of an under-sea cable from the United States to Europe a company was formed in 1854 to survey the routes. The United States and England loaned the ships and the work of laying the cable was begun in 1857, but it broke. In June, 1858, it broke again. Another attempt was made in July, 1858, and on August 5, 1858, it was finished. Early in September, 1858, one of New York's greatest celebrations took place in honor of Field. However, on September 1, 1858, it broke or ceased to function properly. Still Field and some of his supporters refused to quit. In July, 1865, the Great Eastern began laying a new cable, but it too broke after about two-thirds of it had been laid. The larger and stronger cable laid in 1866 was a success. The material in the 1865 cable was salvaged after it was pulled from the bottom of the ocean. Dictionary of American History. I. 135.

some time before that influence can be known here, & in the mean time the affairs of neither the country nor the railway are proceeding very harmoniously.

August 16th — Yesterday I again attended at the Cathedral the celebration in honor of the fête day of the Emperor of the French:118 It will have been a proud day in Paris from the high & commanding position which the Emperor & his country now occupy in Europe- Here it seemed chiefly to remind me that I have been more than a year in this city, absent from you & our children, & I am sorry to say that I c[an]not appoint positively a time for my return- I now [regret] very much that I did not carry out my original int[ention] of returning in the last steamer in July; but it is usele[ss to] regret-Col. T. returned day before yesterday & he has now all his family with him except those who are in Europe so unnecessarily & foolishly- as you will say perhaps abou[t] my being in Mexico- & I am here, however, embarked in this business, I think it probable that I shall stay until something definite is known about the future arrangements of the work; but you may rely on seeing me- D. V. as Sister E. would say- before the cold weather-In the meantime, as we are not busy, I hope to make some excursions about here to interesting places which I ought to see, being so near; & which in younger days I would have seen before this- You & my dear children must console each other & be sure that I do not wantonly or wilfully prolong my absence, without reason- The distance is so great & the journey so difficult at this season, that before undertaking it I should like to know exactly what I am to expect as to the future. With best love to all our children & ardent wishes for their prosperity & happiness & for yours, believe me ever Yr faithful & loving husband

A. Mordecai.

I send Rosa some old Mexican Stamps & some of a new emission, just issued, which will be still more valuable—I have got but few yet—

I hope to send a remittance for you to M^r Maury, by the extraordinary on Monday.

M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai 1825 Delancey Place Philadelphia P^a

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. Chief Engineer's Office.

Mexico, Septr 17th 1866

No. 29. My dear Wife

I take this last sheet to-day, because I have very little to say; but I hope that little will give you pleasure. I sent off my heaviest baggage a week ago, to be ready for me at Vera Cruz, where I hope to be in the

¹¹⁸ He here refers to Napoleon III of France, who was defeated and captured by the German armies in 1870 and then deposed by his own people. Henderson, Short History of Germany, II, 434-435.

beginning of October, to take the first steamer for N. York in that month—I am counting on the steamer to sail of the 8th as advertised, but it is so long since we had any reliable intelligence from the U. S. that I cannot tell whether there is any truth in the rumors which throw doubt on the line bei[ng] [disco]ntinued even to that time—However, I sh[all] tak[e [so]me steamer early in October, & hope that [I shall] not have an opportunity to write you another letter from Mexico—I am afraid you will not be sorry to hear that my life here, lately very dull, is likely to be even more so during the rest of my stay: for Col. Talcott was going off this morning with a party of engineers on the line of the Railway: but reports of disturbances by guerillas or robbers, at one of the principal towns on the line have detained him—When he goes I shall have nothing to do but sit all day in the office, without occupation; but I shall try to get books of some kind—The near approach of my time of departure does not make me more patient.

We hear nothing of the steamer that was to leave N. Y. on the 1st Septr. & must wait for letters by the one which is to take this—I did not expect to witness here another celebration of the 16th Septr. & am very sorry I can't be with you by the 27th—

With best love to the children Ever yr affte Alfred

Write to Alfred to meet me in N. York if he can, & go to Phia with me-

M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai 1825 Delancey Place *Philadelphia*

Rec^d. per Manhattan 3 p.m. 10 Oct- in a letter to R. M. telling me as he does you, that he is to embark from V. C. this month Hurrah!

Vera Cruz October 13th 1866

No 30.

My dear Wife

I did not expect to date another letter for you from Mexico, but being detained here to await the sailing of a steamer I may as well commence a letter to you, to be mailed as soon as I get to the United States. The derangement of the N. York line induced me to take the steamer for N. Orleans, & I accordingly reached here day before yesterday, as yesterday was her proper day of sailing; but the French Packet, with which she corresponds, having only arrived last evening the N. O. steamer will not sail until to-morrow. This is the usual uncertainty & delay in this country, & one must be content to put up with it, however annoying—A norther was blowing when we got here & the sea breeze was perfectly delightful; but to-day the wind has got round & the sea is smooth, but

the weather exceedingly hot- There is very little sickness here at present & no uneasiness is felt on that account; but the change from the delightful temperature of the plains is very remarkable & one can hardly realize that the latitude is the same- The journey down from Mexico was really frightful & I thought all the time how impossible it seemed that you could bear it, & what a standing miracle it is that the trip should be made every day, without serious accident- I thought it bad enough going up last year in the rainy season; but I really think that it is much worse coming down in the dry season: such jolting & bruising & fatigue can be borne only by reason of the rest which we get at night, when nothing untoward happens- We lost the greater part of our first night's repose- Just as I turned the page & wrote that word a letter was most unexpectedly brought to me, from Rutson M. enclosing one from Sister E., & one from our son Alfred informing me of the important step in life which he is about to take- It is hard, my dearest wife, that I cannot sincerely congratulate him on this occasion; but my only serious objection perhaps is the want of fortune on both sides; I shall enclose in this a note for you to forward to him-Rutson had sent the letter to Hava. whence it was sent by the French steamer, directed to M^r Oropesa whose office is just under Col. Talcott's rooms where I am writing & staying; they are only a few yards from the sea & as pleasant as any place can be in this hot climate & season- I was going to tell you how we came to be late at Puebla on the first day of our journey; it was by being upset, in the only mud hole on the whole road; We went over very easily, so that no one was hurt & I being on the upper side, escaped the mud pickle also- We had 9 inside & 3 out besides the conductor & the coachman- My fellow passengers were good humored people coming down for the French steamer-3 women-& all behaved well-coming down the cumbers & other hills would have been entirely too much for you- Besides being killed by the jolting & fatigue, you would have been frightened to death by the fearful descents. I have been fortunate in meeting a pleasant companion in a N. Y. gentleman who came with me from Mexico & is going also to N. Orleans-

St Charles Hotel, N. Orleans, Octr 21st: Here I am at last, my dear wife, having reached this city last evening; too late for the Mobile steamer & there is none to-day, so I must be content to wait until Monday, to-morrow— I should have been glad to go on immediately & finish my journey; but the interval of rest ought to be acceptable; to restore my system after an uncomfortable little voyage— We got off from V. Cruz on the 14th, just a week ago this minute— The weather was good, but the steamer small & slow & badly managed— If I had not been able to spend the nights on deck I don't know how I shd have got through. When we entered the river our troubles were not over, for we were kept a day & night among the mosquitoes at Quarantine, & I shall not even now be able to get my things through the Custom House until

to-morrow—Then I hope it will be plain sailing—I shall stop a day each at Mobile, Raleigh & Richmond, & from the latter place I will write or telegraph you exactly when to expect me—Write to me there, care of Gustavus Myers, or telegraph to me, if necessary on account of Alfred's arrangements—

Don't be angry with me on account of my detention, or for any short-comings in this poor letter; my head is still light from sea sickness & want of comfortable sleep; for even last night, in a good bed, I could not sleep, & the only comfort I have had since leaving V.C. was a good breakfast just now— Not even a bath, a fire last night having used up all the *cold* water—

I write a line to Ruston, in case sister E. should not have left N. York-

With warmest love to you, my dear, & to all around you I bid you once more for a short time, I hope, adieu-

Yr affectionate husband

A. Mordecai

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida during the Territorial Days. By Sidney Walter Martin. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press. 1944. Pp. ix, 308. Illustrations, maps. \$3.00.)

A hundred years have passed since Florida became a state in the Union. Dr. Martin's history of territorial days in that commonwealth was not prepared as part of a centennial celebration, though the timely publication of a meritorious account of pioneer years may serve to focus attention of Floridians on their early heritage. A doctor's dissertation at the University of North Carolina, the present study reflects credit upon the author. It appears in pleasing format, an accomplishment of one of the younger Southern university presses.

Spanning the transitional period from Spanish colony to American statehood, the book touches all phases of life in the territory. An initial chapter is devoted to the diplomacy of acquisition; five of the twelve chapters trace the political history of the period, with special attention to the administrations of Governors Andrew Jackson, William P. Duval, and Richard K, Call; the others discuss internal improvements, the development of urban centers, the land question, social diversions and economic life, religious organizations and educational beginnings, and Indian relations culminating in the Seminole War.

Dr. Martin has done a good job in indicating the conflicting nationalistic, geographical, and political groups that struggled for control of the territory. He has not been so successful in relating a number of issues and trends, common to all frontier communities, to the broader movements elsewhere in the United States. Perhaps agricultural life in the territory has been handled least satisfactorily. The author's statement that "Every farm, large and small, raised some corn, since it was indispensable as a food for the slaves," leaves the impression that all agrarian families owned Negroes; and the assertion that "Agriculture and plantation life dominated the economic scene in Florida, especially in Middle Florida," raises a question as to his definition of "plantation life."

It is regrettable that so excellent a study should not have received from the author or the Press, or both, the careful, meticulous editing it deserved. Sundry errors in quoting should have been corrected; footnote forms should have been harmonized; Merriam-Webster should have been employed to correct perhaps a hundred misspelled words; and some awkward expressions and superfluous words should have been eliminated. These imperfections stand in sharp contrast to the evidences of judicious scholarship that appear on every page.

Wendell Holmes Stephenson.

The University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky.

HISTORICAL NEWS

An oil painting of Willie Person Mangum, United States Senator from North Carolina and president pro tem of the Senate, March 1, 1845, when a joint resolution was passed annexing Texas to the United States, has been added to the Texas Memorial Museum on the University of Texas campus in Austin for display during the Texas centennial for statehood. The painting was loaned by the Dialectic Debating Society of the University of North Carolina.

Colonel Cornelius O. Cathey has returned to his teaching duties in the history department of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill after five years in the United States Army.

Dr. J. A. McGeachy, associate professor of history, has returned to Davidson College and has resumed his teaching duties after three and one-half years in the United States Army.

Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson, associate professor of history and director of the library, has returned to Davidson College after two years in the United States Navy.

Dr. Henry S. Stroupe has returned to Wake Forest College as an assistant professor of history. Mr. W. B. Yearns has been elected an instructor in history at the same institution.

Dr. Thomas J. Wilson III has been elected director of the University of North Carolina Press succeeding Mr. William T. Couch, who resigned to become director of the University of Chicago Press. Dr. Wilson has recently been discharged from the Navy where he had the rank of commander.

Dr. Arnold K. King, professor of education and advisor in the general college of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed associate dean of the graduate school at the University.

Professors K. C. Frazer and W. S. Jenkins, who during the war have been in the service of the United States government, have returned to the University of North Carolina. Both men teach in the field of political science.

Mr. Kenneth Chorley, president of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, on December 3 announced the appointment of Dr. Edward P. Alexander, superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, as educational director of Colonial Williamsburg. Dr. Alexander will take up his new duties February 1.

Mr. David Cushing Duniway has been appointed State Archivist of Oregon. He was connected with The National Archives, Washington, D. C., in various capacities, 1937-1945, and he served as secretary-treasurer of the American Association for State and Local History, 1940-1945.

On October 16 the state officials of the United Daughters of the Confederacy met in Greensboro at a meeting which took the place of the 1945 convention. Plans for the 1946 convention were formulated and awards of prizes were announced. The 1945 officers will serve until the 1946 convention. Numerous awards were made for the varied activities of the Division.

On November 17 the North Carolina Society of County Historians met at Chapel Hill. Postwar plans for the Society were discussed and it was voted to hold a "history week" in the public schools of the state at some future date. Plans were tentatively formulated to conduct tours of various historical sections of the state. Mr. R. E. Wicker of Pinehurst was elected president for next year, succeeding Professor Phillips Russell of Chapel Hill. Dr. D. T. Smithwick of Louisburg was elected vice-president, and Mr. L. M. McDonald of Olivia was chosen secretary-treasurer, succeeding Mr. Malcolm Fowler of Lillington. The next meeting of the Society will be held on June 15-16 in Louisburg.

The North Carolina Society of Mayflower Descendants, at a meeting held in Winston-Salem on November 17, elected Ralph B. Cort of Greensboro governor, succeeding Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell of Chapel Hill. Mr. Morton La Baron Church of Charlotte was elected deputy governor. Mr. Gaylord C. Shepherd of Asheville was elected secretary-treasurer, Mr. Burnham Standish Colburn of Biltmore Forest historian, Mr. Samuel E. Ervin,

Jr., of Morganton counselor, and Rev. Douglas L. Rights of Winston-Salem elder. Elected to the Board of Assistants were: Mrs. Thomas J. Byerly of Winston-Salem, Mrs. Gerry D. Pettibane of Charlotte, Dr. Sturgis E. Leavitt of Chapel Hill, Mr. Macon R. Dunnagan of Raleigh, Mrs. Alonzo R. Perkins of Greensboro, Mrs. Charles F. Bryant of Asheville, Mrs. Philip W. Delano of Wilmington, and Mrs. Curtis Bynum of Asheville. Mr. Frederick A. Van Fleet of Cleveland, Ohio, made the principal address at the meeting.

The North Carolina Symphony Society held its annual business meeting in Raleigh December 11. The election of officers was postponed until some future date, and the following officers were continued in office: Dr. Benjamin F. Swalin, Chapel Hill, music director; Mr. Kermit H. Hunter, Chapel Hill, manager; Governor R. Gregg Cherry, chairman ex officio of Board of Directors; Dr. Clyde A. Erwin, Raleigh, ex officio, a member of the Board of Directors; Mr. Harry F. Comer, Chapel Hill, president; Mrs. Charles E. Johnson, Raleigh, vice-president; Miss Nancy N. Harris, Winston-Salem, secretary; and Mr. A. C. Hall, Raleigh, treasurer.

The nineteenth annual session of the North Carolina State Art Society met in Raleigh December 12. Governor R. Gregg Cherry presided at the first session and Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington, president, of Warrenton, brought presidential greetings. Mr. James W. Lane, member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., gave an illustrated lecture, "A Short Survey of American Painting Since 1750." After the lecture a reception was held and there was a preview exhibition of "The American Scene from 1750," a collection which was brought to Raleigh by Mr. William F. Davidson, vicepresident, M. Knoedler and Company, Inc., New York City. On the morning of December 13 a general business meeting of the society was held, and in the afternoon officers were elected for the ensuing year. Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington was re-elected president, and Mrs. Henry M. London was elected executive secretary.

The Archaeological Society of North Carolina held its annual meeting in Raleigh on December 13. Mr. William Franklin Stinespring, associate professor of Old Testament at Duke University, delivered an address entitled "The Near East in Archaeology," and Mr. Harry T. Davis of Raleigh read a paper entitled "A Survey of North Carolina Archaeology to Date." A reception was held by the Woman's Club for all members and guests of the societies. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Mrs. J. B. Derieux, Raleigh, president; Dr. L. E. Hinkle, Raleigh, vice-president; Dr. Raymond Adams, Chapel Hill, secretary-treasurer; and Mr. Harry T. Davis, Raleigh, editor. Mr. A. G. Phelps of Hilton Village, Virginia, and Dr. John Gillin of Durham were elected to the Executive Committee.

The fifth annual session of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities was held in Raleigh on December 13. Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord brought presidential greetings and Dr. and Mrs. Benjamin F. Swalin of Chapel Hill rendered a musical program. Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern introduced the guest speaker, Mr. Thomas Tileston Waterman of Washington, D. C., who delivered an address entitled "The Huguenot Builders of the Carolinas." After the election of officers for the ensuing year, a reception was held for the members and guests of the society. The following officers were elected: Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, president; Judge Richard Dillard Dixon of Edenton, first vice-president; Mrs. Gordon W. Lovejoy of Raleigh, secretary-treasurer.

On December 14 the forty-fifth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association was held in Raleigh. At the morning session Dr. Clement Eaton of Easton, Pennsylvania, read a paper, "Edwin A. Alderman, Liberal of the New South"; Dr. Norman Foerster of Chapel Hill read a paper, "Iowa, North Carolina, and the Humanities"; and Mrs. Charlotte Hilton Green of Raleigh reviewed North Carolina books and authors. After these papers were read a business meeting was held at which time the following officers were elected: Dr. Robert B. House, Chapel Hill, president; Mrs. Ford S. Worthy of Washington,

first vice-president; Dr. J. Harold Wolf of Gaffney, South Carolina, second vice-president; Mrs. Sidney McMullan of Edenton, third vice-president; and Dr. Christopher Crittenden of Raleigh, secretary-treasurer.

At the evening session Governor R. Gregg Cherry presided and Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell of Chapel Hill presented the Mayflower Society Cup to Mr. Josephus Daniels for his book entitled, The Wilson Era; Years of Peace 1910-1917. Mr. Aubrey L. Brooks of Greensboro delivered his presidential address entitled, "America in a World Democracy," and Mr. Armstead M. Dobie, United States Circuit Judge of Charlottesville, Virginia, delivered an address "Law and Language." A reception was held for members and guests of the Association immediately after the conclusion of this address.

On December 17 ceremonies were held at Wright Memorial Monument atop Kill Devil Hill, observing the forty-second anniversary of man's first aeroplane flight. Lieutenant General James Doolittle delivered the principal address. During the ceremony United States Army and Navy planes roared through the air in salute.

The library of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina on January 5 opened an exhibit entitled "The American Press, an Instrument of Freedom," which traced the history of the newspaper in America. The exhibit was open to the public and remained open until January 22. It was made up of twenty-five panels and included original material as well as photocopies, silhouettes, murals, and photographs. The main periods covered were the colonial, Revolutionary, Civil War, World War I, and World War II.

The American Historical Association held its annual meeting, without a program, in Washington, D. C., on December 27. A business meeting was held and the presidential address was delivered. The council also held its annual session.

On December 31 the 1945 Baruch University Prize of \$1,000 was awarded to Dr. Harold S. Schulty of the department of

history at Elon College for his work entitled, "South Carolina and National Politics, 1852-1860: A Study of the Movement for Southern Independence." The award is given by Mr. Bernard Baruch in memory of his mother, Mrs. Simon Baruch, and is awarded under the auspices of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Pioneering a People's Theater, by Dr. Archibald Henderson, has been published. It is one of the seventeen volumes in the series of sesquicentennial publications being issued during the year by the University of North Carolina. The volume is dedicated to Frederick H. Koch, the founder of the Carolina Playmakers at the University.

On November 11 a portrait of Thomas Jordan Jarvis, governor of North Carolina (1879-1885), was unveiled at ceremonies held in the Hall of Representatives in the Capitol. The portrait was given by Mrs. Nina Cleve of New York, a niece of Governor Jarvis, and was unveiled by his grandniece, Miss Florence Jarvis Cleve. Governor R. Gregg Cherry accepted the portrait on behalf of the state, and Mr. Benjamin Bruce Sugg of Greenville delivered a tribute to Governor Jarvis. The ceremonies were planned and arranged by the Department of Archives and History; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the Department, presided; and the Department issued an illustrated pamphlet (12 pages) by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, head of the Hall of History, entitled, Thomas Jordan Jarvis. The pamphlet may be had gratis as long as the supply lasts.

On November 4 and 5 the veterans of the 81st (Wildcat) Division held a two-day meeting in Raleigh. Major General Gustan Franche of Camden, South Carolina, was the guest speaker and former Governor J. Melville Broughton and Mr. Josephus Daniels also made addresses. The concluding ceremonies were held on Capitol Square on November 5, when Governor R. Gregg Cherry delivered an address. After the address the ceremonies were adjourned to the Hall of History to view the Japanese trophies, captured by the Division, which had been placed in the custody of the State Department of Archives and

History. In this connection the Department issued an illustrated pamphlet (12 pages) by Mrs. Joye E. Jordan, entitled *The Wildcat Division*, which was distributed during the exercises. This pamphlet is for free distribution as long as the supply lasts.

Dr. Cecil Johnson, an associate professor of history in the University of North Carolina, was designated to represent the University at the centennial celebration of Limestone College at Gaffney, South Carolina, on November 4-6. Dr. Johnson was formerly a member of the faculty at Limestone College.

Mr. Kay Kyser and his mother, Mrs. Emily Royster Howell Kyser of Rocky Mount, have presented to the library of the University of North Carolina the private library of Edward Vernon Howell, former dean of the school of pharmacy of the University. Dean Howell was the first dean of the school of pharmacy and served in that capacity for thirty-four years. This library contains over 3,500 items, many of which deal historically with North Carolina and the South during the War for Southern Independence.

Misses Cecil B. and Eugenia A. Burroughs of Savannah, Georgia, have presented to the Southern Historical Collection in the library of the University of North Carolina a collection of the papers of John Macpherson Berrier, who was a member of the United States Senate from Georgia and was Attorney General of the United States.

Among the men who have been awarded highly prized Kenan Professorships at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is Dr. Fletcher M. Green, professor of history. The Kenan Professorship Endowment and Reserve Fund was established in 1917 by the will of the late Mrs. Mary Lily Kenan Bingham in memory of her father, William R. Kenan, and her uncles, James G. Kenan and Thomas S. Kenan, who were graduates of the University.

The Historical Society of North Carolina was organized in Chapel Hill on November 17, largely through the efforts of Dr.

Archibald Henderson. At this meeting a constitution and by-laws were drawn up and adopted, and the following officers were elected: Dean Alice Baldwin of Duke University, president; Dr. Frontis W. Johnston of Davidson College, vice-president; and Dr. Cecil Johnson of the University of North Carolina, secretary-treasurer. The members elected to the executive council are as follows: Dr. Archibald Henderson of the University of North Carolina; Dr. Christopher Crittenden of the State Department of Archives and History; Mr. William T. Polk of the *Greensboro Daily News*; and Dr. James W. Patton of State College. Following the business meeting, a dinner was held, and afterward Dr. Frontis W. Johnston read a paper on "The Military Career of Zebulon Baird Vance."

Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel, by Kemp Plumner Battle, former president of the University of North Carolina, was published in November by the University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

The Duke University Press, Durham, announces the publication of Government Assistance in Eighteenth-Century France, by Shelby T. McCloy.

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fellowship has been established by the American Historical Association, and will be awarded annually for the best original manuscript, either completed or in progress, on American history. The Fellowship will be administered by the Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, and has a cash value of \$1,000. The manuscript will be published on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund, and the author will also receive a five per cent royalty. Each annual award will be announced at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December.

Former Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins has given the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library a collection of addresses and articles by herself and others on the subject of labor in the United States, 1932-44, together with letters and resolutions

addressed to her as Secretary of Labor from 1940 to 1942 on various subjects growing out of the problem of national defense. Additional personal papers for the period 1933-38 received from Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt include materials relating to inaugural ceremonies and family weddings. Other materials acquired include fifteen sound recordings of addresses by President Roosevelt and recordings of other important speeches and events of his administration; forty photographs made on his visit to Ottawa, Canada, in August, 1943; a number of books and pamphlets on subjects related to his Presidency; and a variety of museum objects. In the last-mentioned group are two drypoint portrait engravings of the President made in 1944 by Walter Tittle.

On September 12, 1945, a few days after they were flown to the United States from General MacArthur's headquarters, the Japanese surrender documents signed on board the battleship Missouri were placed on view in The National Archives, where the German surrender papers, which have been transferred to the permanent custody of the Archivist, were already on display. General Jonathan M. Wainwright opened the exhibition in a ceremony witnessed by diplomatic and military representatives of the United Nations. Subsequently the Joint Chiefs of Staff transferred the surrender documents signed in the Philippines, at Singapore, in southern Korea, and on Saishu-To, and these were also placed on display. From November 1 until December 15 all the surrender documents were on a Victory Loan tour. They are now exhibited in The National Archives.

The instruments of surrender and other papers signed at Luneburg, Reims, and Berlin have been published in facsimile by The National Archives in *Germany Surrenders Unconditionally*. This forty-one-page booklet also contains an introduction briefly describing the documents and the circumstances of their signing and the radio script of the ceremonies opening the exhibit of them on June 6. A similar publication, *The End of the War in the Pacific*, containing facsimiles of the Japanese surrender documents, is in press.

On October 25 Governor R. Gregg Cherry appointed on the Tryon's Palace Commission the following persons: Mrs. J. E. Latham of Greensboro, Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern, Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, United States Senator Clyde R. Hoev of Shelby, former Governor J. M. Broughton of Raleigh, Senator D. L. Ward of New Bern, Mrs. A. B. Stoney of Morganton, Mrs. John A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, Mrs. J. Wilbur Bunn of Raleigh, Mrs. Richard N. Duffy of New Bern, Miss Virginia Horne of Wadesboro, Mrs. Peter Arrington of Warrenton, Mrs. Richard J. Reynolds of Winston-Salem, Mrs. William H. Belk of Charlotte, Mrs. Paul L. Borden of Goldsboro, Mrs. E. L. McKee of Sylva, Mrs. Lawrence Sprunt of Wilmington, Mr. A. H. Graham of Hillsboro, Senator Carroll P. Rogers of Tryon, Mr. S. Clay Williams of Winston-Salem, Mrs. P. P. McCain of Sanitorium, Dr. Fred Hanes of Durham, Mrs. Lyman A. Cotten of Chapel Hill, Mrs. J. S. Mitchener of Raleigh, and Judge Richard Dillard Dixon of Edenton. Ex officio members are Mr. Harry McMullan, Attorney General; Mr. R. Bruce Etheridge, director of the State Department of Conservation and Development; Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History; Mr. L. C. Lawrence, mayor of New Bern; and Mr. George W. Ipock, chairman of the Craven County Board of Commissioners.

On November 6 the Tryon's Palace Commission met in Raleigh and elected Governor R. Gregg Cherry honorary chairman; Mrs. J. E. Latham of Greensboro, chairman; Mrs. J. A. Kellenberger of Greensboro, vice-chairman; Mrs. Charles A. Cannon of Concord, second vice-president; and Miss Gertrude Carraway of New Bern, secretary. Mr. Charles M. Johnson, State Treasurer, was elected treasurer of the Commission to handle contributions to the restoration project.

Among the sesquicentennial volumes of the University of North Carolina published during the fall and winter of 1945-1946 to which the history department made considerable contribution are the following: A State University Serves the Humanities, which was edited by a committee of which Professor

L. C. MacKinney was chairman. Professor W. E. Caldwell contributed a chapter, "The Humanities at the University of North Carolina, 1795-1945," and Professor J. L. Godfrey contributed a chapter, "History and Its Relation to the Humanities"; and Library Resources of the University of North Carolina, which contains sections by Professors W. E. Caldwell, L. C. MacKinney, M. B. Garrett, J. L. Godfrey, Phillips Russell, A. R. Newsome, and W. W. Pierson.

Books received include Rembert W. Patrick, Florida Under Five Flags (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1945); and Charles E. Rush, Library Resources of the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945).

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RICHARD CASWELL: VERSATILE LEADER OF THE REVOLUTION

By C. B. ALEXANDER

At the meeting of the first Provincial Congress at New Bern on August 25, 1774, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell were elected to attend the first Continental Congress in Philadelphia which began its sessions on September 5. These three men, who had been members of the Committee of Correspondence, had actively supported the cause of Boston, and had favored the cooperation of all the colonies in resisting the five intolerable acts of Parliament.

As to Caswell's motives for attending the Continental Congress, the explanation of Governor Martin appears inadequate. In a letter to the Earl of Dartmouth, written September 1, 1774, Martin said:

Richard Caswell has been appointed a delegate to the Continental Congress, but he disapproves of these measures in his heart, I am persuaded, and undertakes this office purely for the sake of maintaining his popularity on which he depends for continuance in the Treasurership which he has ever shown the best disposition to employ for the advantage of the government.¹

In another letter to the Earl of Dartmouth nearly a year later, dated August 28, 1775, Martin again refers to Caswell's attitude:

At his going to the first Congress and after his return, Caswell appeared to me to have embarked in the cause with a reluctance that much extenuated his guilt. In my estimation he now shows himself to be the most active tool of sedition, although his professions still are averse to his ostensible conduct, and character which at this crisis of affairs serve but to aggravate his guilt and infamy.²

¹ Colonial Records, IX, 1061. 2 Colonial Records, X, 232.

This reluctance to embark in the cause, which Martin noted in the autumn of 1774, showed Caswell to be a man of moderation and of sound judgment, to be a spirit in harmony with a majority of the delegates in Congress.

Within a few days after the adjournment of the first Provincial Congress, all preparations had been made by Caswell for the long journey of 400 miles to Philadelphia. On September 3 his party set out from "The Red House," the home of Caswell on the Neuse near Kinston. He carefully noted in his diary the distances traveled each day which never exceeded forty-eight miles. Such a journey over the rough roads and the treacherous rivers was quite burdensome and taxed to the limit the strength and endurance of men and horses. They arrived in Philadelphia on September 15, and found lodging at a Mrs. Kerney's on Market Street, opposite "The Indian King." Caswell commented on the great size of the city with its population of thirty-five thousand, at that time the largest in America.

The day after reaching Philadelphia, he attended a banquet given in honor of the delegates at which no less than thirty-two toasts were drunk. One is forced to wonder what effect all these toasts had on the conversation and how the dignified gentlemen found their lodgings that night. Among the most important results achieved by the Continental Congress were the new acquaintances formed together with the interchange of ideas that went far toward bringing about a common understanding of purposes and that mutual reliance which must precede any effective union. Many distinguished men from all the colonies except Georgia were gathered together, most of whom had never met each other before.

For seven weeks the members of Congress enjoyed a continual round of entertainments in the homes of one of the most cultured cities of the colonies. Caswell's diary gives hints of the social life and the personal contacts enjoyed by him with other prominent people. Almost every day he dined, or "teaed," or "supped," with friends or fellow members of Congress. His expense account for articles of dress shows that he felt the necessity of being well groomed on these occasions. He purchased a pair of kid gloves for seven shillings, six pence, and a cane for two shillings, six pence. His silk stockings cost him no less than twenty-eight shillings a

pair. Of course, the gentlemen of that day wore knee-breeches with knee buckles and silk stockings. They made a gay and colorful appearance in their suits of serge or broadcloth trimmed with a profusion of fringes, ruffles, and buckles.

Caswell was not appointed on any of the important committees of Congress, for he did not take his seat in "Carpenter's Hall" until September 17, twelve days after the Congress was organized. Furthermore, it is impossible to say what part he took in the discussions, since no records of the debates were kept, and the deliberations were carried on secretly behind locked doors. Although the part he took in the debates is not known, the following comment made by John Adams to Judge William Gaston many years afterwards is all the more noteworthy when it is remembered that Adams was a most critical and penetrating observer of men: "We always looked to Richard Caswell for North Carolina. He was a model man and a true patriot." 3

On October 1 Caswell, with his father and several companions, went to New Jersey to visit some friends. By the end of the first week of October the party was ready to leave Philadelphia on their homeward journey, though the Continental Congress did not adjourn until October 26. The Caswells spent about three weeks in Maryland with the grandmother and other relatives.

When the second Provincial Congress met at New Bern the following spring Caswell on April 5, 1775, presented the plan of the continental association recommended by the delegates at Philadelphia. This report, which left to the local committees in each port the difficult task of enforcing the boycott, was accepted. With the hope of bringing pressure to bear on Parliament to repeal the Townsend duties by preventing trade with the British merchants, efforts to enforce the boycott were now redoubled as it would not be effective unless it could be made binding on all alike. When Hooper, Hewes, and Caswell were reelected as delegates to the second Continental Congress, Governor Martin dissolved the Assembly on April 8, after a session of only four days. Thus came to an end the last Assembly in North Carolina convened under royal authority. Within three weeks of this dissolution Caswell was again on his way to Philadelphia.

³ John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina from 1584 to 1851, I, 87. ⁴ Colonial Records, IX, 150.

He reached his destination on May 9, and on the following Sunday evening wrote an interesting letter to his eldest son, William, describing the military displays he had witnessed on the journey, which caused him to urge that North Carolinians emulate the example of the other colonists. He said that on May 1 at Petersburg, Virginia, "the express" told him the news of the battle of Lexington, where thirty-seven Bostonians had been killed and a similar number wounded. He could not know in advance what warlike preparations this news immediately set on foot in his neighboring county of Craven, nor in New Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Rowan, where companies of militia were formed and drilled for defense. When Philadelphia was reached they found that the martial preparations there were greater than any they had seen on the road. The streets were filled with warlike music and 2,000 men marched out daily to the commons to drill. He commented on the fact that even the peace-loving Quakers had formed several companies with the determination to defend their liberties. In closing he expressed his opinion to his son that it will be "a reflection on North Carolina to be behind her neighbors. It is indispensably necessary to form companies, to arm them, and to elect officers. I will join on my return home. as a private if necessary. Some will object that it will be acting against the government. Answer them that we are preparing ourselves to defend our country and to support our liberties." 5

With the view to stimulating public opinion in North Carolina against British authority, Caswell, Hooper, and Hewes on June 19 addressed a stirring and eloquent message to the committees of safety in the several counties and towns of the province, giving reasons why the example of the sister colonies in studying the art of war should be emulated. Warning was given that if General Gage subdued Boston, the southern colonies would next feel the weight of British vengeance. The appeal was closed with these words:

North Carolina alone remains an inactive spectator of this general defensive armament, supine and careless of her duty, it seems. Why have you been exempt from the act of Parliament restraining trade? Obviously, because Britain cannot keep up her naval force without you. You supply the very sinews of her strength. Withhold your naval

⁵ Colonial Records, IX, 1247.

stores, and all the powers of Europe can hardly supply her. Through you, the minister wishes to disunite the whole colonial chain. We know your virtue too well to dread his success. You have the example of New York to animate you. She views the exemption of that province as a stab under a smile. Preserve the small quantity of gunpowder among you. It will be the last resource when every other means of safety fails you. Great Britain has cut you off from further supplies. He betrays his country who sports it away. The crisis of America is not at a great distance." 6

This is the message sent from Philadelphia a week before Caswell left that city and is the one which Governor Martin called "the general source of foul sedition." 7 Caswell's last appeal to the public from the Continental Congress was made in a letter to the committee of safety requesting that July 20 should be observed religiously as a day of fasting and prayer.8

On July 8, 1775, Caswell returned to North Carolina to take an active part in the third Provincial Congress, meeting at Hillsboro in August, which Martin described as a "most daring attempt to stir up rebellion against his majesty's government." 9 It was in this connection, moreover, that Martin denounced Caswell vehemently as follows:

. . . by the return of Richard Caswell, who most of all had promoted sedition in the present convention with all his might, who remains here to superintend its movements and no doubt to inflame it with the extravagant spirit of that daring assembly in Philadelphia. I am credibly informed that at New Bern he had the insolence to reprehend the committee of safety for suffering me to remove from thence. 10

This denunciation of Caswell was written by Martin on August 28, 1775, on board the sloop of war anchored in the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, where he had taken refuge, after his flight from the governor's palace at New Bern and his forced abandonment of Fort Johnston.

Within four days after the third Provincial Congress had met. unanimous approval was voted of the acts and resolutions of the Continental Congress, and it was agreed that North Carolina should contribute to the expenses of the continental government.

⁶ Colonial Records, X, 20.
⁷ Colonial Records, X, x (preface).
⁸ Colonial Records, X, 65.
⁹ Colonial Records, X, pp. 85, 148.
¹⁰ Colonial Records, X, 232.

In addition to the two regiments ordered for the continental service, six battalions of 500 minute men each were to be raised. Caswell was appointed commander of the minute men of the New Bern district and during the fall and winter of 1775 he was busy raising, training, and equipping these forces, which he led so successfully at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776. One of the most necessary tasks taken up by the Provincial Congress at Hillsboro was the preparation of a plan for the regulation of internal order and for a civil police to make up for the absence of the executive, after the flight of Governor Martin. On August 24 Caswell, together with several other prominent leaders, was appointed on a committee for this purpose and on the committee of secrecy to report the sums of money necessary for arms and ammunition. 11 He also served on such other committees as the one to prepare an address calling on the people of North Carolina to take up arms for the defense of liberty and as the one to confer with the Regulators who had been forced to take the oath of allegiance to the king after the Battle of Alamance. They felt that this oath was still binding on their consciences.

Yet another serious duty imposed on Caswell by the Provincial Congress, because of his experience as treasurer under the royal government, was to serve on a committee reporting on the state of the public funds. 12 This report, made without delay and adopted, recommended that the committee should supervise public accounts and estimate public allowances. Caswell was also appointed by the Congress to be treasurer of the southern district and Samuel Johnston of the northern district. 13 The treasurer was required under the old law to collect the taxes from the sheriffs, to make a report to the governor, and to keep the books for each county.14 The performance of these duties made it impossible for Caswell to continue as a delegate to the Continental Congress; he, therefore, resigned his appointment, and on September 8 John Penn was elected in his place. 15

On October 10, 1775, he was appointed paymaster of the troops

¹¹ Colonial Records, X, 167. 12 Colonial Records, X, 180. 13 Colonial Records, X, 203. 14 State Records, XXIII, 904. 15 Colonial Records, X, 204.

in the New Bern district and gave bond for £10,000.16 Some hint of his activities during that fall may be gained from a letter to the delegates in Philadelphia, in which he said that the militia was forming and choosing its officers, while the proceedings of the committee of safety were sent to all the counties in the province.17 As treasurer he was paying out large sums of money for purchasing ammunition and supplies and for the expenses of the regulars as well as of the minute men in the Wilmington, Salisbury, and other districts.

Caswell's own zeal and willingness to make personal sacrifices for the cause of liberty are set forth vigorously to his eldest son, William, who was serving with the second continental regiment of North Carolina in Virginia. This letter, dated February 8. 1776, expresses frankly his views at that time:

If other officers are dissatisfied with the service, it is no rule you should be. I hope, my dear child, the virtuous cause you are engaged in and the hope you have of giving the little assistance in your power to the relief of your country will stimulate you to put up with hardships, fatigue and other inconveniences which others may shudder at, to ward off that slavery under which it is attempted to put the present and future generations in this once happy land. 18

The enjoyment of domestic felicity with wife and children which Caswell anticipated was denied him before the end of the month, for he was called to the valley of the Cape Fear soon after this letter was written. On February 2, 1776, seventeen miles above Wilmington, at Moore's Creek Bridge, he became the popular hero of the day by defeating the Scottish Highlanders and stopping the execution of the plan for the subjugation of North Carolina and the four other southern colonies. While Caswell was busy acting as treasurer and making military preparations in the autumn and winter of 1775, Josiah Martin on his cruiser below Wilmington and former Governor Tryon, who was then in New York, counted on 10,000 Tories, including the newly arrived Highlanders and the Regulators of the Piedmont counties, rising en masse and marching to Wilmington. There they were to be joined by Sir Henry Clinton's fleet from Boston

¹⁶ Colonial Records, X, 287.
17 Colonial Records, X, 34.
18 State Records, XV, 685.

bringing 2,000 regular troops. In addition, the authorities in England had agreed to send a fleet from Ireland under Sir Peter Parker, who was to bring to Wilmington seven regiments commanded by the brilliant Cornwallis. This formidable scheme to conquer North Carolina and to put the Tories in control of the government failed to synchronize. If all these forces had reached Wilmington at the appointed time, they might have succeeded in their plan to drive a wedge between the northern and southern colonies and so to cut the communications between the two sections.

In the meantime the rising of the Scots was frustrated by the important victory of Caswell and Alexander Lillington at Moore's Creek Bridge on February 27. General James Moore, who was the commander-in-chief of the forces and who planned the campaign, gave Caswell the credit for this victory. Moore's report of March 2, 1776, to Cornelius Harnett, president of the Provincial Council, does not mention Lillington's name at all, 19 and neither did the Provincial Congress mention his name on April 13, when voting thanks to Caswell and his men. For several weeks following the overthrow of the Highlanders at Moore's Creek, Caswell remained in the Cape Fear section to meet the British ships which were expected daily. But in April he was authorized by the Provincial Congress to disband his men. 20

This sudden defeat of the king's friends prevented any wide-spread rallying to the British cause and so elated the Whigs that 10,000 gathered around Wilmington to prevent an invasion by Clinton's forces. In the face of so great opposition, it was deemed inadvisable to try landing the British troops; consequently in May they sailed to Charleston, South Carolina, and left North Carolina unmolested for four more years. But far greater than the military results of the battle of Moore's Creek must be regarded the political effects of the battle both on the career of Caswell and on the revolutionary history of North Carolina. The fourth Provincial Congress met at Halifax on April 4, and, stirred to action by this attempt to subjugate the colony, on April 12 adopted resolutions authorizing the delegates of North Carolina in the Continental Congress to join with the

 ¹⁹ Colonial Records, X, 483.
 20 Colonial Records, X, 798; State Records, XI, x (preface).

delegates of other colonies to declare their independence of the crown.

In the fourth Provincial Congress Caswell was appointed on several important committees: to report on the business necessary for that session, to report what sum of money would be sufficient to carry on the military establishment for the ensuing year, and to draw up a statement for the Continental Congress as to the expense incurred by North Carolina since the beginning of hostilities with the British.²¹ He also served on committees to regulate the militia, to report on the best way of paying the militia or their expenses in the service, to report on the best method of procuring and purifying lead and sulphur for the powder mill to be erected, and to inquire into what provisions had been purchased on the public account and the best way to dispose of them.²² After the failure of the committee of the fourth Congress to agree on a constitution, Caswell and eight other prominent men were appointed to form a temporary government to function between the sessions of Congress.23

In the fifth Provincial Congress which met at Halifax on November 12, 1776, for the purpose of drawing up the first constitution of the state, Caswell's popularity won at Moore's Creek made possible his election as president of this Congress. Likewise, this victory explains his supreme political triumph in securing the votes of the Congress for governor, and of the first Assembly on April 8, 1777, which confirmed the temporary election of the convention. On the following day he was named one of the committee of eighteen to draw up a constitution and a bill of rights. The bill of rights presented by Caswell on December 12 was endorsed after four days with little debate and no change except that the title was amended to "The Declaration of Rights." The wisdom shown by the makers of the constitution of North Carolina was not in devising original theories or even in using unfamiliar words, but rather in the balanced judgment that led them to omit unsound ideas and to adopt those principles of government best suited to the needs of the people of that time.

In the Declaration of Rights, particularly, may be found the statements of the political philosophy of the time and of the

²¹ Colonial Records, X, 577.
22 Colonial Records, X, pp. 551, 555, 572, 574.
23 Colonial Records, X, 552.

liberties to be guaranteed to individuals as well as of the limitations of the power of the state. The first article which set forth the doctrine of popular sovereignty, or the belief that supreme political power rested in the people, was contained in the Halifax and Mecklenburg resolutions, while the words were similar to those in the Virginia bill of rights. The second article likewise states this view of popular sovereignty and may be traced to the same sources as the first. The third article against special privileges to any class was copied verbatim from the Virginia bill of rights. The fourth article, which sets forth the theory of the separation of the powers of government in the three departments, was taken from the sources mentioned above. The sixth article on the election of the General Assembly was exactly like that in the Virginia bill, which made annual election of members by the freeholders the only check on the supremacy of the legislature. Nearly all of the remaining twenty articles guaranteed to the individual citizens the familiar rights and privileges of Englishmen.

In the constitution proper the most important departure from the colonial system was the strict limitation of the powers granted to the governor. He was to be elected annually by the General Assembly to which he was to be subordinate. The governor was not to hold office more than three years successively. He was denied the power to transact any important business without the advice of the executive council, in the selection or removal of whose members he had no voice. He could not veto the acts of the Assembly, nor could he convene, prorogue, or dissolve that body, since the royal governors had often abused these powers. Likewise he was deprived for the most part of the appointing power, and not even the chief military appointments were entrusted to him.

Experience had taught the framers of the constitution to fear executive tyranny so much that to prevent this evil they went to the other extreme of making the executive authority decidedly weak. They made the mistake of tying the hands of the governor at the very time when the efficient conduct of the war called for the delegation of more authority to him. Caswell found these restrictions irksome and later stated with reference to Cornelius Harnett: "I think if there is any blame to be fixed on those who

formed the constitution, a very considerable part he ought to take to himself for cramping so much the powers of the executive." ²⁴ To an inquirer asking what powers the Congress had given the governor, William Hooper replied that "The Governor had only been given the power to sign a receipt for his salary." However, the initiation of measures and the execution of decisions were left the governor so that a strong personality like Caswell accomplished a remarkable amount of work by sheer force of personal influence and persuasiveness.

From Caswell's recognized preeminence as president of the Congress and as chairman of the committee that drew up the Declaration of Rights, from the fact that the Congress voted him special thanks on December 20 for his able work as president, and from the fact that they went further in expressing the greatest confidence in him by electing him the first governor to support the new constitution, it seems safe to infer that Caswell exerted a weighty if not a paramount influence in the formation and adoption of the constitution of 1776.²⁵

On December 20 the Congress selected Caswell to serve as governor temporarily until the meeting of the General Assembly in April. At the palace in New Bern on January 16 Caswell and the Council took the oath of office. They carried on their administrative duties so successfully for the next few months that when the first Assembly met on April 8 he was reelected for a regular term.²⁶

During his administration the three perils demanding his continual vigilance were the attacks of the Indians on the frontier, the raids of the British on the coast towns, and the intrigues of the Tories who were numerous throughout the state. The defense of the state from these ever present dangers occupied most of his time and energy. The problem of raising, equipping, and maintaining troops for both state and continental service was rendered difficult by the limited powers granted to the governor by the constitution. Moreover, in judging his accomplishments as the chief executive of the state, one must keep in mind the lack of preparedness for war, the absence of precedents for establishing an effective military organization, the public hostility to the

R. D. W. Connor, Cornelius Harnett; An Essay in North Carolina History, pp. 177, 178.
 Colonial Records, X, 1003.
 State Records, XXIII, 986; XXIV, 1.

formation of a regular standing army, and the poverty of the people. Other difficulties were the emptiness of the treasury, the almost total absence of manufacturing establishments of any kind, the scarcity of ships in which to import supplies from abroad, and the dearth of officers with technical training in military affairs.

Before dealing with the governor's activities connected with the financing of the war, the building up of manufactures and commerce, and the more strictly military problems of recruiting, arming and supplying the troops, and directing their movements, it may be desirable to present the steps he adopted in meeting the threefold menace of the Indians, the British, and the Tories. Hardly had Caswell taken the oath of office as governor and moved into the palace at New Bern when he was informed, on February 1, 1777, by Griffith Rutherford, brigadier general of the Salisbury district, that the situation in the west was serious, as the Indians were planning to make war on the frontier settlements. For the purpose of repelling this attack, Rutherford requested that ammunition and companies of militia be sent him, and that he be given authority to muster additional militia in the Washington district beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains.²⁷ This request was promptly granted.²⁸ On April 20 he criticised the Assembly for wasting a fortnight in discussing trifling matters of decorum as to the relations between the two houses, while the Indian war was impending in the west.²⁹

A treaty was made with the Cherokees by August, 1777,30 but violations were continually being reported by the western leaders and war was imminent on account of the encroachment of settlers and the stirring up of the Indians by the British in spite of the friendly efforts made by Caswell to enforce the treaty. But all that he and the Assembly were able to do could not keep the landhungry settlers from violating the treaty. He expressed his regrets that grounds for complaint had been given to the Cherokees, and his misgivings that the opening of the land office in the west by the Assembly had misled the people into thinking that they were at liberty to make entries in the land beyond the

²⁷ State Records, XI, 372. 28 State Records, XI, 393. 29 State Records, XI, 457. 30 State Records, XV, 704.

boundary. He tried to reconcile Savanuca, the Raven of Chota, by assuring him that he had issued a proclamation forbidding trespassing in the future on pain of punishment. He gave notice that the last Assembly had declared void all entries of Indian lands and required that all money paid for such land be returned.31 Throughout the rest of Caswell's administration the Cherokees remained at peace with North Carolina, and carefully observed their promises made in the treaty although the extensive encroachments of the white men on the Indian lands stirred up bitter resentment.32

At the same time that the Indians were threatening war on the frontier, Governor Caswell's vigilance was called for along the coast, because of the British raids endangering the chief ports of Wilmington, New Bern, Beaufort, and Ocracoke Inlet. The three means of defense employed were the erection of forts, the building or purchasing of a few ships by the state, and the authorization of privateers to attack British vessels and prey on commerce.

The descent of the British on Core Banks so alarmed the people of that vicinity that a petition was sent to the governor begging for protection, and pointing out the necessity of guarding the essential trade passing through Ocracoke Inlet. In September the British landed at Core Banks, capturing sheep and cattle which Caswell ordered the militia to regain by marching with the greatest expedition and secrecy. He estimated that ten pilots would be needed for the ships to drive off the British brigantines from Ocracoke.33 Accordingly the Pennsylvania Farmer and the Sturdy Beggar attacked the two brigantines, while most of the small vessels escaped the enemy by going up the Neuse River.34

This predatory incursion caused such consternation among the people at Beaufort that an address was sent to the governor, on September 20, reminding him of the critical situation of that place and setting forth the damage that might accrue to the state for want of a few pieces of ordnance. To meet this expected attack, Caswell, when the Assembly met in November, urged

State Records, XIII, 116, 135.
 State Records, XIII, 235, 246.
 State Records, XI, 775.
 State Records, XI, 624.

upon the members the immediate necessity of determining on measures of defense, on account of the unprotected condition of Ocracoke.

Although the governor continued to recommend to the Assembly the need for coast defenses, that body delayed as long as possible. When they met again in 1778, Caswell reported once more that "our coast is much infested with the enemy constantly landing men and plundering." But the representatives of the western counties were little concerned about building forts or ships for defending the coast. And it was not until the following year that resolutions were finally passed recognizing that the defense of Ocracoke was "essential and necessary."

A ship for the defense of Ocracoke was purchased by the Assembly from Virginia and named in honor of Governor Caswell.35 Finally when it was fitted out Captain Wilson received orders to take it to Ocracoke and search every vessel to prevent the exportation of provisions contrary to proclamation.³⁶ In a short time this ship ran aground in Bogue Sound, a mishap which Caswell attributed to the "rascally behavior of the pilots," against whom he admitted himself impotent. 37 The governor urged the fitting out of other ships by the state for the defense of coast towns, such as the King Tammany³⁸ and the General George Washington, which also suffered the ill fortune of being deserted by the crew because of lack of pay.³⁹ The result of these attempts at acquiring and maintaining ships, on the part of the state, were disappointing, and proved to be of no great naval value. Privateers were chiefly relied upon by the people of North Carolina, and Caswell commissioned a considerable number manned by daring adventurers who made large profits by capturing prizes and selling their cargoes in the ports where supplies were in great demand.

The attention of the governor was likewise turned to the defense of New Bern and Wilmington where petitions drawn up by the inhabitants stated their defenselessness and the commissioners authorized to repair the forts reported that the treasury

³⁵ State Records, XIV, 678. 36 State Records, XIII, 311. 37 State Records, XI, 138. 38 State Records, XI, pp. 401, 537, 551. 39 State Records, XI, 401.

was empty.40 As a result of this short-sighted policy of the Assembly in not providing funds, both Wilmington and New Bern were taken with ease by the British in 1781.

Even more serious than the Indian peril on the frontier, or the occasional raids of the British on the coast, was the danger of the Tory risings, which confronted Caswell throughout most of his administration. In nearly every county and neighborhood in the state a large part of the population was either indifferent to the American cause or actively hostile. Keeping the Tories in check required constant vigilance and the detention within the state of regiments which might otherwise have been spared to join the armies in the field.

The defeat of the Highlanders at Moore's Creek had prevented any general rising of the Tories, but discontent became so prevalent that several alarming outbreaks occurred during the following year. On February 16, 1777, Caswell wrote to Thomas Burke, delegate to the Continental Congress, that 150 militia had been sent to Surry, Rowan, and Tryon counties in the back country where the Tories were giving trouble. 41 The Tories were not only threatening the magazines but were doing all they could to depreciate the currency and the credit of the state. They were also having such a demoralizing influence on the people, preventing enlistments, that when the Assembly met in April, 1777, an act was passed requiring all those who refused to take the oath of allegiance to North Carolina to leave the state within sixty days. Accordingly, in July shiploads of Loyalists sailed from New Bern, and others departed in October. 42

Another cause of discontent was the scarcity of salt (so essential in packing meats and provisions),43 which produced such distress that several expeditions were planned to seize the supplies stored by the state. On account of the large number of disaffected people and the proposed salt raid from Guilford, Orange, and Chatham counties, the executive council ordered Griffith Rutherford not to withdraw the troops from the Hillsboro district.44 Governor Caswell found it necessary to order the general

⁴⁰ State Records, XIII, 163.
41 State Records, XI, 393.
42 State Records, XI, 656, 765.
43 R. L. Hilldrup, "The Salt Supply of North Carolina During the American Revolution,"
The North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (Oct. 1945), 393.
44 State Records, XI, 526, 533, 548.

musters of the militia in several counties, to adopt other vigorous measures to guard the magazines from attack, and to put down sporadic conspiracies. In reply to the request for aid from Colonel John Ashe of Wilmington, Caswell promised all the assistance in his power and called for reports on the movements of the insurgents. 45 Likewise, from the best information that could be obtained from Martin, Tyrrell, and Bertie counties, the Tories there would not long remain quiet. The country was reported to be in a deplorable condition, making it necessary to guard the magazines. 46 On July 6, 1777, Jacob Blount wrote from Contentney that a bloody conspiracy had been formed by the enemies of America and by some men of note who planned to kill the leading men in all the counties, including the governor, and then to seize the magazines.47

As a result of all these conspiracies and depredations, the Tories were treated with no greater severity than might have been expected. Governor Caswell wrote to General Jethro Sumner to imprison a considerable number of those who had been taken with arms while aiding the enemy. 48 At first pardon was offered to the Tories, and the acts against them were not enforced vigorously, but the bitterness against them grew as the war wore on. More drastic confiscation acts were passed in January and October, 1779. These severe laws caused great hardships, but were probably necessary measures of defense.

Turning next to the financing of the war, we find that one of the problems with which Caswell had to deal from the beginning to the end of his administration was the securing of funds for carrying on the military and naval operations within the state, as well as for raising and equipping soldiers in the continental service. From the outset the treasury was empty, and the war required much larger sums of money than had ever been needed before. Caswell's long experience as treasurer gave him intimate knowledge of the public accounts as handled in the Assembly. The chief means of financing the war were the issues of paper money, supplemented by a direct property tax, but the rapid depreciation of the bills of credit in the closing years of the

⁴⁵ State Records, XI, 536, 611. 46 State Records, XI, 551. 47 State Records, XI, 513; XIV, 185. 48 State Records, XIV, 150.

Revolution made it necessary to levy a specific tax on various commodities. Of course, this depreciation of the currency was a great drawback in purchasing supplies for the troops and affected the salaries of all officers.

The scarcity of cash for clothing, food, and other necessary supplies caused much suffering among the men, continual complaints among the officers, and frequent delays in the movements of the troops. Furthermore, one of the chief causes of the slowness in getting recruits as well as of the frequent desertions, in the opinion of many of the officers, was the lack of money with which to pay bounties or to pay for the equipment of the soldiers.49

The difficulty of getting funds from the continental treasury was largely responsible for these financial embarrassments and for the resulting injury to the service. Writing to Thomas Burke in Philadelphia, June 16, 1777, Caswell implored him: "for God's sake let money be sent out from the continental treasury with the greatest dispatch. The officers here can do nothing in recruiting without money." 50

Unable to meet the high cost of living, several of the continental officers from North Carolina addressed a memorial to Governor Caswell regarding the failure of Congress to provide them with the necessaries of life and with the funds which the continental treasury was required to pay recruits while serving beyond the boundaries of the state.⁵¹ Congress, however, continued to neglect the needs of the North Carolina officers until on May 10, 1779, Colonel Robert Mebane reported that the officers in Philadelphia said they would resign to a man if something were not done for them by the Assembly of the state. This threat finally brought some relief, for the state made up in part for the delinquencies of Congress.52

Despite the heroic efforts of Caswell to provide money and equipment, still more intense sufferings were endured by the rank and file of the state's forces in the winter at Valley Forge. In a letter to Burke on February 15, 1778, Caswell gave vent to his feelings and deplored his inability to satisfy the needs of the

⁴⁹ State Records, XI, pp. 476, 489, 521. 50 State Records, XI, 495. 51 State Records, XI, 495. 52 State Records, XIV, 80.

troops for North Carolina who were in such dire distress. The nine regiments from the state in winter quarters at Valley Forge were far short of their full quota on account of the large number who were sick or so nearly naked and barefooted that they could not attend drills. Caswell said that their lack of clothes and the scarcity of food would wound the feelings of a man of the least sensibilities. Yet nothing could be done without money, and he could not even call a meeting of the Assembly until the time appointed. "Were I to exert every nerve and influence in my power (and no man is more willing than myself), it would be to very little purpose until the Assembly meets." He then gave some idea of his varied activities: "I am busy daily buying clothes, leather, skins, salt, pork, and provisions, setting manufacturers to work and procuring wagons and boats to send goods on to Pennsylvania." 53 So the chief burden of providing for the regiments fell on the shoulders of the governor, yet he not only assumed the initiative in getting the produce and raw materials and in having them manufactured and transported in spite of great obstacles, but he also secured money for these purposes by borrowing on his own credit.54

One reason why North Carolina did not receive more financial support from the continental treasury was the misunderstanding due to the poor system of accounting and the fact that there was no military chest established in the state at that time.⁵⁵ Caswell reported that the treasury was empty when the special session of the Assembly convened on May 3, 1779, for the pay and subsistence of those in the service, to provide for arrears due the militia, for the arms and accourrements of the militia, and for the sending of further aid to the southern states.⁵⁶

At this session Caswell was unanimously reelected governor for the third term.⁵⁷ Having been notified of his election, he replied:

It would have been more agreeable for me to retire to private life as my personal business has suffered from the outset from my having given my whole time to the service of the public. Though the Assembly

⁵³ State Records, XIII, 42.

⁵⁴ State Records, XIII, 174. 55 State Records, XIII, 124, 249, XV, 628. 56 State Records, XIV, 77; XV, 916. 57 State Records, XIV, 789.

has made allowances that might have been considered adequate, vet the depreciation of the currency has made them far short of the expenses incident to my appointment. I am morally certain that the Assembly do not wish me to make so great a sacrifice in prejudice to my family. In confidence that reasonable allowances will be made, I have qualified for the office of Governor.58

As regards articles of manufacture and trade, which were cut off from England by the outbreak of hostilities, North Carolina had to look to other countries of Europe or to the French and Dutch West Indies, especially the little island of St. Eustatius. In this trade many merchants of the state were engaged, as it invited shipowners to make large profits. Since for the most part the shipbuilding industry was left to private enterprise, the governor had little to do with it except to issue commissions and letters of marque and reprisal.⁵⁹ But it was impossible for Caswell to prevent speculators from taking advantage of the public necessity, though he denounced them vigorously. Nevertheless, in order to prevent any great scarcity of food, he issued proclamations from time to time against the exportation of salt, pork, and other provisions. He notified Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia, on January 28, 1778, that he would lay an embargo on provisions to prevent the profiteering of speculators. 60 And he gave notice that he would renew this proclamation when the legal limit of thirty days expired. With the special permission of the Assembly he renewed the prohibition against exports in April, and again in September, 1778.61

Since there was little manufacturing in the state, and a great demand for the manufacture of war supplies, various industries were encouraged not only by the liberal bounties offered by the Assembly, but also by the personal exertions of the governor. The products made of iron were among those most sorely needed, and the Council ordered that the iron ore in Chatham County be worked energetically, and that the necessary funds be provided for that purpose. 62 On June 6, 1777, Caswell reported that "we viewed the iron works in Chatham County and found that sundry preparations had been made, though the blowing has not yet

⁵⁸ State Records, XV, 791. 59 State Records, XI, 47, 473. 60 State Records, XIII, 15. 61 State Records, XI, 759; XIII, 564. 62 State Records, XI, 414.

begun." This would require some time as the quantity of coal, iron ore, and limestone was not sufficient for an advantageous beginning. This situation was due to a shortage of labor and to the need of money by John Wilcox, who was operating the iron works, 63

Still another article, tin, was needed for making boxes, and Caswell accordingly proposed to the Assembly in April, 1778, the purchase of a large amount of this product which had been brought to Wilmington, Consequently, a resolution empowered the governor to buy all the tin in the state for the purpose of making canisters.64

Furthermore, one of the leading industries of North Carolina was the manufacture of leather goods, and on November 25, 1777, the delegates in Congress passed a resolution requesting Caswell to secure as much as possible for the use of the army.65 On March 14 he informed the Clothier-General that he had sent to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a large shipment of such goods. 66

He was also active in appointing purchasing agents in various parts of the state and in giving them instructions. He had many men packing pork and other provisions, in widely scattered places. For greater efficiency, he was obliged to keep in close communication with the commissaries and quartermasters. 67 The following sentences from a letter written to William Aylett on January 8, 1778, admirably express the spirit with which Caswell carried on this arduous work: "I think no labor or trouble too great to be performed in these necessary matters for the public. I hope you will ask anything you think in my power without apologizing. It is a duty I owe the country I wish to save." 68

Finally, we may consider the more strictly military problems confronting the governor. Questions arose with reference to filling up the continental battalions, prevailing on the officers and men to march beyond the borders of the state, and supplying them with all things necessary. Then there was the still more difficult matter of making the militia an efficient and dependable fighting organization.

⁶³ State Records, XI, 487. 64 State Records, XIV, 627. 65 State Records, XI, 685. 66 State Records, XIII, 66. 67 State Records, XIII, 322; XI, 408; XIII, 81, 253. 68 State Records, XIII, 16.

North Carolina was requested by Congress to raise nine of the eighty-eight battalions apportioned among the several states according to their population. In spite of the tireless exertions of the governor, these battalions for several reasons were never brought up to their full strength. One of these was the failure of Congress to meet its financial obligations, which has already been discussed. Another cause of this deficiency was the lack of any centralized authority for enlisting the continental troops, due to the inherent weakness of Congress itself. A third reason was the unwillingness of the continental officers to obey the orders of the governor, a circumstance which caused much trouble. Again, the incapacity of the officers and the mutinous spirit of the men made for delays in prompt recruiting and marching. And then there were serious draft riots in many counties, and even opposition of some of the leaders of the people. As time went on, the popular enthusiasm for independence dwindled and many became war weary. This disposition to shirk military duty was especially notable among the militia who made up the largest number of the troops. Nearly all the officers in high command agreed in pointing out the total unfitness of these raw recruits to oppose the trained veterans of the British army. The delays in recruiting and marching the troops were due not only to the militia, but to the negligence and want of ability of the officers. On February 26, writing to Burke, Caswell said that he found many of the officers, "Nay, the greatest number of them were far from using the diligence I could wish. Their indolence seems such as to do no honor to their country or to themselves." 69

When the Assembly met in January, 1779, the governor reported that only half of the 5,000 troops ordered to South Carolina had actually marched, and that these men were badly armed. To remove all doubt of the governor's power to order the continentals and the militia to go beyond the boundaries of the state, full power was given to him to call out the militia whenever needed and to order as many as 2,000 men to march to the aid of South Carolina or Virginia.⁷⁰

In the spring of that year the Indians and Tories were so threatening in the west that Caswell thought it necessary to go

⁶⁹ State Records, XI, 397. 70 State Records, XIV, 25, 86.

in person to Charlotte in April to give his assistance and to hasten the troops on to South Carolina. He expected to meet General Butler at Salisbury on March 25. He lamented the distressing lack of arms and advised Butler to apply to Hunter's works for 2,000 good muskets and bayonets.71

But on July 31 Caswell addressed a communication to the brigadier generals of the six military districts stating that the Council had advised him to disband the militia marching to the South, because such a march appeared unnecessary at that time. 72 Draft riots had again broken out in the New Bern district in July.

Finally, there may be pointed out the most insuperable difficulties with which Caswell was forced to deal constantly. They were presented to him by Brigadier General William Bryan and General Benjamin Lincoln, no doubt for transmission to the Assembly rather than as information to him personally. Bryan made a severe indictment of the militia system, stating his reasons why it could not be relied upon. He then resigned in disgust, and in his place Colonel William Caswell was appointed brigadier. general of the New Bern district, when the Assembly met in May, 1779. Bryan summed up the situation as follows:

I cannot, therefore, help saying it is my opinion that armies thus raised, officered, armed, and supplied must eventually bring dishonor on the command, as it would be very difficult for the best and most experienced commander to arrange them in such order as to insure any degree of success when opposed by a Regular, disciplined force. . . . 73

General Benjamin Lincoln was even more outspoken in his criticisms of the militia, and submitted to Caswell many arguments against depending on it for defense. In March, 1780, Lincoln reported that when the time expired the North Carolina militia would not stay any longer, though Governor Edward Rutledge of South Carolina offered them a bounty of \$300 and a suit of clothes if they would remain three months. Already several of the ships of the enemy had anchored over the bar, and the British army was on James Island; and on the mainland every

⁷¹ State Records, XIX, 30. 72 State Records, XIV, 181 73 State Records, XII, 75.

day these forces were expected before the American lines. After the siege of Charleston had begun General Lincoln wrote Governor Caswell once more that he had heard nothing of the remainder of the 3,000 militia which the Assembly of North Carolina had ordered at its previous session to go to the aid of South Carolina. He had requested the officer in charge of the other 2,000 militia in North Carolina to assemble the men on the border so as to be ready for maching to the relief of Charleston on short notice.⁷⁴

mers to be soft so inculty then his administration as thousand or seem

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⁷⁴ State Records, XV, 355.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN and CRAVEN COUNTY, 1700-1800 By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

Part VI NEW BERN AS COLONIAL CAPITAL

¶ A place . . . which I hope will still merit a continuance of the favors it has received from your Excellency. -Thomas Clifford Howe, 1769.

The year 1764 was an eventful and important one for New Bern. On New Year's Day the first well-established school in the province was begun in the town. In midyear the county's first brick courthouse was completed and occupied. And just before Christmas William Tryon paid his first visit to the people who were to benefit so greatly from his administration as governor. The town at this time consisted of 100 houses and some 500 inhabitants.1

Judging from the New Bern newspaper's account, the entire population participated in the joyous welcome given to the lieutenant governor and his wealthy and accomplished wife when their carriage, escorted by a number of New Bern gentlemen who had gone forth to meet them, rolled into town from Cape Fear on Christmas Eve, 1764.2 To the booming of a nineteen-gun salute, fired perhaps from the battery at Union Point, the Tryons were shown to their residence, which seems to have been on East Front Street.³ "In the Evening the Town was handsomely illuminated, Bonfires were lighted, and plenty of Liquor given to the Populace." The following day was given over to Christmas festivities, but on Wednesday, December 26, the "Corporation of Newbern" —that is, the town officers, aldermen, and Common Council waited on the lieutenant governor with a congratulatory address, which was read out by Recorder Richard Fenner. Tryon replied in kind to this formal welcome. "I shall retain," he said, "the

^{1 &}quot;Journal of a French Traveler in the Colonies, 1765," American Historical Review, XXVI

<sup>(1921), 735.

2</sup> The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764.

3 Colonial Records, VIII, 74. The Union Point battery is marked on C. J. Sauthier's map [142]

properest Sense of the warm Assurances the Corporation of this Borough gives me, to make my Administration easy and agreeable." That night a gay social event took place:

In the Evening, there was a very elegant BALL, in the Great Ball-Room in the Court house, where were present his Honour the Governor, and his Lady, the Mayor, Mr. Recorder, and near 100 Gentlemen and Ladies.-About Ten in the Evening the Company withdrew to the Long Room over the Ball-Room, where was spread a very elegant Collation: After Supper, the Gentlemen and Ladies returned to the Ball-Room, and concluded the Evening with all imaginable Agreeableness and Satisfaction. The Courthouse was beautifully illuminated the whole Evening.4

In all this company, none outshone Mrs. Tryon, née Margaret Wake. Whether she was a beauty we do not know, but certain it is that she was quite capitavating. "Mrs. Tryon," wrote one of her acquaintances, "is a very sensible Woman, & indeed what you call a Learned one." 5 She is mentioned at some length in a letter by a Virginian who writes that she "had an opportunity of hearing the conversation of this fine accomplish'd lady" in Williamsburg. 6 She seems to have been quite attractive to men, and held a charming woman's influence over the soldierly Tryon. "They say she rules the Roost, it is a pity," sighs the letterwriter, "I like her Husband vastly." From this, one may conclude that Tryon himself was not without his conquests among the ladies. On the day after the ball, the members of the Masonic Lodge in New Bern gave a dinner in the "Long Room"-probably the court room—in honor of Tryon and other gentlemen of the town.7 And while the artillery roared, perhaps in farewell salute, a toast was drunk to his majesty the King.

The courthouse in which these festivities were held was a prideful accomplishment of the people of New Bern and Craven County. It had just been completed, and the county court had convened in it for the first time on July 3. This building whose slow construction has been related in the preceding part,8 was

⁴ The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764. 5 [Unknown] to Maria Carter, Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, X (1902-03),

<sup>180.

6</sup> Ann Blair to Martha Braxton, William and Mary Quarterly, First Series, XVI (1907-08),

This is the earliest mention of a Masonic Lodge in New Bern—"The Ancient and Honourable Society of FREE and ACCEPTED MASONS."

8 Craven Court Minutes, July, 1764; The North Carolina Historical Review, XXIII (Jan-

all-important to the life of its day. In it met the town's Common Council, sometimes the General Assembly, and perhaps also the provincial Council, besides the various courts which convened there. It was in a real sense a community building, with many uses in addition to purely governmental ones. Public dinners and balls such as the ones given for the Tryons were held there, and public markets were allowed every Wednesday and Saturday, beneath the tall arched pillars, by an ordinance passed in September, 1764, to discourage farmers and hunters from hawking their wares in the streets. 10 The courthouse, however, was not entirely popular as a market place. The diarist William Attmore writes later in the century that actually little produce was carried there because country people arriving in boats or canoes preferred to do business at the riverside, where the wharves of the town and shipping lay. 11 Somewhere near this open, paved market-area were the town pumps, about which the idlers and gossips gathered to swap news and pleasantries, while sitting on the benches so obligingly provided by the county court or on the "kirbs" which enclosed this watering-place. 12 So various were the extra-judicial uses of the building that at one time, quite ironically, the courthouse arches were a rendezvous for those who preferred settling their grievances not by law but by dueling, and to "meet me under the Courthouse" was a challenge to defend one's honor. 13 The time, trouble, effort, and money expended on this useful building were formidable indeed. As late as 1766 some work was still being done on it, and not until 1771 were the accounts of its construction finally settled—twenty years after the purchase of the site! 14

Another source of pride to the townspeople was their new school. New Bern had had schools prior to this time, but the masters were usually ill-qualified and ill-paid pedagogues who complained noisily about their slender compensation and at times even nailed their protests, in fits of indignation, to the church door. 15 These early schoolmasters inspired little confidence

⁹ State Records, XXV, 358.

10 The North-Carolina Magazine; or Universal Intelligencer, September 7-14, 1764.

11 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII (1922), 46.

12 Craven Court Minutes, September, 1771.

13 Colonial Records, VII, 435.

14 Craven Court Minutes, October, 1766; September, 1771.

15 Colonial Records, VII, 98.

among the parents of the community, which probably accounts for the meager financial support they received. 16 Such was the situation when young Thomas Tomlinson, who had taught in the county of Cumberland in England, came to New Bern in December, 1763, at the invitation of his brother, a Craven planter, who no doubt had informed him of the need for a competent schoolmaster. Tomlinson was immediately encouraged by the Reverend James Reed, whose duty it was as clergyman of the established church to promote and supervise education, and whose dream it was, as he says, "to see a little flourishing academy in this place." 17 Tomlinson proved to be all that many of his predecessors had not been: a devout Anglican, able and sober, diligent in attending his scholars, and willing to settle permanently in the town. 18 His school, begun on January 7, was an immediate success. So many students enrolled that he wrote to England for an assistant. In March the Assembly passed a bill introduced by Colonel Joseph Leech to enable the erection of a schoolhouse on the church lots at Pollock and Craven streets. 19 This act designated the following as trustees: Thomas Haslen and Richard Fenner, a few months later to become, respectively, mayor and recorder of the borough; Richard Cogdell, an alderman; John Williams, a county justice; Leech and the other Craven representative, Thomas Clifford Howe; and, of course, the Reverend James Reed.²⁰ Meanwhile, Reed was busily soliciting funds. In six months he had obtained pledges for £200, and a schoolhouse that was to be "large and commodious" was envisioned.21 Due to the scarcity of labor and materials and the slowness in payment of the pledges, about a year passed before construction was begun.²² By this time it had been decided not to build on the church lots. Instead, the Assembly authorized the purchase of a lot from William Bastin Whitford, but it is not clear whether a building was begun on this site.23 Though it was not much. Schoolmaster Tomlinson had no trouble collecting his money reg-

¹⁶ In 1784 a New Bern schoolmaster was accused of keeping a disorderly house and fined for breach of the Sabbath! Craven Court Minutes, June, 1784. Compare Colonial Records, VII, 104.

<sup>104.

17</sup> Colonial Records, VII, 241.

18 Colonial Records, VI, 1048; VII, 35, 98, 104.

19 Colonial Records, VI, 1145, 1173; State Records, XXV, 484-485.

20 These identifications of municipal officers are made possible by The North Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, July 6-13, 1764.

21 Colonial Records, VI, 1048.

22 Colonial Records, VII, 35, 98.

23 State Records, XXII, 679.

uarly. There were thirty scholars enrolled in his classes, each of whom paid twenty shillings per quarter; and this slender sum was all he had to depend on, though the townspeople were making every effort, along with Governor Tryon, to obtain a stipend for him from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.²⁴ To save money, this admirable young man lived in an ordinary or public house and paid part of his expenses by teaching his hosts' children, but such was his sobriety that no carousing could tempt him and such was his virtue that he found such lodgings, he says, "very disagreeable." 25

By July, 1766, the schoolhouse had been erected and roofed at a cost of more than £300 proclamation money. 26 However, much remained to be done. The floors were not laid nor the chimneys built, and the anxious Mr. Reed unselfishly loaned half of his year's salary toward purchasing bricks until he could obtain more pledges by "recommending the undertaking from the pulpit" when the Assembly convened in the fall. So successful were his efforts, which were wholeheartedly seconded by Governor Tryon, that the Assembly came through with encouraging support for the school. On November 11, 1766, a bill was introduced under the sponsorship of Richard Caswell, of Dobbs, and Richard Cogdell, then sitting as a member for Carteret, to "establish a school House in the Town of New Bern," and it became law with the governor's assent on December 7.27 This law, the effect of which was to establish the first public school—that is, the first publicly supported school-in the province, authorized those who had contributed to the school to meet and choose eleven trustees from their number, to be known as the "Incorporated Society for Promoting and Establishing the Public School in New Bern." 28 Out of their membership, the trustees were to choose a treasurer and, in case of vacancies, other trustees to perpetuate the board. This treasurer was to receive all revenues of the school and, presumably, pay the master a regular salary, each master being required to be a member of the Church of England, accord-

 ²⁴ Colonial Records, VII, 36, 98, 104.
 25 Reed points out that prices were so high in New Bern that board in a private home would have amounted to a sum nearly half of Tomlinson's total earnings. Colonial Records,

would have amounted to a sum nearly half of Tomlinson's total earnings. Colonial Records, VII, 98-99.

28 Colonial Records, VII, 241.

27 Colonial Records, VIII, 354, 363, 420.

28 State Records, XXIII, 678-680. The Council wished to name Reed a trustee in the bill, but the lower house blocked this, deeming it best not to narrow in any way the contributors' right of choice. Colonial Records, VIII, 318.

ing to an amendment which the Council had insisted on.²⁹ The act vested in the trustees the schoolhouse lot and certain adjoining property, as well as some of the church lots upon which it had first been planned to build. It also repealed the act of 1764 naming the first board of trustees and providing for the erection upon these church lots. Finally, as the most important provision of all, the act levied for a seven-year period a duty of one penny per gallon on all spiritous liquors imported into Neuse River, this revenue to be paid to the treasurer of the school and used for enabling the master to keep an assistant and for educating ten poor children to be selected by the trustees.

Tomlinson, meanwhile, received similar personal encouragement, and the thriving school was literally the pride of the town. At Easter, 1766, Christ Church vestry voted him a stipend of twelve pounds annually to attend the church as a lay reader during Reed's many absences while visiting his distant parishioners.30 (The parson gave his helper Tillotson's Sermons to read from, and noted with some relief that the congregation continued to attend very regularly!). Not long afterward the young schoolmaster received an additional stipend from the Society for the Propagation of The Gospel.³¹ An assistant for him was also engaged, one James McCartney, a young native of Ireland, who wished to enter the ministry and who had lived at the home of John Harvey, the speaker of the house, as tutor for his children.³² The school enjoyed the most optimistic prospect. The first year's duty on liquors assured the retirement of all debts and the completion of every unfinished detail of the schoolhouse, as well as allowing a regular annual salary to the master. The Assembly of November, 1768, began the legislative practice of convening in the schoolhouse and paid the trustees twenty pounds for the privilege. 33 The fact that it could be used for this purpose shows that the building was sizable. Actually, it was forty-five feet long and thirty feet wide, built, of course, of wood except for the chimneys and perhaps the foundations.34 Reed called it "a large

²⁹ Colonial Records, VII, 316.
30 Colonial Records, VII, 241.
31 Colonial Records, VII, 458.
32 Colonial Records, VII, 689, 750.
33 Colonial Records, VII, 923; IX, 224, 272, 371, 953; State Records, XXII, 878.
34 Colonial Records, VII, 241; F. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina (New Oreleans, 1980). In Control of State Records, VII, 241; P. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina (New Oreleans, 1980). In Control of State Records, VII, 241; P. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina (New Oreleans, 1980). In Control of State Records, VII, 241; P. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina (New Oreleans, 1980). In Control of State Records, VII, 241; P. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina (New Oreleans, 1980). In Control of State Records, VII, 241; P. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina (New Oreleans, 1980).

and decent edifice for such a Young Country." 35 A Newport, Rhode Island, visitor to New Bern, who had no cause to be partial to the school as Reed, its patron, had, called the building "very large and handsome" and pronounced it "one of the best regulated schools of its kind in America." 36 He praised Tomlinson for being "a very sober religious man as well as a scholar and penman. To such an extent had the school flourished that there were at this time "about 70 fine Little boys and girls," or more than double the enrollment the school had started with, and the proud New Bernians were beginning to talk of a second "usher" or assistant for Mr. Tomlinson. All ages and both sexes were being admitted to the school, though as the Rhode Islander's letter would indicate, most of the pupils were youngsters. Many of these scholars came "from remote parts of the province"; indeed at one period six boys from Wilmington, over ninety miles away, were attending the classes.37

In the spring of 1765, while Tryon was escorting a distinguished visitor, Lord Adam Gordon, about the province, Governor Dobbs breathed his last.³⁸ Within four days of his demise. Tryon wrote to the Board of Trade that he had decided upon New Bern as his recommendation for the permanent capital. 39 Within a few weeks he summoned the Assembly and Council to begin meeting at New Bern, and ordered certain Council records transferred there from Wilmington. 40 Finally, to end once and for all what he called the "itinerant publick Assemblies," Tryon determined to erect a combined capitol and governor's residence in New Bern. 41 At the fall session of Assembly, Edmund Fanning, member for Orange, introduced a bill appropriating £5,000 toward the building and authorizing the governor to purchase twelve lots for the site.42 The Assemblymen, grateful for the recent repeal of the Stamp Act and skillfully led by such representatives as Alexander Elmsley, borough member for New Bern, passed the bill by a large majority, and it became law with

³⁵ Colonial Records, VII, 241.
36 John Whiting to Ezra Stiles, April 8, 1767, Francis Nash Collection, 1759-1864, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
37 Colonial Records, IX, 239.
38 Colonial Records, VI, 320.
39 Colonial Records, VI, 1220.
40 Colonial Records, VI, 5, 9.
41 Colonial Records, VII, 5, 9.
41 Colonial Records, VII, 510.
42 Colonial Records, VII, 273, 366; State Records, XXIII, 664-665.

Tryon's assent on December 7.43 New Bern rejoiced in the certainty of a greater business boom than it had ever experienced. The number of ordinaries licensed by the county court leaped sharply upward, until twenty-five or more were operating to take care of the influx of Assemblymen and officialdom. 44 Meanwhile, Wilmington indeed "mourned," as James Davis had predicted. "The Cape Fear people," wrote Samuel Johnston to Alexander Elmsley, "can hardly find it in their hearts to forgive you for fixing the Governor's House at New Bern." 45

The man who was to design and supervise the building was John Hawks (1731-1790), America's first professional architect. 46 Hawks was born in Dragby, Lincolnshire, and served as either apprentice or partner with the architect Leadbetter, who designed the Earl of Harcourt's residence "Nuneham." 47 In 1764 he came to America with Tryon upon the promise of being engaged to draw plans for the province's badly needed public buildings. He designed and superintended certain additional construction on the new Craven courthouse in 1766,48 and in all probability drew the plans for the still-standing John Wright Stanly home in New Bern, built just after the Revolution. He also did architectural work for Joseph Hewes and Samuel Johnston. 49 Hawks, however, found political posts more re-

⁴³ Colonial Records, VII, 338, 420, 510.
44 Craven Court Minutes, March sessions of 1769-1772.
45 Colonial Records, IX, 1071.
46 Fiske Kimball and Gertrude Carraway, "Tryon's Palace," New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, XXIV (1940), 20-21.
47 Colonial Records, VII, 431. A sketch of Hawks written by E. L. W. Heck is included in The Dictionary of American Biography, VIII, 417-418. However, it contains a few inconvenies.

⁴⁸ Additional pillars had to be erected to remedy a sagging upper story. Hawks received £20 for this work. Craven Court Minutes, April, October, 1766.

49 The following letter, John Hawks to Joseph Hewes, occurs in The Swain MSS, University

of North Carolina Lil and History, Raleigh: Library, transcripts in the North Carolina State Department of Archives

New Bern 29 Decr. 1773

Sir

The inclosed Drawings was prepared before I accompanied the Governor to Ocacock Island, in full expectation I should have the pleasure of delivering them to you. I now forward them by Mr. Nash in order that you may have time to consult the Workman and if any part should want a further explanation I can deliver it to you during the sessions of Assembly.

To the plan of the Colonnade I have drawn a double row of Columns, and pillasters and Groin Arches, which would make the Job more complete; but to this there are two objections one is, it would amount to three times the sum, the other If I rightly recollect the inside range of columns would be almost or quite close to the first Step of the court, which may be thought an obstruction to the passing and repassing.

As all the moldings are drawn at full size no further memorandum can be wanting other than that the Soffite or underside of the Arch from Pillaster to column of a single row, should be the exact width of the column at top which is 10 Inches. And the pillaster A in the plan to project sufficiently from the Brickwork to receive at top (exclusive of the cap) the width of the Ovals and Bead which is 3½ Inches.

I am

Sir Your most humble servant

Sir Your most humble servant John Hawks

P.S. Please to deliver the inclosed letter and Drawings to Mr. Johnston.

munerative than architecture, thanks to Tryon's patronage. In 1767 he was made acting collector of Port Beaufort and three years later was appointed to the profitable sinecure, clerk of the pleas. 50 At times he seems to have served as a secretary or assistant for Tryon.⁵¹ In 1773 and 1774 he was clerk of the Council, being appointed at Tryon's parting request by his successor, Governor Martin. 52 His special skills—architecture and accountancy-made him useful in many ways. Three times he served as a commissioner for the building of the Craven County jail. 53 In 1781 he was a member of the state government's board of auditors for the New Bern District, and from 1784 through 1786 he was a member of the town board of tax assessors.⁵⁴ But his greatest honor was his three years' service, 1785-1787, on the Council of State.⁵⁵ His interests were so varied that in 1785 when it was proposed to establish an academy at Kinston he was made one of the trustees.⁵⁶ In his last years he was often ill, sometimes with gout, and he died after a brief spell of sickness in New Bern on October 31, 1790.57 The only extant obituary notice about him consists of only eighteen words and mentions neither his political nor his architectural accomplishments.⁵⁸ He was called by Governor Josiah Martin "a man of unexceptionable character," and this seems to be true, for on one occasion he did perhaps the rarest thing a political appointee can be capable of: in 1788 after having been named judge of a maritime court at New Bern, he resigned immediately, saying that unfortunately he was not qualified for the position!59

On January 9, 1767, Tryon and "John Hawks of Newbern Architect" signed a contract under which Hawks was to design the building and oversee its construction subject to the general supervision of the governor himself. 60 The building was to be completed October 1, 1770, barring unavoidable delays, and Hawks's salary of £300 proclamation currency per year was to

⁵⁰ Colonial Records, VII, 535; VIII, 254; IX, 265.
51 State Records, XXII, 427, 440, 495-496, 498-500.
52 Colonial Records, IX, 380, 614, 873.
53 Colonial Records, VII, 564; State Records, XXIV, 522, 699.
54 State Records, XXIV, 373, 387, 423; Cravén Court Minutes, sessions of June, 1784, 1785, and 1786.

and 1786.

55 State Records, XVII, 335; XVII, 117; XIX, 468.

56 State Records, XXIV, 754.

57 State Records, XVII, 482; Craven Court Minutes, December, 1784.

58 "Died at Newbern, in an advanced age [he was 59], after a short illness, on the 31st ult.

John Hawks, Esq." The State Gazette of North-Carolina (Edenton), November 12, 1790.

59 Colonial Records, IX, 614; State Records, XXI, 516.

60 Articles of Agreement, January 9, 1767, Hawks MSS, New York Historical Society.

begin January 1, 1767. By the end of the month contracts for some materials had been made, and Hawks had gone to Philadelphia to hire skilled labor, of which there was a lack in North Carolina. 61 Long before this Tryon and Hawks had been conferring over the plans, and the drawings were ready at this time, for the governor on February 23 transmitted a set to the Board of Trade for crown approval and wrote that the expense of completing the building he had in mind, "in the plainest manner," would be £10,000 sterling or well over £15,000 proclamation money.62 Thus the Assembly appropriation of £5,000 was considered only a first installment. It was common knowledge in town by spring that the governor was planning in the grand manner. The letter of a Rhode Island visitor shows this. "It is supposed," he writes, "the Governors House will exceed for Magnificence & architecture any edifice on the continent." 63

Hawks had prepared a number of plans, and no fewer than ten various architectural sketches, ranging from drawing room details to a layout of the reservoir and water system, are still in existence. 64 These show that Tryon, prior to sending a final set to England, had successively enlarged the size of the contemplated building. One plan by Hawks provided for a main building only 78 x 34 feet in dimensions. Another shows a structure of 82 x 59 feet with two wings each 44 x 26 feet. Still a third, retaining the former dimensions, had the wings 49 x 39 feet. These dimensions agree with those of the wing still standing in New Bern and with the visible vestiges of the main building on the site, so it is certain that the plan with the largest dimensions was followed. Essentially the same façade appears in all but one of the elevations: a main building of two stories with hipped roof, bold cornice, and large central pediment, the whole connected by circular, five-column colonnades to the two wings, which stand in front of and at right angles to the main building.65

⁶¹ Colonial Records, VII, 431.
62 Colonial Records, VII, 442.
63 John Whiting to Exra Stiles, April 8, 1767, Francis Nash Papers, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History.
64 Six of these, preserved by the descendants of the architect, are in the Hawks MSS, New York Historical Society. The others are in The British Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5/310 and 5/300. Photocopies of some of these London originals are in the North Carolina State Department of Archives and History, the rest in the Library of Congress, Division of Maps. These plans are discussed and described in A. T. Dill, Jr., "Tryon's Palace: A Neglected Niche of North Carolina History," The North Carolina Historical Review, XIX (1942), 119-167.

 $^{^{65}}$ The earlier, rejected plans provided for a three-story elevation (actually it appears to be an attic half-story), but the final plan was a two-story one.

By the middle of the year the crown had given approval to the plans and elevation submitted by Tryon, though the governor did not receive this welcome news until the latter part of 1767.66 Meanwhile, work was started. Tryon had hoped to begin the building in May, but it was not until August 26, 1767, that the first brick was laid. 67 From the Assembly which met in December, whose members on a stroll could view the masons and joiners at work, Tryon sought additional funds. He mentioned the "progress and dispatch" with which the work was proceeding and diplomatically informed the legislators of their alternatives in granting or not granting an appropriation:

When I shall lay before you the plan of this building with an estimate of the charges of its construction, you will be better able to form a judgment what further sum will be immediately wanted to prevent the disadvantages that must arise from a deficiency of materials and the necessity of soon discharging the present artificers and workmen, whose skill and diligence may not be easily replaced; circumstances that would not only stop the present undertaking but create a heavy additional expence to the Country whenever reassumed.68

Fortunately for Tryon, he reached no such impasse over finances as that which some years earlier had stopped work on the Maryland governor's house, leaving its ruins to moulder half-finished. 69 Alexander Elmsley presented the governor's bill, and with Tryon's assent on January 15, 1768, it became law. 70 Since the treasury had been unable to make available to Tryon £1,500 of the first appropriation, the act sought to make good this deficiency as well as to appropriate £10,000 more toward the building.⁷¹ Tryon was empowered to borrow, at eight per cent, such funds as were needed until the public tax could raise the necessary amount; and he took advantage of this authorization by obtaining a loan of some £8,000, including interest, from Samuel Cornell,72

⁶⁶ Colonial Records, VII, 471, 531.
67 Colonial Records, VII, 431, 695.
68 Colonial Records, VII, 550-551
69 Burnaby in 1760 found "only the shell of the house . . . which is now going to ruin."
Rev. Andrew Burnaby, Travels Through the Middle Settlements . . . (London, 1775), reprinted in John Pinkerton, A General Collection of Voyages and Travels (London, 1812),
XIII, 725.
70 Colonial Records, VII, 584, 623, 668.
71 Colonial Records, VII, 581; State Records, XXIII, 711-713.
72 Colonial Records, VIII, 167-168; IX, 390-391, 475-476, 478, 485-486.

Another act passed at this session confirmed the governor and his successors in possession of the site Tryon had chosen.73 This consisted of twelve lots, equaling one block or square, bounded by Eden, Metcalf, Pollock, and South Front streets. George Street had not then been laid off, and South Front had not at that time and at that point developed into an active thoroughfare. The greater part of the site seems to have been acquired without difficulty. However, some of the lots were owned by Richard Dobbs Spaight, a lad of only ten years old in 1768, who served as governor of North Carolina from 1792 to 1795. Richard's father had died prior to 1763, and in 1764 Governor Dobbs, a grand uncle of the elder Spaight, and Frederick Gregg qualified as guardians for the boy, who seems to have been sent abroad to be educated by his Dobbs relatives.⁷⁴ Hence the reason for the act of 1768, which declared that "his Excellency hath not yet been able to make a Purchase, or obtain proper Conveyances for some of the said Lots" because legal title to them was vested in "Persons out of the Province, or Infants or Trustees, or Persons at present unknown." These doubtful lots were valued by a jury and properly condemned, though Spaight, after reaching his majority, did not let the matter rest there. 75 For nearly thirty years his claim was the subject of legislation or proposed legislation submitted in an effort to realize additional compensation from the condemnation which took place when he was a minor. 76 This act of 1768 contained still another provision. It closed South Front Street, incorporating it into the appropriated area; and reduced Eden Street from a sixty-foot to a thirty-foot thoroughfare (as it is today), thus adding a thirty-foot strip to the western boundary of the site. 77 Since the site included the water fronts of the river lots as well as South Front Street, Palace Square, as it became known, actually was bounded on the south by Trent River.

The building, meanwhile, progressed to completion rapidly, considering the delays most colonial construction encountered. By January, 1769, both the main building and the two wings had

⁷³ State Records, XXIII, 708-711.
74 A. B. Andrews, "Richard Dobbs Spaight," North Carolina Historical Review, I (1924), 95-120.

⁷⁵ State Records, XX, 237-238.
76 State Records, XX, 204. Laws of 1793, ch. XXVIII, pp. 14-15, and Laws of 1798, ch. XXVIII, p. 15; Laws of N. Carolina from 1790 to 1804, Supreme Court Library, Raleigh.
77 South Front Street was reopened in 1778. State Records, XXIV, 246.

been roofed. 78 The "plumber's work" (i.e., gutters, downspouts, etc.), for which a metal worker had been brought from London, was also complete, and sashes and mantels were arriving from England for the interior, upon which the joiners were then engaged. By the middle of 1770 the main building was sufficiently outfitted for Tryon and his wife and daughter to move into it. Just prior to June 7 the family left "Castle Tryon," their residence at Brunswick, to make their official home in New Bern. 79 Some time afterwards a grand ball was held to open the new capitol formally—and yet not too formally, it seems, for toward "the closing of the evening" even the dignified councilor, Samuel Cornell, was seen to "hop a reel" in rash abandon.80 On December 5 the Assembly convened for the first time in the large Council Chamber and heard Tryon enthusiastically approve the new capitol not only as a "public ornament" but as a sturdy structure that would remain for years to come as a "lasting monument of the liberality of the Country." 81 He singled out for special praise "the ability of the architect." All work had not ended, but Tryon predicted the completion "within a few months." (Presumably some construction on the wings was still going on.) Both houses, in reply, thanked the governor for his supervisory duties and praised the "elegant and noble" buildings.82 There remained only to move in the public records. In January, 1771, those in the office of the secretary of the colony at Wilmington were transferred to New Bern to be housed in the east wing.83 The Assembly journals and documents also were to be permanently housed in New Bern, and most of these probably already were there by this time. 84 However, no provision for them is indicated in Hawks's plans, though the secretary's office is clearly marked. And since the Assembly clerk was directed to "provide a room in the town" for these papers, it is certain that they were kept in some other building.85 The important point is, however, that a permanent capitol had effectively centralized the records for the first time since the infant colony of North Caro-

78 Colonial Records, VIII, 7.
79 Colonial Records, VIII, 210-211.

<sup>Colonial Records, VIII, 210-211.
Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell.
Colonial Records, VIII, 285.
Colonial Records, VIII, 289, 312.
Colonial Records, VIII, 445.
Colonial Records, VII, 963.
Colonial Records, VIII, 440-441.</sup>

lina was confined to the northeastern corner of the province.

At a Council held in the ornate Council Chamber in June, 1771, Hawks formally presented the members with a statement of the cost of the construction.86 Of the £15,000 proclamation money, Hawks reported a balance of £140:14:3. And this remaining sum, he made clear, was to be spent on certain incidentals necessary to finish up the newly erected capitol.87 It is no wonder that, gazing on its elegance and reflecting on its cost, the plain folk of North Carolina called it, somewhat in awe, "Tryon's Palace."

Bright in its paint in the summer sun of 1771, Tryon's Palace was indeed imposing, though without architectural pretentiousness or preciosity. It was a showplace for every traveler, and the governor fondly referred to it as "this much-admired structure." 88 "Several persons who have passed through here," he wrote on another occasion, ". . . esteem this house the capital building on the continent of North America." 89 Echoes of this praise were heard even in the declining days of the Palace and from travelers who, more disinterested than Tryon, nonetheless bear out his high estimate of its architectural worth. Francisco de Miranda, the South American patriot, like Tryon a man of education and taste, wrote that the Palace was a building "which really merits the attention of a wise traveler." 90 If we may believe the historian François Xavier Martin, who escorted Miranda on his visit in 1783, the Spanish traveler was even more fervid in his conversational tributes, for Martin declares he "heard that gentleman say, it had no equal in South America." 91 Jedidiah Morse and William Attmore wrote that the Palace was "large and elegant." 92 As late as 1791 George Washington, who attended a dinner and grand ball in the Palace on his southern tour, called it in his phlegmatic way "a good brick building but now hastening to Ruins." 93 Even the acrid German, Johann

⁸⁶ Colonial Records, VIII, 626. 87 Besides this sum, Governor Josiah Martin expended nearly £200 of public funds on the buildings in 1773, though the reason for this appropriation does not appear. Colonial Records,

buildings in 1773, though the reason for this appropriation does not appear. Colonial Records, IX, 441.

88 Colonial Records, VIII, 695.
89 Colonial Records, VIII, 7.
90 William Spence Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784 (New York, 1928), pp. 4 ff.
91 F. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina, II, 265.
92 Jedidiah Morse, The American Geography (Elizabethtown, 1789), 412-413. Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII (1922), 15-16.
93 J. A. Hoskins, editor, President Washington's Diaries, 1791 to 1799 (Summerfield, N. C., 1921), p. 21.

Schoepf, a hostile critic of much in American life, admitted that it was "a very genteel house," though he thought it "honored with that much too splendid name"-of "Palace." 94 Perhaps Schoepf, unacquainted with the British-colonial meaning of the word and with the continental conception of a "palace" in mind, could not appreciate the simple lines and absence of pretentiousness that distinguished this fine building.

From the exterior, the Palace gave an impression of strength as well as beauty, an impression which a closer inspection, revealing its three-foot-thick walls, would certainly bear out.95 The buildings were shingled and probably bright with color, for Tryon wrote that he considered this type of roofing "when well executed and painted, more beautiful than slate or tyle." 96 Vass repeats the legend that "the roof had parapet walls with a balustrade around it; was made flat for a promenade, and had an aquarium on it." 97 It may be that there was a promenade on the roof; such a feature would be nothing unusual in a seaport town where many of these captain's walks may be seen today. But the roof seems hardly the place for an aquarium. William Attmore's journal sheds some light on this tradition. He wrote that the interior was "lighted from the sky by a low Dome, which being glazed [i.e., glassed-in] kept out the Weather." 98 Conspicuous in Hawks's estimate of the materials were "skylights" and "glass." 99 So it may be that this was the glass "aquarium" of which Vass writes. Dominating the façade of the Palace was the thirty-foot pediment, on which (Attmore informs us) the king's arms boldly stood forth, probably in relief.

One of the most important reasons for the beauty of the Palace was its setting. Sauthier's map shows that while the east wing bordered on the town proper, the west wing touched on the uncut woodland. The Palace, from a gentle eminence on the bank of the Trent, turned its face to the town and its back to the placid

⁹⁴ Alfred J. Morrison editor, Travels in the Confederation (Philadelphia, 1911), II, 128-129, translated from the German of Johann David Schoepf's Reise dürch Einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten.

südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten.

95 The following description of the exterior and interior is based on Hawk's most elaborate and obviously the final plan, "Elevation of the North Front [the front which faced the town] of The Governors House / to be built at Newbern, North Carolina." British Public Record Office, Colonial Office, 5/300,310.

96 Colonial Records, VIII, 7.

97 Rev. L. C. Vass, History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C. (Richmond, 1886), p. 94.

98 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, 15-16.

99 Colonial Records, VII, 542-543.

waters of the river. Before the main building and on either hand stretched a formal garden, and from this was laid out in 1771 a new street, George Street, so called in honor of the King. 100 Sauthier's map shows a series of precise, geometric plots before the Palace, similar to the garden of an English country estate. These extended from either wing to Eden or to Metcalf Street respectively. In Hawks's estimate, the sum of £160 is allotted for a "Dwarf Wall, Pallisadoes, piers, Gates & c, to form a Court Yard." 101 Undoubtedly the low wall surrounded and bounded the garden, while the piers, probably of brick, marked off the formal plots. The "Pallisadoes" or palisades must have been wrought-iron ornamentation surmounting the dwarf wall. Behind the Palace, according to Sauthier's map, were mounted ceremonial cannon and a flagstaff to bear the king's colors. Near the rivershore was a boathouse, where the governor's shallop or gig could be moored. 102 Probably there were a few other small outbuildings on the grounds. The vestiges of a pentagonal structure, which may have been a dairy or salt-house, are still visible near the remaining west wing.

The interior of the Palace was no less handsome than the exterior. "It was finished within," says Attmore, "in a very elegant manner," and Miranda wrote that the ornamentation showed simple and careful taste. 103 The entrance hall was an impressive starting point for a tour of the main building. According to the historian Lossing, Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster General from 1782 to 1789, who visited North Carolina in 1777, wrote that "Upon entering the street door you enter a hall in which are four niches for statues." 104 These four niches, each nearly four feet wide, are shown in the plans, and Kimball points out that these were a feature of "Nuneham" which Hawks copied. 105 As to whose statuary likenesses graced the niches in

¹⁰⁰ State Records, XXIII, 864-865. Eden Street was discontinued north of Pollock Street. just as it is today.

101 Colonial Records, VII, 542-543.

¹⁰¹ Colonial Records, VII, 542-543.

102 The North Carolina Gazette, June 30, July 7, 14, 1775.

103 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor. "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII (1922), 15-16; W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda, pp. 4 ff.

104 Benson J. Lossing, The Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution (New York, 1855), II,
364. This one sentence from Hazard's "Journal of 1777" is quoted. Search has been made for this journal without success.

105 Fiske Kimball and Gertrude Carraway, "Tryon's Palace," New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, XXIV (1940).

this 18 x 26 foot hall, there is no indication. Over a door were inscribed these Latin verses:

> Rege pio, diris inimica tyrannis, Virtuti has aedes libera terra dedit Sint domus et dominus saeclis exempla futuris Hic artes, mores, jura, legesque colant. 106

The author of these was said to be Sir William Draper, who visited the Tryons in May, 1770, and whom the governor refers to as "my very worthy friend." 107 Behind the entrance hall and in the center of the building-again just as at "Nuneham"were two staircases leading to the upper floor, where there were bedrooms and dressing rooms for Tryon, his wife, and his daughter, as well as an alcove bedroom apparently for guests. These were the "Great Stair Case" and the "Lesser [servants'?] Stair Case." The former was made of mahogany and ended in a large spiral newel post, directly beneath the skylight on the Palace roof.¹⁰⁸ It must have been a handsome sight with the sunshine warming the rich wood; so it would seem from the picture Attmore gives of "The grand Staircase lighted from the Sky" by the low glassed-in dome overhead. To the left of the entrance hall was the library, and its counterpart on the right was the servants' hall, behind which was the housekeeper's room. The contents of the library in Tryon's time are not known, but without doubt they were much the same as in the term of his successor. The list of Governor Josiah Martin's furnishings, which were confiscated and sold during the Revolution, show the governor as possessor of a large painted mahogany bookcase in which were kept such volumes as Smollett's Humphry Clinker, Le Sage's Gil Blas, Cervantes' Don Quixote, Goldsmith's poem, "The Deserted Village," and the works of Rousseau, Swift, and Shakespeare. 109

¹⁰⁶ F. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina, II, 265-266. Martin renders these lines as follows:

In the reign of a monarch, who goodness disclos'd.

In the reign of a monarch, who goodness disclos'd,
A free, happy people, to dread tyrants oppos'd,
Have, to virtue and merit, erected this dome;
May the owner and household make this the Lov'd home
Where religion, the arts and the laws may invite
Future ages to live, in sweet peace and delight.

107 Colonial Records, VIII, 210. Sir William Draper (1721-1787) headed an expedition which
took Manila in 1762 from the Spanish, but the British did not press their claim. He toured
America beginning in 1770. Dictionary of National Biography, VI, 4-7.

108 Colonial Records, VII, 542-543.

109 State Records, XXII, 880-889.

Behind the library was the most imposing room in the Palace: the Council Chamber or Assembly Hall, where council meetings. legislative sessions, entertainments, and other state occasions were held. 110 This room was thirty-six feet long and twenty-two feet wide. On the west side of it was a large mantel or chimney piece "of marble and in good taste," says Miranda. 111 Tryon devotes quite a little space to this in one of his letters to Lord Hillsborough, president of the Board of Trade:

Four of the principal chimney pieces are arrived . . . from London ... as I think there is great elegance both in the taste and workmanship in the chimney piece for the Council Chamber, I take the liberty to enclose you the description. 112

The enclosure reads as follows:

For the Council Chamber in the Governor's House at Newbern

in North Carolina

A large statuary Ionic chimney piece, the shafts of the columns sienna and the Frett on the Frieze inlaid with the same. A rich edge and Foliage on the Tablet; medals of the King & Queen on the Frieze over the Columns, the mouldings enriched, a large statuary marble slab and black marble covings. Messrs Devol & Granger fecit [made it]. 113

There are three other rooms where fireplaces are shown in the floor plans, and to each must have been assigned one of the remaining "principal chimney pieces." They were the library, the dining room (marked on earlier plans as the drawing room), and the parlor. Little is known of the appearance of the parlor, but Hawks's details of the drawing room or dining room give a good picture of that part of the building and a hint, perhaps, of the interiors of the other rooms. In the dining room, which was placed at the back center of the Palace, one could step through a rear door and onto terrace-like steps which descended to the sloping bank of the Trent. On either side of this rear door was a window. As for the other three walls, each contained a doorway.

¹¹⁰ Presumably the adjoining library was used by the council when the assembly was sitting in the Palace. At times after the Palace was built the assembly met in the schoolhouse, but for joint sessions, such as to hear the governor's dissolution, the lower house went over to the Palace.

111 W. S. Robertson, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda, pp. 4 ff.
112 Colonial Records, VIII, 7.
113 Colonial Records, VIII, 8.

one connecting with the Council Chamber, another with the parlor, and the third with the entrance hall and its grand staircase. This last-named doorway was surmounted by a pediment, but the other three were less ornately adorned, each ending in a level cap or cornice. Around the base of the room ran a dado, and the walls met the ceiling in a graceful and rather elaborate coved cornice.

A traveler visiting the two wings of the Palace would have found them designed for convenience and the efficient dispatch of household tasks, and of course much less ornamental than the splendid main building. The west wing (the one which stands today) contained on its first floor a coach house for the governor's carriage, a stable, and a harness room. In all probability the second floor contained quarters for the grooms and perhaps a granary and hayloft. The east wing housed the secretary's office and kitchen, scullery and laundry, though the office did not connect directly with these menial quarters. The second story may have contained a larder or some other form of storage space, though nothing conclusive is told about this in Tryon's letters or in the plans. 114 Taking their names from the principal uses they were put to, one of these wings became known as the "Palace Stables" and the other as the "Palace Kitchen." And it is interesting to note that so detailed is Hawks's ground plan of the latter that even the oven and what appear to be stove-holes are marked in the room where the cooking was done.

A word as to the Palace furnishings. These were the private property of the royal governor. As the Palace neared completion, Tryon had persuaded Lord Hillsborough to request the crown to furnish it:

As prosperous and successful as this work has been carried on [writes Tryon]... there is something still wanting to make the whole complete and of a piece. It is, my Lord, furniture and plate, suitable to the simplicity and unornamented beauty of the building, what furniture I have here has been so abused, that it would disgrace even the upper story of the edifice. I therefore beg leave to apply to his Majesty's munificence for these necessary interior conveniences and ornaments. 115

¹¹⁴ The letter by which Tryon transmitted the plans to the crown mentions the uses of the second floors of the wings but shows certain puzzling duplications or contradictions with both the early and final plans of Hawks. Colonial Records, VII, 442.

115 Colonial Records, VIII, 7.

Hillsborough made the request but the crown did not see fit to grant it "as it could not be done," said Hillsborough, "without establishing a Precedent, that would probably be the foundation for applications of the like nature from every other Colony." 116 Tryon brought up the subject again in a later letter, but his persistence went unrequited and indeed unheeded.117 He was left to provide his own furniture and plate, which surely, considering his and his wife's affluence, could not have been so unsightly as he described them.

Such was the building which Tryon erected. But even the good fortune it represented was tempered with disaster—disaster which once again proved the governor a true friend and patron of the town. On September 7-8, 1769, a hurricane struck the coast and spent its fullest fury on New Bern, taking six lives, causing £20,000 in property damage, and destroying two-thirds of the town. 118 The tide at some places on the coast rose twelve feet, in a few hours, above its highest previous mark. 119 Though the strongly built Palace was negligibly damaged, ships and stores along the waterfront were splintered to wreckage. The tanyard, tanhouse, distillery, and printing shop were smashed. 120 The damage to Samuel Cornell's property alone was estimated at £5,000; and one of his brigs was driven by the wind over the marshes of Lawson's Creek and beached high and dry in the woods beyond! As Thomas Clifford Howe described the scene:

Newbern is really now a spectacle, her streets full of the tops of houses, timber, shingles, dry goods, barrels and hogsheads, empty most of them, rubbish & c. & c. in so much that you can hardly pass along; a few days ago flourishing and thriving—it shows the instability of all sublunary things. 121

Prior to this hurricane (as Sauthier's map, made a few months before it struck, shows) there were rather elevated banks at the rivers' edge on the Trent side of town; but the fierce wind and tide swept them away. As a means of relieving the stricken town, Tryon requested the Assembly to grant an appropriation for building breakwaters in place of these

¹¹⁶ Colonial Records, VIII, 21-22. 117 Colonial Records, VIII, 210-211. 118 Colonial Records, VIII, 71, 73, 74, 159. 119 Colonial Records, VIII, 159. 120 Colonial Records, VIII, 74. 121 Colonial Records, VIII, 75.

banks.122 The governor's earnest plea was denied by the legislators—an action which caused him to express his displeasure. 128 To the utmost of his influence, he stood by the town; and the townspeople, when there came a test of their own loyalty, did as much for him.

The Palace had been built but not paid for, and its financing helped to precipitate a serious uprising in the western counties: te War of the Regulation. To raise the first £5,000 the act of 1768 levied two taxes—one a tax of two pence per gallon on wine, rum, and distilled liquors imported from elsewhere than Great Britain: and the other an annual poll tax of eight pence on each taxable, to be collected for a period of two years beginning January 1, 1767.124 To raise the additional £10,000 the act of 1768 levied a poll tax of two shillings and sixpence for a period of three years beginning March 1, 1769.125 The duty on liquors could produce only a small amount of revenue; the poll tax was relied on to raise the greater part of the funds. Thus the inhabitants of North Carolina were to pay for their badly-needed but expensive capitol over a period of five years.

As early as 1766 there had been considerable unrest in the interior counties over abuse by local officials of their fee-taking privileges and tax-gathering duties. The burdensome tax levied for the Palace increased this resentment and fanned indignation into open revolt. The men and women of the interior saw this building as an unwarranted extravagance imposed upon the growing west by the political power of the settled east. The unfair capitation tax fell just as heavily on them with their large but poor families as upon the well-to-do town merchant or planter of the east. A "man that is worth 10,000 pays no more." protested a Mecklenburger, "than a poor back settler that has nothing but the labour of his hands." 126 Tryon's action in asking £5,000 and then in obtaining £10,000 more they regarded as political trickery (though many a public building, before and since, has been erected by Tryon's manoeuvre). The fact that Edmund Fanning, member for Orange County, was the patron

 ¹²² Colonial Records, VIII, 89.
 123 Colonial Records, VIII, 115, 130-131.
 124 State Records, XXIII, 664-665.
 125 State Records, XXIII, 711-713.
 126 Colonial Records, VII, 864-865.

of the bill of 1766 did not help the popularity of the Palace, for Fanning, the most violently detested official in Orange, was the living symbol of all those abuses which the Regulators were seeking to correct. As long as Fanning remained Tryon's friend, the westerners were convinced they could get no relief, and they adopted a policy of passive resistance. "We want no such House, nor will we pay for it," became the watchword among these settlers. 127 Beyond the borders of the province, the news of the rebellion spread, until, with the passage of the second Palace appropriation, the people of Charleston, Williamsburg, or even Boston might read in their local newspapers that

... The People of Orange County again threaten Colonel Fanning, and refuse paying any taxes until an Act granting an enormous Sum for building a House for the Governor be repealed. 128

Clearly, the fame of the building was spreading—to the conservative merchants of the east as an ornament and sign of progress, to the radical journalists and western farmers as a symbol of British oppression. This difference in outlook amounted to a profound mutual distrust. As an Assemblyman of a few years later put it:

Those from the westward look upon the people in any of the commercial towns, as little better than swindlers; while those of the east consider the western members as a pack of savages. 129

Complicating this psychological clash was the really difficult state of the provincial finances. The treasury was forced into debt, and all the while the currency was depreciating.

Near the end of 1770 the situation had so worsened that the westerners were threatening to march on New Bern. At a Council on November 19, reports came saying that the Regulators of Granville County were going to parade into the town "in order to intimidate and overawe the Assembly," and thus force action on their long-sought reforms. 130 A fortnight later, advices from Col. John Simpson, of the Pitt County militia, warned the Council to expect "a number of Regulators coming down from Bute, Johnston, & c, to New Bern in order to prevent Col. Fanning's

¹²⁷ Colonial Records, VII, 798; VIII, 722.
128 South Carolina Gazette (Charleston), September 12, 1768.
129 James S. Biddle, editor, Autobiography of Charles Biddle (Philadelphia, 1883), p. 142.
Charles Biddle represented Carteret County.
130 Colonial Records, VIII, 260.

taking a seat in the House of the Assembly." 131 Simpson said he had summoned his regiment to march to New Bern to protect the Assembly. Tryon, on advice of the Council, then ordered the Craven militia to remain alert and subject to call. Reports of this march on the capital grew to panic-inspiring proportions. On December 20 Harmon Husband, of Orange, a Regulator leader, was expelled from the lower house for having, among other things, "insinuated in conversation that in case he should be confined . . . he expected down a number of People to release him." 132 Tryon held a hurried night session of the Council and obtained a bench warrant for Husband's arrest on a charge of newspaper libel against Judge Maurice Moore, evidence then being lacking to prove him accessory to the Hillsboro riots in September. 133 That same night Husband was seized by the Craven militia and clapped into New Bern jail-unfairly and perhaps also ill-advisedly, for the furious Regulators thereafter no longer merely confined their efforts to making a demonstration. 134 Early in February they were angrily talking of freeing Husband and "laying New Bern in ashes," and reports from Hillsboro said they had set February 11 for the date of their march. 135 On February 2 Husband's case had been adjudged no true bill, but despite this he was not freed until six days later. 136 An undetermined number of Regulators actually gathered to make the march, but desisted when they learned that Husband had been released. 137

Tryon, meanwhile, convinced that unless the government made a show of force the threat of a march would continue, had decided to prepare for the worst. A schooner from Fort Johnston, Cape Fear, brought into the town swivel guns, firelocks, ammunition, and other supplies. 138 The day before Husband was released, the governor issued a proclamation forbidding all sales of powder and shot. 139 On the day after, he ordered Colonel Joseph Leech to muster his Craven regiment in New Bern with full field equip-

¹³¹ Colonial Records, VIII, 262.
132 Colonial Records, VIII, 268-269.
133 Colonial Records, VIII, 269-270.
134 Colonial Records, VIII, 494; State Records, XXII, 496.
135 Colonial Records, VIII, 497.
136 Colonial Records, VIII, 511, 546.
137 Colonial Records, VIII, 500, 693.
138 State Records, XXII, 425.
138 Colonial Records, VIII, 497.498.

¹³⁹ Colonial Records, VIII, 497-498.

ment. 140 As at the jail while Husband was confined there, a guard was stationed at the Palace. 141 Tryon began to fortify the town against attack from the west, and his measures were widely interpreted as efforts to defend the Palace itself. A Charleston newspaper reported:

Many strange tales daily arrive [from North Carolina]. . . . The people cannot be reconciled to being taxed as they are for building the Governor's sumptious Palace at Newbern which is thought to stand in so much danger of being destroyed, that an entrenchment or barricade has lately been thrown up, across the neck of Land on which it stands, in order the better to defend it.142

This entrenchment, fifteen hundred yards in length and armed with nine-pounder cannon, was completed at a cost of some £500.143 The historian Martin, who must have actually seen the vestiges of this fortification, says it stretched from Neuse to Trent River along "Muddy and part of Queen Street." 144 Muddy Street is the present Burn Street, one block west of Eden Street, Eden being the western boundary of Palace Square. Tryon's redoubt was therefore only a few hundred yards from the Palace. Colonel John D. Whitford writes that it passed "a step or two south of" a well-known landmark, a holly tree west of the former Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad offices. 145 These offices used to stand approximately on the site of the present Union Station on Queen Street. Whitford writes that the entrenchment also passed near the old Attmore house which used to stand on the northwest corner of Broad and Burn streets.

These were exciting days for New Bern. During the muster of Craven militia ordered by Tryon, troops were billeted in many of the houses and taverns. 146 For a few days the town's population was enormously increased. 147 Among these troops were some who either sympathized with the Regulators, were disgruntled at being called from their farms, or both. One Jeremiah Pritchett stepped out of ranks, refused to obey orders, and attempted to "breed a mutiny" among his fellow militiamen. 148

¹⁴⁰ Colonial Records, VIII, 689.
141 Colonial Records, VIII, 689; State Records, XXII, 424, 427.
142 South Carolina Gazette (Charleston), April 11, 1771.
143 Colonial Records, VIII, 501, 525; State Records, XXII, 496, 500.
144 F. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina, II, 265.
145 John D. Whitford, "Historical Notes," pp. 325-326, MS reminiscences in the New Bern Public Library and Whitford Collection, North Carolina State Department of Archives and History Relairh. History, Raleigh.

148 State Records, XXII, 427.

147 Colonial Records, VIII, 537, 546, 689.

148 Virginia Gazette, March 28, 1771.

The Regulators made capital of this incident, Rednap Howell, in a letter intercepted by the governor, claimed that the rest of the regiment would have followed Pritchett if Tryon had not assured them that the muster was not for the purpose of marching them into the back country to do battle. 149 However that may be, it is true that in Craven as elsewhere there were instances of reluctance on the part of the militia—and who can blame them?—over the prospect of civil bloodshed. One of the Craven soldiers was treated for a gunshot wound in his foot—a fact which suggests that he chose a less conspicuous way than Pritchett to avoid service. 150 As for the mutineer, he was sentenced by a court martial to receive 150 lashes "at the Halberts" for deserting the colors and attempting to spread disaffection. There must have been quite a bit of sympathy for this man; for, several weeks after the muster, at the hour appointed for the sentence to be carried out, one of the bystanders attempted to get the spectators to pelt the executioner with eggs. However, Colonel Joseph Leech quickly put this man under guard and—

. . . drawing his Sword, he declared he would punish with his own Hand any person that dared to insult the Fellow [the executioner] merely for executing a Duty he was put on by the Court Martial; which spirited Behaviour of the Colonel caused a profound Silence, and gave general Satisfaction to the numerous Company met on the Occasion, and must also reflect great Honour to his Conduct. 151

One by one the lashes fell until one hundred had been laid upon the back of Jeremiah Pritchett. The remaining fifty, withheld until another day, were eventually, it seems, remitted. If we may believe Tryon, Pritchett's case was not indicative of the conduct of the regiment as a whole, for he wrote that the troops in general "behaved with much spirit and order whilst on duty." 152 Perhaps his statement goes as far in one direction as Rednap Howell's in the other. Somewhere between the two generalities can be discerned the mixed emotions with which the east regarded the prospect of battle with the west.

But if there was sympathy for the Regulators among the gentry, it had been diminished if not obliterated by the wanton

¹⁴⁹ Colonial Records, VIII, 537. 150 State Records, XXII, 427. 151 Yirginia Gazette, March 28, 1771. 152 Colonial Records, VIII, 692.

lawlessness and mockery of government displayed by them during the Hillsboro riots of the preceding September. Accordingly, on March 15, Husband and the other Regulator leaders were indicted at New Bern for these riots by a grand jury which was composed, says Tryon, of "the most respectable persons." 153 Among them were Joseph Leech, Jacob Blount, John Hawks, Richard Cogdell, James Green, Sr., and John Fonveille, Sr., all prominent citizens of the town and county. Three days later, Tryon and the Council made the decision to send troops into the western counties to end, by force if necessary, the rebellion. 154 The east central counties were to furnish the spearhead of this expedition. Craven and Dobbs were each ordered to raise, in addition to militia, two hundred volunteers, the largest quota for any of the eastern counties; and though the recruiting fell far short, these two counties, plus populous Orange, actually furnished the most troops including militia for the march westward. 155 New Bern stores and blacksmith shops worked overtime to equip this force. John Hawks superintended the making of gun carriages and served as a sort of paymaster. 156 Richard Blackledge, another prominent Craven resident, acted as a commissary. 157 Samuel Cornell furnished haversacks, wadding, bullet bags, gunpowder, flints, camp kettles, and many other necessities, besides advancing Tryon large sums with which to finance the expedition. 158 All the while supplies of foodstuffs were arriving from the interior. On April 21 the Carteret militia marched into town, and on the following day the Craven detachment of three companies under Colonel Leech and one company of rangers under Captain Christopher Neale held its muster. 159 At the same time a sloop arrived from New York with two brass field pieces, drums, colors, leggings, and cockades.

Replete with the pageanty of war, the troops from Carteret and Craven marched forth from New Bern on April 24 for their rendezvous up the Neuse with the other militia units of the east. With them rolled the two field pieces, six swivel guns mounted on carriages, sixteen wagons, and four carts. Some three hun-

¹⁵⁸ Colonial Records, VIII, 528 ff., 547.
154 Colonial Records, VIII, 538.
155 Colonial Records, VIII, 677, 697.
156 State Records, XXII, 440.
157 State Records, XXII, 477, 483.
158 Colonial Records, IX, 126; State Records, XXII, 438-439.
159 State Records, XIX, 837-838.

dred men followed the British red ensign, escorted for a distance by Tryon and several of the members of the Council. 160 Three days later the commander-in-chief took his farewell of the town and left to join the troops. 161 Some time before setting out, Tryon had learned of his appointment the previous December as governor of New York, and his partisans made much of his decision to remain in North Carolina until the Regulation was suppressed. 162 A dispatch from New Bern to the Virginia Gazette, probably written by James Davis, declared that Tryon, instead of proceeding to his new post, chose "a tedious and painful March" and the "Perils of War," all for the sake of "The Ease and Happiness of the People." 163 This is but one indication of how stubbornly loyal to Tryon the people of Craven were despite the storm of controversy and criticism which already was beginning to break over his head.

The defeat of the insurgents at Alamance on May 16 brought a new feeling of security to New Bern. When the news reached the town, the Reverend James Reed held a special service in Christ Church, just one week after the battle, to give thanksgiving for the triumph of representative government over the men who, in the easterners' eyes, had taken the law ruthlessly into their own hands. 164 Tryon, anxious to be off to his new post in New York, returned to New Bern ahead of the troops, and on June 26 he was welcomed back by a demonstration which, during the criticisms of his administration, he must have recalled with satisfaction. According to a South Carolina newspaper's dispatch from New Bern, "The whole town met in a body, and waited on his Excellency at the Palace." 165 Men of all ranks and pursuits—"magistrates, freeholders, merchants, and inhabitants of the County of Craven'—congratulated Tryon on suppressing the rebellion "at an expence of fatigue and danger to your person, at least equal to the private soldier whom you commanded." Four days later Tryon left New Bern for New York, never to return. 166

Meanwhile, what of the troops who had marched forth to face death for his Majesty's government? On July 2 they returned to

¹⁶⁰ Virginia Gazette, May 23, 1771.
161 State Records, XIX, 837-838.
162 Colonial Records, VIII, 277, 498.
163 Virginia Gazette, May 23, 1771.
164 Virginia Gazette, June 13, 1771.
165 The South Carolina and American General Gazette (Charleston), July 22, 1771. 166 Colonial Records, VIII, 626.

New Bern "in high Spirits," we are told, "bringing with them, part of the arms taken at the Battle of Alamance from those detestable Rebels." 167 And yet a few did not return, except in death or with disabling wounds. Of Tryon's forces, nine had been killed and sixty-one wounded, and of these casualties Craven suffered three killed and fourteen wounded. 168 No other county's losses were so heavy. 169 William Bryan, an ensign in the Craven detachment, was among those killed, leaving a wife and six children who subsequently petitioned for and presumably received a pension by order of the Assembly. 170 Samuel Cornell, next in command to Leech as a lieutenant colonel, was wounded in the thigh.¹⁷¹ Several families felt the loss or crippling of their source of support and were granted aid by the government. 172 One Isaac Reed, who with a family and four children lost the use of his arm, probably received a pension longer than any other Craven County soldier. Up until 1802, or more than thirty years after the battle, Reed was still drawing regularly his yearly grant of £20 from the county court. 173

As the news of Alamance spread over eastern America, Tryon and his whole administration were violently attacked in the northern press. One "Leonidas," believed in New Bern to be Dr. Samuel Cooper, of Boston, wrote in the Massachusetts Spy of June 27, 1771, a philippic against the "tyranny" of the governor and the "murder" committed at Alamance. 174 He alleged that the press of North Carolina had been so influenced as not to print a true account of the Regulation, and charged Tryon with "managing" the Assemblymen on the Palace appropriations and as a result "impoverishing" the province. This criticism of the building of the capitol drew the immediate fire of one "Phocion," a defender of Tryon and perhaps a New Bernian, who replied to

 ¹⁶⁷ Colonial Records, IX, 9.
 168 The South Carolina and American General Gazette, June 17, 1771.

¹⁶⁹ On the basis of the South Carolina and American General Gazette, June 17, 1771.
169 On the basis of the South Carolina newspaper's tabulation (see preceding footnote), which does not assign to any county three wounded who died after the battle, the only unit which suffered losses comparable to Craven's was the artillery company from Cape Fear, which lost its commanding colonel and three wounded. According to this, no single detachment except Craven's suffered more than one killed. The Craven detachment after the battle numbered 144 men and about 25 officers and other specialists, or four companies of nearly 50 men each. Colonial Records, VIII, 677.
170 Colonial Records, IX, 60. Not to be confused with the Revolutionary soldier of the same

name.
171 Virginia Gazette, June 13, 1771.
172 Colonial Records, IX, 64, 206.
173 Craven Court Minutes, March, 1802.
174 Colonial Records, IX, 611-612; X, 1019-1024; Virginia Gazette, August 29, September 17,

the attack in the Williamsburg paper. He pointed out that the "original Cause of the Erection of the Palace" was that it had been "schemed by some Gentlemen of the Assembly, who proposed, by this means, to fix the Seat of Government in a Town Convenient for the whole Province." 175 Both statements contain some truth. Though one might argue whether a growing, potentially rich province like North Carolina had been "impoverished" by the construction of the Palace, there can be no doubt that it proved a burden on the people and their treasury. That some Assemblymen joined forces to fix once and for all the seat of government in a convenient town is quite true, but the implication that Tryon had little or nothing to do with the matter, as one might infer from "Phocion's" statement, is not the case.

The Spy's article aroused the utmost indignation in New Bern. The news of its appearance first reached a company of gentlemen at the King's Arms Tavern on Saturday night, July 27.176 The Spy was sent for and read aloud, and those present called a public meeting for the Monday following. Samuel Cornell presided over the indignant gathering two days later, and resolves were adopted defending the character and decisions of Tryon as well as the integrity of the North Carolina press.¹⁷⁷ Copies of these resolves were sent to the printers James Davis of New Bern and Adam Boyd of Wilmington to be published in their next gazettes. and the Spy was ordered to be "publickly burnt under the Gallows" in New Bern on Wednesday. 178 An open letter was also composed to be sent to Isaiah Thomas, printer of the Spy, refuting categorically certain charges by "Leonidas," who had implied, quite erroneously, that Tryon had fired on the Regulators in disregard of a "treaty" with them and had personally ordered the whipping of an "able and generous planter"—evidently a reference to the court martial and sentence imposed on Jeremiah Pritchett. Another attacker of Tryon, one "Mucius Scaevola." was included in this denunciation of the governor's critics, as well as Isaiah Thomas, the Spy's printer.

On Wednesday, July 29, a curious scene took place in the town. The two maligning writers and their printer were hanged in

¹⁷⁵ Virginia Gazette, September 17, 1771. 176 The writer has been unable to ascertain where this tavern stood. 177 Colonial Records, X, 1020-1021. 178 Colonial Records, X, 1021; Virginia Gazette, August 29, 1771.

effigy on the gallows. After this "ignominious Death," the effigies were put to the torch, "amid the Acclamations of a larger concourse of reputable inhabitants, who made the air resound with "Long live Governor Tryon!" 179 A doggerell epitaph graced these charred effigies:

> Beneath this Gallows three Traducers lie. Who for their Crimes were justly doom'd to die; Leonidas, with Mucius of ill Fame, And we the third Isaiah Thomas name. Sworn Foes to Honor, Virtue, Truth, they fell, And where they now reside we cannot tell. 180

"In the Afternoon the Gentlemen met at the King's Arms Tavern where they spent the evening in social festivity." 181 The mock hanging again stirred the vitriol of the northern press. A letter in The Boston Gazette bitterly proclaimed that "the same murdering temper which governed the actors of the tragedy at Alamance, still reigns triumphant at Newbern," and compared the hanging in effigy to the atrocities of the Iroquois. 182 Many northerners did not share the views of Tryon's critics. A resident of Connecticut, quoted in a New York paper, declared that Tryon had done more for the support of government than all the other governors of North America. "If that most daring and dangerous Rebellion . . . had not been quelled by Him," said this writer, "an universal Revolt would have succeeded in all the Colonies." 183 Such a revolt, indeed, was not long in coming, and it was to find a people united in purpose rather than divided by the clashing outlooks of conservative east and growing west.

¹⁷⁹ The South Carolina and American General Gazette, August 12, 1771.
180 Virginia Gazette, August 29, 1771.
181 The South Carolina and American General Gazette, August 12, 1771.
182 The Boston Gazette, July 22, 1771. Quoted in Colonial Records, X, 1024-1025.
183 The New York Gazette and The Weekly Mercury, September 9, 1771. Quoted in Colonial Records, X, 1025.

THE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT IN THE SOUTH, 1870-1914¹

By ARTHUR S. LINK

Before assessing the nature and extent of progressive democracy in the South, a definition of terms, as they are meant to be understood in this discussion, is necessary. Conservatism, as it is generally understood, connotes a tendency to maintain the status quo and a disposition of hostility to innovations in the political, social, and economic order. Oftentimes the classes that possess a conservative point of view are the wealthy classes, but, of course, this is not always the case. In short, conservatism is usually a reasoned or unreasoned resistance to change.2 Progressivism, on the other hand, implies a philosophy that welcomes innovations and reforms in the political, economic, and social order. Progressives are usually persons who strive for reforms that alleviate the ills of society, that assure to the people a broader control of their governments, and that look toward affording greater economic, political, and social justice to the people. These progressives are the so-called "liberals," not "radicals"; they have been, as a general rule, essentially conservative insofar as basic property rights and the fundamental capitalistic structure are concerned.3

The popular notion that such a thing as progressive democracy in the South was non-existent during the period 1870-1914, or practically so, that the Southern states were ruled by tyrannical political machines, that they were almost unbelievably backward, economically, politically, and socially, has become so persistent that it is hard to down. Most writers ignore the progressive movement in the South altogether; those that do recognize its existence characterize it as a result of Western progressivism. The extremist's view that there was no progressive democracy in the South was expressed by the late Senator Robert M. La Follette, himself a foremost progressive, in a speech at Saginaw, Michigan, on New Year's day, 1912. He said:

¹ Research on this article was made possible by a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund.
2 See Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, IV, 230-232, for a discussion of conservatism.
3 For a discussion of this idea see David J. Saposs's provocative article, "The Role of the Middle Class in Social Development, Fascism, Populism, Communism, Socialism," in Economic Essays in Honor of Wesley Clair Mitchell, pp. 395-424, especially p. 399.

I don't know of any progressive sentiment or any progressive legislation in the South. . . . A true American believes in democracy. He believes men and women are equal and entitled to an equal chance. But the Democratic party of the South is not by inheritance that sort of organization. All the strength of the party is the aristocracy. The Southern Democrat despises alike the poor white and the negro and that is not the sentiment that makes for popular government.4

Despite Senator La Follette's blanket indictment, only his ignorance prevented him from knowing that there was in 1912, and had been for some decades, a far-reaching progressive movement in the South. Basically and primarily it was, before 1900, agrarian in composition and principle, generated by agricultural unrest that came as a result of social, political, and economic causes. Farmers throughout the nation saw control of the national government pass from their hands into the hands of the industrial class after the Civil War. They saw the formation of large combinations in industry, which enabled the industrialists to eliminate competitors and to maintain a monopolistic price level. They saw themselves economically oppressed by the railroads by means of discriminations between persons and places, unjustly high freight rates, pools, and the granting of rebates. They felt themselves economically injured by the national bank system that furthered the interests of the business groups and prevented a free flow of credit to agricultural communities.

The Granger movement was the first attempt by the farmers to strike back at the industrial and railroad giants oppressing them. The economic platform of the Grange is illustrative of this point. It advised farmers to dispense with middlemen and commission agents, expressed violent opposition to monopolies and trusts, demanded regulation of the railroads by the state and national governments in the interests of the producers, and advocated agricultural and industrial education.⁵ The year 1871 saw the introduction of the Grange into South Carolina, Mississippi, and Kentucky, and by the end of 1872 the movement had spread widely throughout the South. By the end of that year, for example, South Carolina ranked next to Iowa in the number of granges. 6 The influence of the movement is clearly discernible in

⁴ San Antonio Express, January 2, 1912. 5 Solon J. Buck, The Granger Movement, p. 64. 6 Buck, Granger Movement, pp. 52-55.

the demand for railroad regulation that made headway in the Southern states in the 1870's. There are numerous instances of Granger agitation for railroad regulation in the South. The state grange of Arkansas petitioned the legislature in 1877 for a law establishing maximum rates. In Virginia and Tennessee the state granges were interested in efforts to secure reduced rates by negotiation with the railroad companies. The state grange of South Carolina appealed to the legislature in 1877 and again in 1878 for laws to prevent unjust rates, discrimination, and other railroad malpractices. Obviously the movement for railroad regulation was an early manifestation of the Southern progressive movement. Numerous cooperative stores, banks, manufactories, and insurance companies were also begun by the Grange leaders in the South.8

Many causes were responsible for the decline and failure of the Granger movement in the South and in the nation.9 Even after the passing of the organization as a powerful body, its influence lived on and subsequent agrarian movements became its heirs. The Grangers organized to do battle with the new capitalism the railroads, the middlemen, the trusts, and the bankers—and, having failed to gain all their objectives, retired from the field.

The Greenback-Labor movement was the successor to the Granger movement, but primarily because it was a third party organization it made little headway in the South. In 1880 a state convention of the Alabama Greenback-Labor party adopted a platform which demanded adequate educational facilities, denounced the convict-lease system, and demanded an equalization of the tax burden. 10 Alabama was the only state in which the party made any headway at all, but in that state "Greenbackism ... was a significant experiment in political discontent, and gave impetus to Populism as its successor in the state." 11

⁷ Buck, Granger Movement, pp. 252-273. See also Francis B. Simkins, The Tillman Movement in South Carolina, p. 17.

8 For Texas, see Ralph A. Smith, "The Grange in Texas, 1873-1900," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XIII (April, 1939), 297-315.

9 Among the causes for the decline of the Granger movement may be listed the following: (1) The laxness of organization permitted many persons who were not interested in the farmer and his problems to join. For example, it was not uncommon for politicians to use the Grange for their own political advancement. (2) The huge, unwieldy mass within the organization led to dissension within the ranks. (3) The connection of the Grange with a number of political movements led to its decline. (4) The Grange falled to secure permanent and effective railroad regulation. (5) The main cause was the failure of the Granger cooperative endeavors which went to pieces and left a burden of discredit and indebtedness. Buck, Granger Movement, pp. 70-74.

10 John B. Clark, Populism in Alabama, p. 25.

11 Clark, Populism in Alabama, p. 28.

The most significant and the largest farmers' organization in the nineteenth century South was the Farmers' Alliance. The Southern Farmers' Alliance had its origin in a cattlemen's association in Lampasas County, Texas, in the middle 1870's. Within a decade the Texas Alliance had spread throughout the state and under the guidance of its leader, C. W. Macune, began in the late 1880's to absorb similar farmers' organizations in other Southern states. By 1890 the Southern Alliance boasted a membership of over a million and was the most powerful farmers' organization in the country. It was the spearhead of the last great concerted agrarian effort in this country. It and its political successor, the People's party, marked the culmination of the agrarian progressive movement in the South.

When agrarian efforts to liberalize the Democratic party failed, Southern farmers joined their comrades in the West and launched in 1892 the People's party. The platform of the agrarian Democrats and the Populists, as members of the People's party were called, comprehended a broad program of economic and political reforms in the interest of the agrarian and debtor classes. Since the third party was organized in every Southern state, it is possible to see the objectives for which these progressives were fighting. The populistic group in Alabama adopted a platform in 1892 that included the progressive demands of the Democrats and also called for fair elections and a national graduated income tax, and denounced national banks and trusts. A platform of 1894 demanded the removal of convicts from, and prohibition of child labor in, the mines. 12 The Alliance-controlled Democratic party in Tennessee in 1890 demanded free coinage of silver, extension of the public school system, lien laws to protect laborers and mechanics, good roads, and abolition of the convict-lease system. 13 The Democracy in Georgia in 1890, in the control of the Alliance, came out in favor of an enlargement of the powers of the state railroad commission, abolition of the convict-lease system and other prison reforms, revision of the tax system, extension of the public school system, and laws to ensure fair primaries and elections. 14 The 1892 North Carolina

¹² Clark, Populism in Alabama, pp. 133, 152.

13 Daniel M. Robison, Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee, pp. 144-145.

14 Alex M. Arnett, The Populist Movement in Georgia, pp. 105-106. See also James C. Bonner, "The Alliance Legislature of 1890," in J. C. Bonner and Lucien E. Roberts (eds.), Studies in Georgia History and Government, pp. 155-171.

Populist platform called for economy in state government, adequate aid to the state educational institutions, reduction of the legal rate of interest to six per cent, adequate taxation of the railroads, and a ten-hour day for laborers in mines, factories, and public works. 15

All of the Southern state parties endorsed the national Populist platform, but none had so complete a program as did Texas Populism. The 1892 Texas platform reaffirmed the traditional American doctrine of the equality of man and demanded the elimination of certain economic inequalities that weighed heavily upon the farmers. It demanded the recovery of Texas land from railroads and corporations and the prohibition of alien ownership. The Texas Populists advocated, moreover, government construction of railroads, abolition of national banks, free silver, and the issuance by the federal government of legal tender notes to the amount of fifty dollars per capita, while the sub-treasury plan was the means by which the money would be put into circulation. The taxation system and Democratic extravagances in government were criticized. An anti-trust program was endorsed and a labor program which included an eight-hour day, mechanics' lien laws, the establishment of a state board of labor and arbitration, and the abolition of the convict-lease system was adopted. Such political reforms as the direct election of Senators. the President, and the Vice President, proportional representation, and the initiative, referendum, and recall were also endorsed. 16

The influence of the Alliance and Populist movements in the South was so profound and of such portent to Southern political life that its significance can be understood only when it is realized that it shook the very foundations of Democratic supremacy in the region. Although, with the single exception of North Carolina, the Populists failed to gain control in any Southern state. the agrarians in the Farmers' Alliance seized control of the Democratic party machinery and elected governors and Congressmen in several Southern states. And Populism itself, despite the paucity of its actual gains, had a significant influence on the

¹⁵ Simeon A. Delap. "The Populist Party in North Carolina," Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society, XIV, 52.

16 Roscoe C. Martin, The People's Party in Texas, pp. 46-54. This is the best of the state studies on Southern Populism. Again, it should be emphasized that the national Populist platform concerning land, money, and reilroad regulation was heartily approved by Southern Populists. It will be remembered, also, that the "sub-treasury" plan was a Southern invention and was one of the chief planks of Southern Populism.

political life of the South. The movement effected, for the first time since the Civil War, a real cleavage within the Democratic ranks and forced the retirement of many of the old conservative leaders. What is more important, it forced the Southern Democratic party, at least for a time, to become almost as progressive as the Populist party.

An examination of the history of the several Southern states during the 1890's will illustrate this point. In Texas in 1894 the Democrats adopted the Populist program with regard to convict labor. In 1896 they approved the national Populist planks calling for free silver, the issuance of legal tender notes by the federal government, the abolition of national banks as banks of currency issue, the election of United States Senators by the people, and the institution of the income tax. A railroad commission had been established and an alien land law had been passed early in the 1890's by the legislature. 17 The Democrats of Alabama in 1892 adopted a platform demanding free silver, the abolition of the convict-lease system, adequate support for the public school system, primary election laws, and the secret ballot.18 A farmercontrolled legislature in Tennessee in 1890 and 1891 passed a stringent anti-trust law, drastically raised taxes on corporations, and passed a resolution calling on Tennessee's Congressmen and Senators to support a constitutional amendment for the direct election of United States Senators. 19 By 1896 the Democratic party in that state had become almost completely converted to Populism. Its platform demanded free silver, the abolition of national banks, the repeal of the tax on state bank notes, and a national income tax.²⁰ In South Carolina Benjamin R. Tillman led the white small farmers to victory in 1890 and subsequently inaugurated a number of reforms, many of which were in the interests of the farmers.²¹ In Virginia the conservative Thomas S. Martin organization was forced to take a stand in favor of

¹⁷ Martin, People's Party in Texas, pp. 266-267.

18 Clark, Populism in Alabama, p. 132.

19 Robison, Bob Taylor, pp. 152-153.

20 Robison, Bob Taylor, pp. 197.

21 Simkins, Tillman Movement, chapters VI, VII, and VIII. Some of the reforms of the Tillman regime were: increased aid to the agricultural college, establishment of a woman's college, reorganization of the insane asylum, raising the valuation of corporation property for taxation purposes, the establishment of a more powerful railroad commission in 1892, a bill limiting the hours of labor in industry, and the famous dispensary system.

free silver and the Democratic convention of 1896 was a free-silver carnival.22

An Alliance legislature in Georgia in 1890-1891, led by Alliance Governor W. J. Northen, extended the jurisdiction of the state railroad commission, instituted certain reforms in the banking laws of the state, extended the system of state inspection of fertilizers, and established a Negro agricultural and mechanical college.23 By 1896 the Georgia Democratic convention was demanding free silver, the repeal of the Resumption Act that gave President Cleveland authority to issue United States bonds in order to maintain the gold reserve in the Treasury, the repeal of the federal tax on state bank notes, an income tax amendment, and a revenue tariff.²⁴ In North Carolina the Farmers' Alliance had captured the legislature by 1890, and in 1891 a state railroad commission was established and endowed with complete ratemaking authority. 25 In 1895 a fusion Populist-Republican legislature passed an election law aimed at wiping out entirely corruption at the ballot boxes. The election machinery was made completely bipartisan. The people were given the right to elect county commissioners; the legal rate of interest was set at six per cent; increased appropriations for public institutions were made, while all corporations which had been exempted from taxation were hereafter to be subject to taxation.²⁶

Such were the objectives and achievements of Southern agrarianism and Populism. Of course, the fact that the Populist revolt had forced out the conservative Bourbon leadership within the Democratic party and had necessitated a reorganization and reorientation within the party is not particularly surprising. The movement was nation-wide. It resulted in the expulsion of the Cleveland Democrats of the conservative East from power in party circles in 1896 and the inauguration of the progressive, Bryan-dominated era. Moreover, the return of large numbers of former Populists to the Democratic party upon the fusion of the Populists with the Democrats in 1896 further stimulated the progressive leaven within the Democratic party. The result of a

²² William DuBose Sheldon, Populism in the Old Dominion, chapter V.
23 Bonner, "The Alliance Legislature of 1890," pp. 155-171. See also Arnett, Populist Movement in Georgia, p. 121.
24 Arnett, Populist Movement in Georgia, pp. 194-195.
25 John D. Hicks, "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," North Carolina Historical Review, II (1925), 174-175.
26 Delap, "Populist Party in North Carolina," pp. 57-59.

decade of agitation was a much greater emphasis in the South on popular education and social and economic reform. Populistic and agrarian agitation against the railroads and banks resulted in increased regulation of these institutions by the state governments. The activities of state departments of agriculture were expanded and greater emphasis was given to agricultural and vocational education. Significant reforms in the political machinery of the states were effected by the utilization of the party primary instead of the state convention as the method of nominating party candidates, the replacement of the old party ballot with the secret ballot, and the adoption by many Southern cities of the commission form of city government.

Although the Populist revolt caused the downfall of the Bourbon domination, it brought to the fore in Southern political life a new type of leadership, the leadership of the demagogues. Men like Cole L. Blease of South Carolina, Jeff Davis of Arkansas, and Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi were typical demagogues who stirred the people to democratic revolt and who rose to power by class agitation and race hatred, but who offered their constituents few measures of progressive legislation.

Throughout the decades of agrarian revolt, class agitation, and conflict, there remained a great number of Democrats who were neither Bourbons nor Populists, but middle-of-the-road progressives. As a general rule, this group found its recruits in the middle classes of the South among the more prosperous farmers, small business men, school teachers, editors, and other professional groups. They looked askance alike at the defection of the Populists and the conservatism of the Bourbons. But to a great degree the aims of the Southern progressives-popular education, reforms looking toward greater popular control of the state governments, and the abandonment by the state governments of laissez-faire as a guide for economic and social action-were much the same as those of the Populists. In Virginia the progressives were led by Carter Glass, Andrew J. Montague, and William A. Jones; in North Carolina by Charles B. Aycock, Josephus Daniels, Claude and William Kitchin, and Walter Clark. In Georgia, Hoke Smith and Thomas W. Hardwick; in Florida, Frank L. Mayes; in Alabama, Benjamin B. Comer; in Louisiana,

John M. Parker; in Kentucky, Ollie M. James and John C. W. Beckham; in Oklahoma, Robert L. Owen and Thomas P. Gore; and in Texas, James Stephen Hogg, Charles A. Culberson, and Robert L. Henry were representatives of this middle-class progressivism. Indeed, the statement might perhaps be made that no region of the country, in proportion to its population, could boast a greater galaxy of progressive leaders.

After 1900 the Southern progressive movement reveals itself in a somewhat different light from the nineteenth century agrarian radicalism. In the first place, the farmers of the South and of the nation as well entered upon a period of relative prosperity around 1897 which continued with few interruptions until 1920. As money became more plentiful farm prices rose and consequently agrarian demands for extreme financial reforms diminished. In the second place, what was perhaps the farmers' paramount problem-adequate regulation of railroad rates and services—was gradually being taken care of by federal and state action. As a consequence, there was a gradual shift in emphasis in the Southern progressive platform. It ceased to be almost entirely agrarian in outlook, while the leadership of the movement passed from the hands of the farmers to progressive editors, politicians, and other urban groups. The chief issues of the progressive movement in the early part of the twentieth century, from 1900 to 1914, were primarily political. Once again, it should be pointed out that this development within progressive ranks was nation-wide.

The culmination of the Southern progressive movement came as a result of a national development—the Woodrow Wilson presidential campaign both before and after the Baltimore convention of 1912. Even by 1911 Wilson was displacing Bryan as leader of the progressive Democrats and liberal Southerners hastened to join the New Jersey governor's ranks. Wilson's New Freedom philosophy and program had a powerful appeal to certain groups in Southern society. The fact that he had taken the lead in smashing a reactionary political machine in New Jersey won him the support of liberals in every Southern state who were fighting to overthrow conservative political organizations. The most significant fact about the Wilson movement in the South

was that these Southern progressives seized upon it as a weapon to use against the conservatives in order to gain control of their own state governments. Wilson's economic philosophy was very much like Bryan's and the New Jersey governor's campaign against the "money trust," big business, and in favor of a revenue tariff naturally won him the support of the old Bryan men. The educational leaders in the South—from the universities and colleges to the country schools—played an important role in the movement. Southern teachers were naturally gratified to see one of their fellows step from college halls to the national political stage and the remarks of anti-Wilson editors which reflected on the candidate because he had been a professor drove thousands of teachers into the Wilson ranks. Wilson was popular, not only with the educators in the South, but also with the college students and the enthusiasm for him which swept through college campuses was phenomenal. As Wilson was supported by Southern educators, so was he likewise supported by many Southern clergymen. Wilson's adherence to and profession of the Christian faith, and his Christian life were reasons enough for thousands of ministers and members of the church to enlist in his cause. The religious press, abandoning its usual hands-off policy in political campaigns, generously supported Wilson in the prenomination campaign of 1912.27

If the writer had to single out the group of men that made the greatest contribution to the Wilson movement in the South he would almost inevitably name the Southern editors who heralded the coming of the New Freedom. Their work in presenting the man to the people and in engendering enthusiasm and support for his cause was the foundation stone of Wilson's campaign in the South. It is not strange that many of the strongest Wilson editors—Josephus Daniels, William E. Gonzales, Frank L. Mayes, and Luke Lea—were also devoted followers of William Jennings Bryan. Nor is it strange that most of the anti-Bryan editors were also antagonistic to the New Jersey governor. The powerful leavens of progressivism and conservatism necessitated such an

²⁷ See, for example, Christian Advocate (Nashville), March 8, 1912; Birmingham Age-Herald, August 20, 1912; Raleigh News and Observer, April 2, 1912; Atlanta Constitution, February 5, 1912; Atlanta Journal, April 16 and 26, 1912; Presbyterian Standard (Charlotte), March 24, 1911, April 24, and July 17, 1912; Presbyterian of the South (Richmond), February 8, 1911.

alignment. Many of the Southern editors were also politicians of influence.28

The Wilson movement in the South became in effect a struggle for progressive Democracy, and progressive Southern politicians were in the vanguard of the movement. Men who had been Bryan's spokesmen for nearly sixteen years—Daniels, Tillman, Gonzales, Hoke Smith, Frank L. Mayes, Nathan P. Bryan, Braxton B. Comer, Luke Lea, Charles A. Culberson, Robert L. Henry, William H. Murray, and Thomas P. Gore—perhaps realized that the Commoner's day as a presidential candidate had passed and found a new leader in Woodrow Wilson. There were, of course, Bryan men in the South who supported Champ Clark, who was running as a progressive. On the other hand, the consistent opposition of the conservative Southern state organizations came as a result of the liberalism of the Wilson movement.

The Wilson movement was moderately successful in achieving its immediate goal, the winning of the Southern delegations. Wilson won proportionately as much support in the South as in any other section of the country. From the long-range point of view the movement was significant in that it became the spearhead of a great progressive revolt. It brought to the fore important issues which demanded solution; it engendered a tremendous amount of discussion concerning popular government and progressive reform.29

So much for the general development of the progressive movement in the South from the Granger movement to the Wilson era. An interrogator might reasonably ask: if the South had such a considerable body of progressives and was so visibly affected by the progressive movement, why did not the region show results by way of progressive reforms? Such a question creates a perplexing problem in the establishment of a yardstick of progressivism. It might be helpful to consider the reform

²⁸ Daniels and Robert Ewing were national committeemen, respectively, from North Carolina and Louisiana. Gonzales dominated the progressive faction of the party in South Carolina. Lea and E. B. Stahlman were spokesmen for the progressive Democrats in Tennessee. James R. Gray of the Atlanta Journal was allied with the political fortunes of Hoke Smith and the progressive faction of the Georgia Democracy.

29 Spatial limitations have required that the writer merely summarize the general characteristics of the Wilson movement in the South. For a fuller discussion, however, see Arthur Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in the library of the University of North Carolina. "The Wilson Movement in Texas, 1910-1912," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XLVIII (October, 1944), 169-185; "The Democratic PreConvention Campaign of 1912 in Georgia," Georgia Historical Quarterly, XXIX (September, 1945). 143-158. 1945), 143-158.

measures that were outstanding during this period and to analyze the accomplishments of the Southern states.

One example of progressive reform in which Southern states were virtual pioneers was the difficult problem of railroad regulation. In the rebuilding of the railroads in the South after the destruction that occurred during the Civil War, Northern capitalists played an influential part. And with the subsequent consolidation of Southern railroads into large systems also came the attendant evils of monopolistic control. The railroads levied fares and freight rates at their pleasure and often to the oppression of the people, while stock watering, discrimination in rates, the free pass evil, and under-assessment for taxes were frequently practiced evils. The political corruption attendant upon the railroads' suspicious and frequent sorties into politics, as well as the malpractices mentioned above, led soon after the restoration of home rule to a popular demand that the railroads be subjected to public control.

Virginia took the first step and in 1877 the legislature of that state established a state advisory railroad commission on the order of the Massachusetts type. 30 The powers of the Virginia commission were purely supervisory and recommendatory and it was not until 1901 that popular agitation for a commission with power to set rates finally culminated in the establishment of a powerful Corporation Commission with complete administrative, legislative, and judicial powers over railroads and other corporations.³¹ A year following the establishment of the first Virginia commission, South Carolina set up an advisory railroad commission modeled after it.32 Four years later, however, the legislature amended the law so as to endow the commission with full power to set freight and passenger rates.33

Georgia was the first Southern state and, along with California, the first state in the country effectively to regulate railroad rates and operations.34 The Georgia constitution of 1877

³⁰ Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, 1876-1877, chapter 254, pp. 254-

<sup>257.

31</sup> See the Virginia Constitution of 1902, article XII, sections 155-156, in Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Virginia, 1902-1903-1904, pp. 31-37.

32 Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, 1878,

chapter 662, pp. 789-792.

53 South Carolina, Acts, 1881-1882, chapter 595, pp. 791-841.

54 The earlier legislative efforts of the Midwestern states of Illinois, Minnesota, Wis and Iowa during the heyday of the Granger movement were ineffective and short-lived.

made the establishment of a railroad commission by the legislature mandatory and, in compliance with this emphatic directive, the legislature in 1879 established the state commission. The Georgia commission had extraordinary powers to fix and compel fair and uniform rates, to forbid discrimination among persons and places, and to abolish the discrimination inherent in the longand-short-haul practice. Schedules of rates established by the commission were to be accepted as just and fair by the state courts, while railroad companies were compelled to submit to the commission their records and business files. 35 The Georgia commission was exceedingly effective in bringing the railroads of the state under its control, and it secured reductions in passenger and freight rates of between fifty and sixty per cent.³⁶ In addition to the fact of its successful career, the Georgia commission is significant in that practically all other Southern states subsequently established commissions modeled after it. In 1907, largely due to the persistent efforts of Hoke Smith, leader of the progressive wing of the Democratic party in Georgia and governor of the state in 1907, the legislature reorganized the railroad commission and greatly extended its jurisdiction. It was in reality transformed into a corporation or public utilities commission. The most interesting feature of the new law was a provision which made it the commission's duty to promulgate such rules regarding the issuance of stocks and bonds as would put an end to over-capitalization and guarantee honest values to purchasers of securities.37

Kentucky in 1879 established an advisory railroad commission.38 The commission was, however, deprived of all authority to supervise railroad rates by a decision of the Kentucky Court of Appeals in 1896, but an act of the legislature in 1900 conferred the authority upon the commission to prescribe "reasonable and just" freight and passenger rates. 39 After a prolonged battle with the Louisville and Nashville Railroad the commis-

³⁵ Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1878-1879, chapter

^{269,} pp. 125-131.
36 Jim David Cherry, "The Georgia Railroad Commission, 1879-1888," unpublished M.A. thesis in the library of the University of North Carolina.
37 Georgia, Acts, 1907, chapter 223, pp. 72-81.
38 Acts of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky, 1879, chapter 1019, pp.

³⁹ Kentucky, Acts, 1900, chapter 2, pp. 5-7.

sion's right to prescribe reasonable maximum intrastate rates was confirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States. 40

The Alabama legislature in 1881 established a railroad commission, but withheld from it the authority to fix rates and fares. The carriers were required to submit to the commission their tariffs of freight and passenger charges for examination and if the commission should find any charge which it deemed unreasonable, it was directed to notify the railroad in question.41 The provisions of the Alabama law were a decided improvement upon the law establishing the Virginia commission but were obviously inadequate effectively to deal with the problem of railroad regulation. Consequently, in 1883 the legislature gave the commission authority to determine reasonable rates. 42 The Alabama commission was successful in decreasing tariff charges, but there was considerable popular agitation for an act to increase the commission's powers. The leader of the movement for more effective regulation after 1900 was Braxton Bragg Comer, who was elected president of the commission in 1904. In 1906 Comer was elected governor on a railroad-regulation platform and in 1907 called upon the legislature to abolish the "debauching lobby" maintained by the railroads at Montgomery and to pass laws providing for thorough railroad regulation. 43 In compliance, the legislature passed a series of acts which extended the jurisdiction of the commission to include most of the public utility companies of the state, reduced the freight rates on one hundred and ten articles of common production, and reduced passenger rates to two and one-half cents a mile.44 A bitter fight between Governor Comer and the Louisville and Nashville Railroad resulted. In 1913, however, this railroad gave up its fight against the Alabama commission and accepted its schedules. 45

Tennessee in 1883 established a railroad commission and authorized it to set just and reasonable rates, 46 but the railroads of

⁴⁰ Maxwell Ferguson, State Regulation of Railroads in the South, pp. 123-124. This is the

only general work on the subject.

41 Acts of the General Assembly of Alabama, 1880-1881, chapter 91, pp. 84-95.

42 Alabama, Acts, 1882-1883, chapters 103 and 104, pp. 177-178.

43 Albert B. Moore, "Braxton Bragg Comer," Dictionary of American Biography, IV,

<sup>329-330.

44</sup> General Laws of the Legislature of Alabama, 1907, chapter 17, p. 80; chapter 30, p. 104; chapter 31, pp. 105-107; chapter 69, pp. 135-166; chapter 329, pp. 404-405.

45 Ferguson, State Regulation, p. 138. For a discussion of Comer's battle with the Louisville and Nashville Railroad see Rupert B. Vance, "Spell-Binders of the New South," unpublished manuscript in possession of Professor Vance.

46 Acts of the State of Tennessee, 1883, chapter 199, pp. 271-279.

the state were able to halt the work of the commission by use of judicial injunctions. As a consequence, the commission law of 1883 was repealed in 1885. However, in 1897 a new commission was established and endowed with full authority to regulate rates and tariffs. 47 It was successful in effecting a drastic reduction in transportation charges. 48 The Mississippi legislature in 1884 established a commission⁴⁹ which effectively reduced freight rates during 1886 and 1887. Passenger rates, because of the competitive practices of the Mississippi railroads, were already exceedingly low. 50 Florida in 1887 established a commission modeled almost exactly after the Georgia commission of 1879.51 The Florida legislature, however, abolished the commission in 1891 because it did not approve of the new chairman appointed by the governor and it was not until 1897 that the commission was reestablished.⁵² In 1899 the legislature considerably strengthened the commission's authority by more clearly defining its powers and giving it judicial authority, 53 and in 1901 it promulgated a comprehensive freight rate schedule.54

After many years of agitation, the legislature of North Carolina in 1891, dominated by members of the Farmers' Alliance, established a railroad commission based on the Georgia model. 55 Within less than a year's time freight and passenger schedules were promulgated that brought about numerous reductions. 56 In 1899 the railroad commission was transformed into a corporation commission, one of the first of its kind in the United States. The powers and duties of the old railroad commission were transferred to it, but its jurisdiction was extended to cover all carriers. as well as telephone companies, public and private banks, loan and trust companies, and building and loan associations. 57 The North Carolina commission attempted to bring to an end the discriminatory rates levied by the Virginia railroads to favor

⁴⁷ Tennessee, Acts, 1897, chapter 10, pp. 113-126.
48 Ferguson, State Regulation, pp. 140-146.
49 Laws of the State of Mississippi, 1884, chapter 23, pp. 31-41.
50 Ferguson, State Regulation, pp. 148-151.
51 Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida, 1887, chapter 3746, pp. 118-126.

<sup>118-126.

52</sup> Florida, Acts, 1897, chapter 4549, pp. 82-94.

53 Florida, Acts, 1899, chapter 4700, pp. 76-93.

54 Ferguson, State Regulation, pp. 154-161.

55 Laws and Resolutions of the State of North Carolina, 1891, chapter 320, pp. 275-288.

56 Martha Frances Bowditch, "The North Carolina Railroad Commission, 1891-1899," unpublished M.A. thesis in the library of the University of North Carolina.

67 North Carolina, Laws, 1899, chapter 164, pp. 291-307.

Virginia cities and to eliminate the discrimination practiced by the north-south lines running through the state.58

The Trans-Mississippi Southern states kept well abreast of the Southeastern states in the perplexing and difficult business of railroad regulation. Texas, under the progressive leadership of Governor James Stephen Hogg, in 1891 established a railroad commission to set reasonable rates, 59 and in 1893 the legislature enacted a stock and bond law designed to prevent the railroads from increasing and collecting fictitious debts by means of increasing the rates. 60 In Arkansas a railroad regulation amendment to the state constitution was adopted in 1897, and in 1899 the legislature established a commission. The railroads were required to furnish rate schedules to the commission, to keep rate schedules posted, and to furnish facilities for the care of persons and property transported. Discriminations of any sort, rebates, pooling, and the long-and-short-haul practice were prohibited. The commission was empowered to determine the valuation of the railroads, to conduct hearings, and to regulate freight, express, and passenger rates. 61 In 1907 the commission's jurisdiction was extended to sleeping car companies. 62 A railroad commission was established in Louisiana by a provision of the constitution of 1898. The commission was directed to set reasonable rates and was given authority over sleeping-car, express, telephone, and telegraph companies, and steamboats and other water craft as well as the railroads. 63 The first endeavor of the commission was to put an end to the disastrous competition between the railroads and steamboats, while numerous reductions in freight rates were effected. 64 Oklahoma's progressive constitution of 1907 restricted railroad and corporate activities in many ways. Considerable space was given to expressing the limitations and regulations of railroads and other public corporations which were regulated by a corporation commission of three members.65

⁵⁸ Ferguson, State Regulation, pp. 174-177.
59 Revised Civil Statutes of the State of Texas, 1895, chapter 13, pp. 909-920.
60 Texas, Statutes, 1895, chapter 14, pp. 920-923.
61 William F. Kirby (ed.), A Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas, sections 6788-6826, pp.

^{1407-1415.} 62 Charles 1407-1415.
62 Charles W. Fornoff, "The Regulation of Public Service Corporations," in David Y. Thomas, Arkansas and Its People, a History, 1541-1930, I, 338-341.
63 Constitution of the State of Louisiana, 1898, articles 283-289.
64 Ferguson, State Regulation, pp. 180-184.
65 Constitution of the State of Oklahoma, 1907, article X, sections 2-35.

In concluding this discussion of state railroad regulation in the South, it may reasonably be said that commissions in every Southern state regulated the transportation companies, for the most part, in the public interest and that the movement was successful in bringing benefits to the people in the form of reductions in rates, uniformity of schedules, and increased taxation of the railroads. It is the conclusion of the only authority in the general field that state regulation in the South effectively ended discrimination and reduced freight and passenger rates to an unjustly low level.66

The Southern movement for railroad regulation was manifestly a part of the nation-wide movement, and it is interesting to note that Southerners exercised considerable influence in the national movement for railroad reform. It is a well-known fact that John H. Reagan of Texas was regarded as the father of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887. Robert M. La Follette, writing years later, declared that "To Reagan of Texas, more than any other man in the House, belongs the credit for the passage of the act." 67 La Follette also wrote that he and his progressive lieutenants in Wisconsin had profited greatly from Reagan's wise advice when they drew up Wisconsin's railroad regulation law.68 The advocates of national railroad legislation always had the overwhelming support of Southern representatives and Senators. and Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina gave conspicuous service to the Roosevelt administration when he piloted the Hepburn rate bill through the Senate in 1906.69

In any discussion of the program of the progressive movement the measures advocated by progressives directed toward the reform of the party machinery loom large. One of the most important of these measures was the direct primary, by means of which reformers hoped to wrest control over the nominating process from the political bosses and to restore it to the people. Under La Follette's leadership, Wisconsin in 1903 adopted the mandatory state-wide direct party primary. Before 1890, however, every county in South Carolina used the primary system

⁶⁶ Ferguson, State Regulation, pp. 207-212.
67 R. M. La Follette, La Follette's Autobiography, p. 119.
68 La Follette, Autobiography, pp. 119-120.
6 Henry F. Pringle, Theodore Roosevelt, pp. 420-425; Claude G. Bowers, Beveridge and the Progressive Era, pp. 225-226. Tillman received considerable support from Senator Joseph Weldon Bailey of Texas in the fight for the Hepburn bill.

for the nomination of local officers and legislators, and in 1896 the state-wide Democratic party primary was inaugurated. 70 As early as 1897 the legislature of Arkansas had legalized primary elections.⁷¹ The Mississippi legislature in 1902 enacted a law requiring that all nominations for state, district, county, and county district officials be made by primary elections. 72 The primary system was in use in Virginia at least by 1905, and in that year the United States senatorial primary was adopted by the Democratic party.⁷³ The first state-wide primary in Georgia was held on June 7, 1898, and the primary system was used regularly by the Democrats thereafter. 74 In 1902 Alabama Democrats adopted the primary system for nominating their candidates. Following the primary for state officers in 1902, the friends of the primary system began to agitate for a senatorial primary by means of which the voters could instruct the members of the state legislature upon their preference for United States Senator. The system was adopted in 1906.75 Governor William S. Jennings, elected in 1900, was the last governor of Florida nominated by a political convention. The legislature, early in his administration, enacted the primary system into the body of Florida laws. 76 By 1908, at least, Florida had instituted the senatorial primary.77 The primary system had been in operation in Tennessee for some time before 1901, for in that year the state legislature enacted a law to legalize and regulate party primaries. All primary elections in the state were to be con-

70 David D. Wallace, History of South Carolina, III, 336, 356. The South Carolina legislature in 1896 enacted a statute to prevent frauds at the primary elections, but the party primary was not made legally mandatory nor brought within the protection of the general election laws. South Carolina, Acts and Joint Resolutions, 1896, chapter 25, p. 56.

71 Kirby (ed.), Status of Arkansas, 1904, chapter 57, sects. 2892-2897, pp. 705-706. In 1917 an act adopted by the initiative required primary elections of the major parties. T. D. Crawford and Hamilton Moses (eds.), Digest of the Statutes of Arkansas, 1919, chapter 54, sects. 3757-3782, pp. 1075-1083.

72 Mississippi, Laws, 1902, chapter 66, pp. 105-112. Section 18 of this law also provided for the nomination of United States Senators by the senatorial primary.

73 Robert C. Glass and Carter Glass, Jr., History of Virginia Democracy, I, 292. In 1912 the Virginia legislature passed an act "to establish and regulate the holding of primary elections." Virginia, Acts, 1912, chapter 307, pp. 611-619.

74 Walter G. Cooper, The Story of Georgia, III, 370. A Georgia law of 1900 provided that primary elections should be held under the regulations prescribed by the party, but also provided that clerks of the superior courts should receive and count the election returns. Georgia, Acts, 1900, chapter 117, pp. 40-41.

vided that clerks of the superior courts should receive and count the election returns. Georgia, Acts, 1900, chapter 117, pp. 40-41.

75 Albert B. Moore, History of Alabama, I, 909-910. In 1903 the Alabama legislature enacted a law which gave legal sanction and protection to all party primaries that might be held in the state. Alabama, General Laws, 1903, chapter 417, pp. 356-365.

In 1911 the legislature made a sweeping revision of the primary act and exempted from its application parties that polled less than 25 per cent of the votes at the general election. Alabama, General Laws, 1911, chapter 479, pp. 421-449.

76 The Florida law was passed in 1901. It provided for complete state regulation of party primaries. Florida, Acts, 1901, chapter 5014, pp. 160-165.

77 Harry Gardner Cutler, History of Florida, I, 179.

ducted under the provisions of the general election laws.78 During the administration of Governor John C. W. Beckham, around 1905, the Kentucky Democratic party adopted the primary system, 79 while Texas 80 and Oklahoma 81 adopted the system in the early years of the twentieth century. Although the primary system had been in use since 1900 in the counties of North Carolina, it was not until 1915 that the legislature made its use mandatory on a state-wide basis.82 Thus it would appear that the primary election idea was almost indigenous to the South, as far as its use in this country is concerned. It is clearly evident that a good majority of the Southern states were using the system by the time Wisconsin adopted it.

Another measure of reform advocated by progressives in the early part of the twentieth century was corrupt practices legislation, designed to purify the election process. By the end of the Wilson period every Southern state had enacted legislation making it a criminal offense to give bribes to influence a voter, and every Southern state except Florida had enacted severe legislation against the receiving of such bribes. Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas prohibited candidates from promising appointments before elections, while Arkansas and Texas had declared it unlawful for candidates to pay for the conveyance of voters to the polls. Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi denied party leaders the right to solicit campaign funds from candidates. By 1919 every Southern state had enacted laws of varying effectiveness and severity prohibiting the intimidation of voters, while Alabama, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Florida, and Kentucky had made it unlawful for employers to intimidate or attempt to influence the voting of their employees. Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas also required employers

⁷⁸ Tennessee, Acts, 1901, chapter 39, pp. 54-59. The poll tax requirement for voting did not

⁷⁸ Tennessee, Acts, 1901, chapter 39, pp. 54-59. The poll tax requirement for voting did not apply in the primary election.
79 George Lee Willis, Kentucky Democracy, I, 391-392. In 1912 the Kentucky legislature instituted the mandatory primary system which included the United States senatorial primary. Kentucky, Acts, 1912, chapter 7, pp. 47-77
80 A Texas law of 1905 made primary nominations mandatory for all candidates for state, district, and county offices. The law affected at the time, however, only the Democratic party since it applied only to parties polling more than 100,000 votes. Texas, General Laws, 1905, chapter 11, pp. 543-565. See also O. Douglas Weeks, "The Texas Primary System," in Frank Carter Adams (ed.), Texas Democracy, I, 531-554, especially p. 531.
81 Oklahoma in 1909 adopted the mandatory primary as the method by which all political parties were to nominate candidates for all state offices. Oklahoma, Session Laws, 1909, Senate Bill No. 5, pp. 270-274.
82 North Carolina, Public Laws, 1915, chapter 101, pp. 154-168. See also Robert D. W. Connor, North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, II, 481-482.

to give their employees ample time to vote on election day. Tennessee, South Carolina, Oklahoma, Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina passed legislation prohibiting illegal and unqualified registration, while all of the Southern states endeavored to prevent illegal and fradulent voting. Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee prohibited distinguishing marks or signs on election ballots, and Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia made it unlawful for a person to participate in a primary or convention of a party other than his own. Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, and Virginia required that political advertisements in newspapers be clearly denoted as such, while North Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, Arkansas, and Alabama required that political posters and advertisements bear the names and addresses of the persons responsible for issuing them. Florida and Virginia made it unlawful for a candidate to purchase editorial support in a political campaign. In the matter of campaign expenditures, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Virginia limited the amounts a candidate for governor might expend in his campaign for nomination and election. The sums varied from \$3,000 in Oklahoma to \$10,000 in Alabama. Virginia allowed an expenditure of fifteen cents for every voter who cast his vote for the highest party candidate at the last election. All of the states except Mississippi and Tennessee required candidates to file statements of their campaign expenditures either before or after the primary and election, or both. Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, and Texas attempted either to prohibit or to regulate the contributing by corporations to campaign funds.83

Four other political reforms were prominently in vogue in 1912: the presidential preferential primary, the commission form of city government, the direct election of Senators, and the initiative, referendum, and recall. During the presidential prenomination campaign of 1912 the issue of the presidential primary, in which the voters instructed delegates to the national convention to vote for their specified candidate, arose. The sys-

⁸³ This discussion of corrupt-practices legislation in the Southern states is based upon Earl R. Sikes, State and Federal Corrupt-Practices Legislation, and is taken directly from the tables in pp. 258-291. It is difficult to determine the effectiveness of the laws. Sikes deals only with the legislation and not with the application of the laws.

tem, which supposedly deprived the political bosses of the power to select presidential candidates, was adopted in the South in 1912 by Florida, Georgia, and Mississippi. In 1913 a preferential primary law was enacted by the Texas legislature.84

The commission form of city government originated in Galveston, Texas, in 1900 under extraordinary circumstances.85 What was begun as an emergency administrative measure proved so effective a method of city government that it was not only retained in Galveston, but spread throughout the country. By 1914 commission government was operative in most of the larger Southern cities—in Galveston, Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, Shreveport, New Orleans, Wilmington, Oklahoma City, El Paso, Columbia, Chattanooga, Knoxville, Memphis, Dallas, San Antonio, Fort Worth, Houston, and Austin—and in many of the smaller cities as well. 86 It is interesting to note in this connection that Staunton, Virginia, was the first city in the country to adopt the city manager form of government.87

There was, and had been since the days of the agrarian revolt, a widespread demand in the South for the adoption of a constitutional amendment providing for the popular election of United States Senators.88 As a matter of fact, by the time the amendment went into effect senatorial candidates in every Southern state were first nominated by the people in a party primary. The principles of the initiative, referendum, and recall never found widespread acceptance in the South, although Oklahoma in 1907 and Arkansas in 1909 wrote the reforms into their bodies of law.89

84 Weeks, "The Texas Primary System," p. 532.

⁵⁸ Mr 1900 a great hurricane and flood swept over the city and, in order to facilitate the rogress of reconstruction, the citizens of Galveston placed the government and job of

⁸⁴ Weeks, "The Texas Primary System," p. 532.

85 In 1900 a great hurricane and flood swept over the city and, in order to facilitate the progress of reconstruction, the citizens of Galveston placed the government and job of rebuilding in the hands of a business commission.

86 Aside from the cities named above the following places had the commission form of government by 1914: Anthony, Beaumont, Corpus Christi, Denison, Kennedy, Lyford, Marshall, Marble Falls, Palestine, Port Lavaca, Sherman, Waco, and Greenville, Texas; Ardmore, Bartlesville, Duncan, Enid, Miami, McAlester, Muskogee, Sapulpa, Tulsa, and Wagner, Oklahoma; Bristol, Clarkesville, Etowah, and Richmond City, Tennessee.

Commission city government was almost unanimously favored by the press of the South. See, for example, editorials in Raleigh News and Observer, Narch 15, 16, 17, 1911; Wilmington Morning Star, December 20, 1910, March 14, 15, 1911; Charlotte Daily Observer, November 16, 1911; Pensacola Evening News, January 13, 1912; Columbia State, April 13, 1911; San Antonio Express, January 9, 1911; Mobile Register, December 24, 1910; Petersburg (Va.) Daily Index-Appeal, February 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 1911; Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman, March 11, 1911; Birminghom Age-Herald, May 2, 1911.

87 Benjamin P. DeWitt, The Progressive Moorement, pp. 309-310.

88 See, for example, editorials in Tulsa World, February 25, 1911; New Orleans Times-Democrat, December 19, 1910; Nashville Tennessean and American, December 20, 1910.

89 Arkansas adopted only the initiative and referendum. Thomas, Arkansas and Its People, 1, 320. For Oklahoma, see Grant Foreman, History of Oklahoma, p. 314. For editorials favorable to the initiative referendum, and recall, see: New Orleans Time-Democrat, December 15, 1910; Nashville Tennessean and American, December 20, 1910; Nashville Tennessean and American, December 30, 1910; Columbia State, May 24, 1911; Little Rock Arkansas Democrat, December 2, 1910.

Although Southern progressives gave emphasis to the struggle for political reform, they by no means were oblivious of the necessity of reform in the economic and social fields. As early as 1889 the Georgia legislature passed a law limiting work in the textile mills to sixty-six hours a week, 90 and in 1892 South Carolina enacted a similar law.91 In 1911 both Georgia and North Carolina set the maximum number of hours per week operatives could work in textile factories at sixty.92 In the matter of childlabor legislation, Southern progressives were likewise active. "There are only a few characteristics of the child labor struggle in the South which differentiate it from the movement in the nation at large, and even in them the difference is largely one of degree rather of kind," writes the authority on this movement.93 The leader in the struggle for child labor legislation in the South was Edgar Gardner Murphy of Alabama, who was chiefly instrumental in the organization of the National Child Labor Committee.⁹⁴ Alexander J. McKelway, a Presbyterian minister of Charlotte, was the executive secretary in the South for the committee and for years carried on a struggle for child labor reform. The advocates of child labor legislation were not successful in accomplishing all of the objectives for which they were striving, but they did secure a number of reform laws in the textile states and presented vividly the child labor problem to the Southern people.95

It is undoubtedly true that Southern editors led the fight for progressive reforms in the South.96 Especially was this true in the fight against the notorious convict-lease system and the iniquitous fee system that make crime profitable to sheriffs and constables. The editor of the Mobile Register, editors Frank L. Mayes of the Pensacola Journal, Fred Seeley of the Atlanta Georgian, and Edward W. Barrett of the Birmingham Age-

⁹⁰ Elizabeth H. Davidson, Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States, pp. 69-70.
91 Davidson, Child Labor Legislation, p. 90.
92 Davidson, Child Labor Legislation, pp. 163, 206.
93 Davidson, Child Labor Legislation, pp. 125.
94 Davidson, Child Labor Legislation, pp. 125.
95 Miss Davidson (Child Labor Legislation, pp. 275-278) lists in a table the laws controlling child labor passed by the Southern states.
96 Among the progressive newspapers in the South during the period after 1900 the following were outstanding: Mobile Register, Raleigh News and Observer, Petersburg Daily Index-Appeal, Columbia State, Atlanta Georgian, Atlanta Journal, Pensacola Journal, Birmingham Age-Herald, Birmingham News, Nashville Tennessean and American, New Orleans Times-Democrat, Little Rock Arkansas Democrat, Galveston Daily News, Dallas Morning News, Houston Chronicle, Louisville Post, Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman, and the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

Herald led in the fight against these twin evils.97 Progressive editors and leaders were also active during this period in an effort to secure adequate public health programs and insurance laws.98

Insofar as the foregoing movements for reform were progressive, it can be stated that there was a well organized progressive movement in the South aimed at remedying the ills of the region's social and economic and political order. It, of course, had serious deficiencies. None of the Southern editors, as far as this writer knows, who were agitating for political reforms, gave any consideration to the ominously steady increase in farm tenancy. The perplexing problems of the economic, social, and political development of the Negro likewise escaped serious attention from Southern editors. Although practically all the Southern editors severely condemned lynching, none dared to advocate political rights for the black man. As far as progressive democracy went in the South, it was progressive democracy for the white man.

It is only too apparent to the student of recent Southern history that many Southern institutions and practices were, during this period, antiquated and backward. Bearing this fact in mind, it may none the less be stated with emphasis that there were few sections of the country in which the masses of the people were more powerful than in the South. Certainly many of the dominant Southern political leaders during this period were not representative of the conservative classes. Demagogues like James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, Jeff Davis of Arkansas, or Cole Blease of South Carolina ostensibly represented the lower classes in a very definite class movement against the Bourbon conservatives. Progressives like Hoke Smith of Georgia: Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma; Charles A. Culberson, James S. Hogg, Thomas W. Gregory, and Robert L. Henry of Texas; Andrew J. Montague, William A. Jones, and Carter Glass of Virginia; Ollie M. James and J. C. W. Beckham of Kentucky; Luke Lea of Ten-

⁹⁷ The following editorial from the Mobile Register, October 10, 1911, is characteristic of

W The following editorial from the Mobile Register, October 10, 1911, is characteristic of the anti-convict-lease editorials:
 "The Register has constantly fought this leasing system and has shown up its abuses and inhumanity. It is a relic of barbarism which is a stain on Alabama. . . The leasing system is wrong in principle, unsafe in operation and cruel in effect."
 % For the early years of the North Carolina public health board, see Hilda Jane Zimmerman, "The Formative Years of the North Carolina Board of Health, 1877-1893," North Carolina Historical Review, XXI (1944), 1-34.

nessee; Josephus Daniels, Claude and William W. Kitchin, and Walter Clark of North Carolina; Frank P. Glass and B. B. Comer of Alabama; William E. Gonzales, Ira B. Jones, and Ben R. Tillman of South Carolina; John M. Parker, Arsène Pujo, and Newton Blanchard of Louisiana; or Nathan P. Bryan and Frank L. Mayes of Florida continually fought the reactionaries and conservatives and were in the vanguard of the progressive movement, not only in the South, but in the nation as well.

PAPERS FROM THE FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSO-CIATION, RALEIGH, DECEMBER 14, 1945

INTRODUCTION

By CHRISTOPHER CRITTENDEN

The State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was formed in 1900, and since that date it has held an annual meeting every year except in 1918, when a severe influenza epidemic prevented. Every year through 1922 the proceedings of the Association were published as a separate bulletin. When *The North Carolina Historical Review* was launched in January, 1924, it was planned to include the worth-while papers read at the meetings of the Association, and therefore the proceedings of the latter, separately printed, were discontinued. Since that time various ones of these papers have been published from time to time in the *Review*, and in accordance with this practice, certain of the papers presented, are reproduced below.

The forty-fifth annual session of the Association was held at the Sir Walter Hotel in Raleigh, Friday, December 14, 1945. Earlier in the year it had been feared that, because of war conditions, the meeting could not be arranged, but with the end of the conflict in August plans and arrangements were made somewhat more hastily than in ordinary years. Meeting concurrently with the Association were the North Carolina Folk-Lore Society, the North Carolina State Art Society, the Archaeological Society of North Carolina, the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, and the North Carolina Symphony Society, Inc.

At the morning session of the State Literary and Historical Association, with President Aubrey L. Brooks of Greensboro presiding, Dr. Clement Eaton of Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, read a paper, "Edwin A. Alderman, Liberal of the New South"; Dr. Norman Foerster of Chapel Hill read a paper, "Iowa, North Carolina, and the Humanities"; Mrs. Charlotte Hilton Green of Raleigh presented a review of North Carolina books and authors of the year; and a business meeting was held. At the business session the report of the secretary-treasurer was presented and accepted and resolutions were passed expressing regret at the loss of members who died during the year, welcom-

ing the North Carolina Symphony Society (meeting with other societies for the first time), manifesting interest in the formation in Chapel Hill of the Historical Society of North Carolina, approving the action of the General Assembly for making an appropriation for Tryon's Palace, opposing the proposed demolition of old St. John's College near the United States Naval Academy grounds at Annapolis, and thanking the officers and committees for a successful meeting of the Association. Officers for 1945-46 were elected as follows: president, Dr. Robert B. House, Chapel Hill; first vice president, Mrs. Ford S. Worthy, Washington; second vice president, Dr. J. Harold Wolfe, Gaffney, South Carolina; third vice president, Mrs. Sidney M. McMullan, Edenton; and secretary-treasurer, Dr. Christopher Crittenden, Raleigh.

At the Association's evening session, with Governor R. Gregg Cherry presiding, Dr. Wallace E. Caldwell of Chapel Hill announced that the annual Mayflower Cup award had been made to the Honorable Josephus Daniels of Raleigh, for his book, *The Wilson Era: Years of Peace*, 1910-1917; Mr. Aubrey L. Brooks delivered the presidential address, "America in a World Democracy"; and United States Circuit Judge Armistead M. Dobie, of Charlottesville, Virginia, delivered an address, "Law and Language."

It is believed that the papers of Mr. Brooks, Dr. Eaton, Dr. Foerster, and Mrs. Green, which are printed below, will be of interest to the readers of this journal. The last three papers relate specifically to North Carolina and the first, while not having such a connection, nevertheless is worth preserving as the annual address of the president of the State Literary and Historical Association.

AMERICA IN A WORLD DEMOCRACY

By AUBREY L. BROOKS

Tolstoy declared that in the life of a nation a day is as a thousand years and a thousand years is as a day. Historically the United States is but a century and a half old, yet as compared with Time, almost in the twinkling of an eye she has become the most powerful nation on earth. Her liquid wealth is greater than that of all other nations combined, and as a result she has become the creditor nation of mankind.

At first our country was designated "The gem of the ocean" and later as "The home of the free," but now it is known as "The Arsenal of Democracy."

We are justly proud of having perfected radar and the atomic bomb, and of having transported across the seas the largest, best equipped, and best officered armies the world has ever known. But alas, this arsenal of power is the very antithesis of our long cherished ideal of a democratic society. To a people who wrote the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights and are committed to the Four Freedoms, only the brazen purposes of the Axis powers to destroy every vestige of Democracy in the world could have called us to arms. Never in the long history of man has any nation ever been so completely panoplied for war, and at the same time the recognized world torchbearer of liberty and freedom. Destiny has thus cast us in its most heroic role, and our responsibility is world-wide.

And such a world! Our situation in it is comparable to that of the Roman Empire under the Caesars, with the startling difference that the Roman world comprised only fifty million people, while our world embraces two billion. It expanded to the Holy Roman Empire, which in the course of time, historians tell us, first ceased to be Holy, then ceased to be Roman, and finally dissolved into the Dark Ages. Therein lies a warning that history has a deadly way of repeating itself.

Spengler, a third of a century ago, graphically pointed out that the Western world was slowly decaying, following the pattern of all other civilizations that had preceded it. With prophetic vision he declared that the United States would be the dominant successor in power and wealth to carry the torch of civilization until we in turn, from similar causes, would decay, leaving Russia the only hope of the white race. Little did he or the world dream that the Russian bear would so soon awake from centuries of slumber and stride upright like a man over Western Europe and Eastern Asia.

Our democracy has triumphantly met the challenge of a world war to destroy civilization, but it yet remains to be seen if we have the political wisdom and the spiritual valor to lead the nations of earth to lasting peace.

An old age is dying and a new age is dawning. The bursting era of radar and the atomic bomb make it one world or no world at all. Are we prepared to sit at the head of the parliamentary table of nations and prescribe a democratic system of governments that will give to a long-suffering world peace, freedom from fear, and justice?

Ray Stannard Baker remarked to me some time ago that he had reached the conclusion that American democracy was not the last word on a democratic system of government. A similar view is now taken by a socialist government in conservative England, while Chiang Kai-Shek and Marshal Stalin are giving lip service to democracy but of a different kind from ours.

America's ideal of democracy is a government of the people, for the people, and by the people—a government form which provides for legislative, executive, and judicial departments, all responsible to the people. Britain has developed a democracy in which the chief executive is a king, neither elected by nor responsible to the people. Russia claims to have established a democratic government which is not of the people or by the people, but is FOR the people. One of her leading statesmen has recently declared:

One cannot seriously discuss the democracy of a regime and at the same time close one's eyes to the main thing: Whom does it serve? for whose benefit does it exist?

This statement goes to the heart of the matter, and even though all of the organized nations of the world agree to maintain a democratic regime, still the acid test is as stated by the Russian —"For whose benefit does it exist?" If for the people, then the machinery for its accomplishment must be left to the wisdom and patriotism of each individual nation.

We should recognize that democracy is as much a way of living and a philosophy of life as it is a political organization. The challenge to democracy is not only to prevent future world wars but to show such respect for the universal public welfare that no people will feel impelled to fight to secure those inalienable rights which are so well stated in our Declaration of Independence. This was democracy's resolve a century and a half ago and its blessings should be vouchsafed to all people in every land as they become able to enjoy and support them. In a truly democratic world there is no place for a permanent colonial system, imperialism, balance of power, isolationism, or a selfish nationalism.

Russia's sudden emergence into a world power second only to the United States makes impossible an effective international friendship and accord unless she supports it. Without her armies it is now certain the Allies could not have defeated Germany. It is a disservice and disingenious for us at present to criticize and condemn Russia for insisting that governments friendly to her be established in Poland, Rumania, and the tinderbox Balkan states as a safeguard against future invasion.

Have we not set her an example in the Western hemisphere by establishing the Monroe Doctrine and now proposing to extend our control to bases in the Pacific Ocean without let or hindrance from any other nation? How can we consistently charge that having fought with us as Allies she is now vacillating and insincere about joining in a new world order? Did we not fight with our Allies to win the First World War, help write the Versailles Treaty and then decline to ratify the Treaty and refuse to join the League of Nations which our own President had written?

We must realize that the differences in language, ideologies, and systems of government make mutual understanding and agreement difficult, yet history credits Russia through the centuries with being less warlike than any of her Allies. The Slav by nature is more pacific than the Teuton and also more devious in his dealings. He has had to be, since from the beginning he has been the under-dog and his country has been repeatedly invaded and ravaged by aggressor nations.

There is no longer any doubt among thoughtful people that

civilization cannot long survive in a lawless world. Hence the supreme task of the United Nations is to agree upon a code of international law which will make future world wars impossible. This gives to law a majesty and universality which it has never before enjoyed.

It is an encouraging paradox that in the midst of world lawlessness mankind is yearning for peace through law. History teaches that through all the ages despots and dictators in their rise to power have always begun by flaunting the law and destroying the temples of justice. Lenine did it in Russia, Mussolini in Italy, Hitler in Germany, and Tojo in Japan. If the new world order which democracy is trying to organize is to succeed and escape totalitarianism, it is imperative that it have governments of law and not of men.

Illustrating the Allies' determination to make law supreme, there is at this moment in progress in Nuernberg, Germany, the greatest trial that has been held on earth since Christ's. Twenty Nazi warlords are charged with beginning and prosecuting under the guise of war the mass murder of untold millions of innocent men, women, and children, and the wanton wholesale destruction of property. The Allied nations have agreed upon a code of international law which provides that aggressor nations that make war upon unoffending peoples are guilty of high crimes against civilization, and that heads of state, military chieftains, financiers, industrialists, and all others who actively participate in the crimes are individually liable and upon conviction shall be punished by death.

A majority of the United Nations have agreed upon the United States as the permanent seat for its headquarters. This is a happy omen, since our young democracy affords an ideal demonstration of how forty-eight sovereign states, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, can maintain a Union which is at once a protection and a blessing to all without sacrificing the independence of any. Its history teaches also that its perpetuation lies in a people's ability to compose their differences without sacrificing their fundamental principles.

As a dominant member of the United Nations Organization, we have deliberately broken with our historical past. Isolationism

and nationalism have been cast aside, and we have committed this nation to the use of whatever force may be necessary to maintain a world order. It is a glorified power pact to preserve peace through justice. The existence of commanding power is of itself a deterrent to warlike nations. It is now generally believed that Germany would not have begun either world war if she had not thought that this nation, in both instances, was unprepared to make effective warfare. Our new role in this world-wide alliance has been aptly expressed by an English cartoonist who portrayed the American eagle in flight, carrying under one wing an olive branch and under the other an atomic bomb. The need for such an organization daily increases as local wars have already begun in different parts of the world, which unrestrained might ultimately lead to a third and final world war.

We succeeded in having incorporated in the United Nations Charter an agreement to establish an international court of justice, as a tribunal with final power to determine all justiciable disputes which may arise between the member nations. Thus is brought to the fore the question of a workable jurisprudence to govern the conduct of nations.

We and Britain have what is known as the Anglo-American system of jurisprudence, while nearly all of the other member countries have what is known as the continental system. Confusion and conflict will necessarily arise in reconciling the two systems and establishing a workable jurisprudence which will maintain the supremacy of law and provide for a method of practice and procedure that will insure efficiency, promptness of decision, and ultimate justice. A system should be worked out which will make impossible a repetition of a judicial lynching such as was recently had in France in the Laval trial, and that will likewise avoid the unseemly delay and final fiasco which occurred recently in Washington in the attempted trial of the seditionists.

Many an American judge and lawyer was shocked to learn through a statement given to the press by Mr. Justice Jackson, our prosecutor in the Nuernberg trial, that all the Allies had agreed upon a code of procedure to govern that trial which excluded the rules of evidence and the accepted forms of practice and procedure which obtained in America. The observation has been cynically made that this was done so that the trial might be finished before a third world war began!

Our postulate is that for any democratic state to survive and avoid becoming a totalitarian government it is imperative that an efficient judicial system be maintained which commands the confidence and respect of the people.

When the Assembly of United Nations begins to function with headquarters in this country, it will soon discover that notwithstanding our primacy in most things, our system of jurisprudence is waning in authority and prestige. Hamilton observed at the outset that the judiciary was unquestionably the weakest of the three departments of government. Its subsequent history involving serious collisions with our five most popular Presidents over who should determine the public welfare and have the last say as to the nation's economic policies has led to its further weakening and has produced many unfortunate results. The judiciary's perpetuation of the delays of the law and a system of practice and procedure totally out of keeping with the demands of a modern state has invited encroachment from the legislative and executive departments of government. The need for greater efficiency and promptness in settling disputes has led the legislative department to vest in the executive department the authority to appoint more than 150 commissions, boards, and other quasi-legal tribunals. These alphabetical agencies, many of whose members are not even lawyers, have taken from the courts jurisdiction to hear and determine many of the most important and far-reaching questions involving the business life and the social welfare of our people.

This Assembly will also see that the farmer, the industrialist, the scientist, the doctor, the Army, and the Navy have startled the world with new inventions and improved methods, but alas, the profession of law and many of its high priests, the judges, have not moved out of sight of the legal campfires of past generations! Our ego may be wounded if a Molotov should call to the Assembly's attention the statement of the distinguished American lawyer, Elihu Root, made in an address before the American Bar Association in 1920, in which he said:

Every lawyer knows that the continued reversal of judgments, the sending of parties to a litigation to and fro between the trial courts and the appellate courts, has become a disgrace to the administration of justice in the United States. Everybody knows that the vast network of highly technical rules of evidence and procedure which prevails in this country serves to tangle justice in the name of form. It is a disgrace to our profession. It is a disgrace to our law and a discredit to our institutions.

If the Assembly should sit at Asheville, North Carolina, as it has been invited to do, it might learn that this year it required so long to select a jury and to try one man for embezzling \$14,000 that the farmers in the county in which the case was tried planted, cultivated, housed, and marketed their crop of tobacco before the trial ended.

But let us not be deceived into concluding that a people, a nation or a world can be saved by man-made law alone. Democracy, which is rooted in the teachings of the Prince of Peace, recognizes that there is a moral law which is even more important than all the laws of men. This is amply illustrated by the Bible which records that the coming of Christ was not to abolish law but to fulfill it and to give mankind a new code teaching the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. It is seldom recalled that at the birth of this nation there were more than 100 separate religious denominations. They came from the Old World, not merely for religious freedom and to escape the tyranny of autocrats, but to establish a government where life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness was in reach of all. It was this influence more than any other that gave expression to the Declaration of Independence and a soul to the Constitution. Unless the spiritual forces of this nation are sufficiently potent to give an inspired leadership to a dispirited and disheartened world and point the way to a nobler and saner life, all our efforts will fail.

One of the most distinguished military leaders of this generation, General Douglas MacArthur, in accepting the surrender of the Japanese armies, epitomized our situation in this profound statement:

Military alliance, balances of power, League of Nations, all in turn failed. We have had our last chance. If we do not now devise some greater and more equitable system Armageddon will be at our door.

The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advance in science, art, literature and all material and cultural developments of the past two thousand years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.

There is a divinity that shapes our ends, that beckons us to follow the Sermon on the Mount. Gentile and Jew, Greek and Barbarian, journalist and statesman alike acknowledge their dependence upon the law of the spiritual world. The phrases "family of nations," "good neighbors," "brotherhood of man" alike find their inspiration in this teaching. In our exalted moments we pay homage to divine justice. The history of civilization conclusively shows that a nation cannot live by philosophy alone— Greece demonstrated that; that it cannot live by a religion of force—Germany, Italy, and Japan demonstrated that. The Great Preacher gave to mankind the gospel of democracy which by common consent is now man's remaining hope of salvation in this present world. It has been written that man's extremity is God's opportunity. May I not conclude by expressing the prayer that a distraught and disintegrating world will at long last forsake the god of war and worship at the feet of Him who said, "Love thy neighbor as thy self."

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN—LIBERAL OF THE NEW SOUTH

By CLEMENT EATON

On commencement night in 1889 two young men, Edwin A. Alderman and Charles D. McIver, sat in the old inn at Chapel Hill talking about their plans and dreams for a great educational crusade in North Carolina. They had recently been appointed agents to conduct teacher institutes in the various counties of the state and to propagandize the people in favor of taxation for free public schools. Years later, after McIver had died, Alderman spoke with a feeling of nostalgia of that night. "I am inclined to think it about the best night I have ever spent," he recalled, "for an intelligent and unselfish idea held our youth under its spell, and bound us for life to a service, which was not the service of self. As I think of it today, the grim old room in the inn at Chapel Hill, and the silent watches of that night are lit with the light that never was on land or sea." 1

The South in which Alderman grew to young manhood was not a favorable soil for liberal thinking. Alderman's friend and fellow Tar Heel, Walter Hines Page, described his native section as afflicted by three ghosts, "the Ghost of the Confederate dead, the Ghost of religious orthodoxy, the Ghost of Negro domination." 2 Two of these "ghosts" Alderman attacked with the sword of reason and with his marvellous gift of oratory. Page did not mention in his list of taboos, however, the most powerful inhibiting force on the Southern mind in the decades of the 1880's and 1890's—the ignorance of the masses, due to the lack of an adequate public school system. In 1890 over twenty-three per cent of the native white population of North Carolina ten years of age and over were illiterate, making her the most ignorant state of the South with the exception of Louisiana, a rate of illiteracy that contrasted with the record of rural Northern states like Maine and Ohio, which had a ratio of illiteracy of one and eight-tenths per cent and four per cent respectively.3 In this realm of freeing

¹ Edwin A. Alderman, "Charles D. McIver of North Carolina" (memorial address delivered at Greensboro, N. C., November 20, 1906), The Sewanee Review, January, 1907, pp. 103-104.

² Burton J. Hendrick, The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page, 1855 to 1918 (Garden City, N. Y., 1927), I, 91.

3 W. R. Merriam, director, Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900, Population, part II (Washington, D. C., 1902), p. cvi, table lx.

the Southern mind from the shackles of ignorance and prejudice Alderman made his most significant contribution to Southern liberalism.

The handsome, urbane Alderman looked every inch the aristocrat, "imperially slim," with refined, chiselled features, warm brown eyes, and sweeping handle bar mustaches. He was fond of modish, even sporty clothes to such an extent that after he became president of the University of Virginia the boys nicknamed him "Tony." His diction was elegant, carefully chosen, cultured, and slightly formal.4 Nevertheless, he was descended from plain middle-class people, of English and Scotch-Irish stock. His father was a timber inspector at Wilmington, where Edwin was born, May 15, 1861. The atmosphere of his home was serious, thrifty, and strongly religious, permeated by the austere Presbyterianism of their pastor, Joseph Wilson, the father of Woodrow Wilson. Young Alderman was sent to Bethel Military Academy near Warrenton, Virginia, for two years and then entered the University of North Carolina in the class of 1882. Here he excelled in acquiring the art of public speaking, and here he made some fruitful friendships with men like Charles D. McIver, James Y. Joyner, and Charles B. Aycock, the governor of North Carolina who did so much for public education.

All bright young men in this age were expected after they left college to enter one of the more honored professions, to become a lawyer, a preacher, or a doctor. Alderman, however, departed from the stereotype by becoming a teacher, not as a temporary expedient, but as a serious profession. He later confessed that his original ambition was to be a lawyer and that he had adopted teaching as a makeshift, but had been converted to the cause of education as a life work by the unselfish example of Edward P. Moses, superintendent of schools at Goldsboro, North Carolina. He himself taught in the public schools of Goldsboro, became superintendent after the resignation of Moses, and in 1886 was

⁴ Much valuable information about Alderman's career and personality is contained in a typewritten statement by C. Alphonso Smith, entitled "Edwin Anderson Alderman," July, 1909, 10 pp., deposited in the University of North Carolina Library, and in Dumas Malone, Edwin A. Alderman, a Biography (New York, 1940). Alphonso Smith was professor of English at the University of Virginia during Alderman's administration as president. Dumas Malone taught history at the same institution during the later years of Alderman's presidency.

⁵ Letter of Alderman to Charles W. Dabney, quoted in Charles W. Dabney, Universal Education in the South (Chaple Hill, N. C., 1936), I, 207. Alderman was also influenced by the passionate oratory of the great educational apostle, Jabez L. M. Curry. See Edwin A. Alderman and Armistead C. Gordon, J. L. M. Curry, a Biography (New York, 1911), p. 438.

elected president of the North Carolina Teacher's Assembly. Thus he had attained pre-eminence in his profession when he was selected by the state Board of Education to conduct training schools for teachers of a week's duration in each county seat and to appeal to the people in popular addresses.

For three years, from July 1, 1889, to September 1, 1892, Alderman was engaged in this campaign of popular education. Perhaps in no period since the days of Demosthenes and Cicero was the orator so admired and effective as in the South of the nineteenth century, and Alderman was a superb orator. He was dramatic; he had a golden voice; and at this stage of his life he was not averse to using some of the ornate phraseology that was regarded by his contemporaries as the grand style. His polished and histrionic method of speaking was quite a contrast to the awkward and ponderous manner of McIver, the other agent, who, nevertheless, spoke forcefully and humorously. The difference between the two men in public speaking was described by Tom Dunston, the Negro barber of Chapel Hill, who declared, "Dat ar man McIver shore can sponsify powerful, but I tell you he can't laborate, spashiate, and zaggerate like Mr. Alderman." 6

In the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia there are two manuscript notebooks which Alderman kept during his educational tour of 1889-90. In addition to these original sources there are two official reports which he made to Major Sidney M. Finger, Superintendent of Public Instruction, the first one in 1890 and another two years later. These informal notebooks and official reports afford a valuable mine of North Carolina social history, especially in giving a realistic picture of the condition of popular education in the state twenty-five years after the Civil War.

By 1890 many of the ante-bellum academies had been swept away, and this vacuum had not been filled by the development of an adequate system of public schools. Indeed, the term "free

8 "Report of Prof. E. A. Alderman," in S. M. Finger, Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of North Carolina for the Scholastic Years 1889 and 1890 (Raleigh, N. C., 1890), pp. 1-14. See also Alderman's report, September 16, 1892, in S. M. Finger, Biennial Report. . . , 1891-92, pp. lii-ly.

⁶ Dabney, Universal Education, I, 199.
7 These notebooks are entitled "Institute Statistics," but they are really a weekly journal of his observations and experiences during his educational campaign of 1889-90. They are included in the Alderman Fapers, deposited in the Alderman Library at the University of Virginia. They will be frequently quoted in the following pages without further reference to footnotes.

school" was associated in the minds of many people with the taint of charity. The state of North Carolina was very poor at this time, but its poverty did not justify the pathetically small amount of money spent on schools. Alderman observed in his report to Superintendent Finger that North Carolina had shown an aversion to taxation throughout its history. Up to 1880 the University had received only \$17,000 in direct money grants from the state, and, as for public schools, Charles D. McIver pointed out in his report of 1890 that the state appropriated only one dollar and twenty cents for each child for a four month's school, or thirty cents a month. Such niggard doles, however, were supplemented by local taxation, so that good graded schools existed in the larger towns, such as Charlotte, Raleigh, and Goldsboro.

As a result of poverty, indifference, and lack of means of transportation, the education of children in rural North Carolina was neglected in a disgraceful fashion. Many of the schools lasted only three months in the year, and the teachers were paid seventy-five dollars a year. The teachers were chiefly ungainly country lads, who pursued farming for nine months in the year. Two-thirds of the teachers were men. The people in the western counties, Alderman found, believed that women couldn't teach. In Rutherford County, where he found very few women teachers, he commented, "the idea largely prevails here that women need no education. That they were intended for house-work." As a result of the low wages paid teachers and the low esteem of the teaching profession, there was a perpetual change of personnel, almost a complete turnover every four or five years.

These young men and women (the average age of teachers was twenty-six) had no professional aspirations and were miserably prepared. All but a very small fraction had received their whole education in the public schools and taught in the same primitive manner in which they themselves had been taught. At the conclusion of the weekly institutes Alderman and McIver conducted examinations to award teacher's certificates, valid for three years. Only six per cent of the teachers qualified for these certificates, although examinations were so simple that children of

^{9 &}quot;Report of Prof. C. D. McIver, June 30, 1890," in S. M. Finger, Biennial Report, 1889-90, p. 18.

twelve years of age in the city graded schools could pass them. Yet they deserved no blame, as Alderman recognized, for their environment had deprived them of the opportunity of a decent education. He wrote: "What encouragement have they either in salary or influence. Neither have they, as a rule, had any showing in life. I have them to write for me, as an exercise, a brief autobiographical sketch, and I am touched to the heart by the monotonous, sickening story of lack of opportunity for mental development."

Furthermore, the schoolhouses were frequently miserable structures—log cabins, or dilapidated frame houses with the window panes out of them and with no desks. The parents often took little interest in the improvement of the schools or in sending their children regularly to such schools as were available. Alderman describes the situation in Pamlico County, an isolated county in the east, which had no courthouse and a povertystricken people. The institute was held in "a typical, rickety, cheerless public school house"—he counted thirteen panes of glass out of the windows. As he observed the children, he reflected: "The solemn-faced little children of this county haven't much showing in life. A mortal lethargy seems settled over all, what changes a good school in every district would bring, Blair's bill would give it. These people know the public schools only to sneer at them so far as I can see and this is not to be marvelled at if a tree shall be judged by its fruits." 10

The Alderman notebooks are valuable not only as records in the history of Southern education but also they contain penetrating observations on the social, economic, and political life of the state. For example, he described the town of Washington, in the eastern part of the state, as "a pleasant little town full of pretty women. All the women along these rivers are inclined to 'Embonpoint.' Why is this?" Alderman remained throughout life

The Blair bill to which he referred was first introduced into Congress in December, 1883, by the Republican Senator, Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire. It provided for the distribution of millions of dollars of Federal money to the states for the use of educating both black and white children without discrimination, the amount in each state to be determined by its ratio of illiteracy. It was before Congress through most of the decade, but although it passed the Senate on three occasions, it was defeated in the House of Representatives. A large majority of Southern Senators voted for the measure, but a minority of Southerners opposed it, not only on account of constitutional grounds, but because they believed the bill would weaken the opposition to the tariff by reducing the surplus in the Treasury. Also some Southerners were suspected by Jabez L. M. Curry, the great educational statesman, of being opposed to the education of the Negroes, who would be less subordinate to the whites and less easily controlled politically if they were educated. See Daniel M. Robison, Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1935), chapter iv, and Merle Curti, The Social Ideas of American Educators (New York, 1935), p. 272.

almost a teetotaler, and he noted with disapproval while he was at Williamston, "Whiskey is in all these Eastern towns." He commented on Durham: "Six millionaires live in Durham. Julian S. Carr is the most useful North Carolinian. He has a great heart. He deserves his princely riches and uses them like a prince—offers to build the building for the [Normal] Training School if we get the appropriations."

Alderman's observations of conditions in some of the western counties reveal dark shadows of provincialism and backwardness. In Orange County, where the University and the famous Bingham prep school were located, he found "the direst ignorance among the masses." Of Polk County, he wrote: "People are inert and work very little. Shoot squirrels and eat fruit and work about one-third of their time." He described Wilkes County as "a very ignorant county-largely republican, 600 majority. No negro school teachers—white men teach negro schools. More bastardy in this county between white folks than I ever heard of, common as stealing in the East." He was amused by Davidson County: "Davidson is a queer county. It was stated to me by responsible parties that there were 500 purchasable votes in the county ranging in price from 50c to \$20.00." (Such low political morality was perhaps an aftermath of the Reconstruction period and the struggle of Southern whites to eliminate the Negro vote.) In Alleghany County, he observed, "the mass of the whites are poor and ignorant. They do not need to work very hard in order to live. Bastardy and murder common in this county. 42 homicides since '65 and not a single Execution." Hendersonville was described as a South Carolina town—the people traded with the latter state and read its newspapers. In politics, it had a Republican majority, and during the Civil War it had sent two companies of soldiers to the Federal army.

As the young crusader traveled through these rural communities, he noted the social conditions which retarded the development of free public schools. He was enough of a realist to see how influential were the leading men in each community, the men of wealth and property, in deciding the question of voting taxes for schools. Some of the most enlightened of these key men gave him their cordial support but others were hostile to increased taxa-

tion for school purposes. To the selfishness of wealthy taxpayers he ascribed the decline of public schools in Lenoir County: "The town [of Kinston] once had a good graded school but let it dienow the negros own the former graded school building and the whites use a hut. In 1883, 500 white children attended schoolnow in 1890 about 150,—considerable opposition to schools. The Property men as usual run things and kill off all school aspirations." Alderman also recognized that the development of industries and the opening up of isolated communities by railroads furnished wealth and ultimately stimulus to the establishment of an adequate school system. Yet he observed sadly the cultural lag between the rise of manufactures and the improvement of mental and spiritual conditions. Concerning the town of Concord, he commented, "Concord has the largest factory in the state, street cars, electric lights, & water works. Improvement in schools generally comes last." He jotted down also the notation that Alamance County had fifteen cotton mills, thirteen of which were owned by the Holts, yet that the county had deteriorated educationally in the last two years.

Another weighty factor which interfered with the progress of the public school movement was the existence of numerous factional quarrels and religious dissensions in the little villages. He cited the case of Brevard in Transylvania County, a county where there was no school lasting more than four months in the year. The school of Brevard was conducted in a building used by the Baptist Church and the Masonic lodge. The town was torn by intense religious differences—"all that brood of troubles that beset small localities. Baptist predominate, the people lazypoorly governed. Railroads and schools would change the state of affairs." The town of Jefferson had a good schoolhouse but no teacher "owing to local friction and inability to agree. This folly kills the intellectual life of many children." He found that in Cabarrus County "church differences as usual have fought against the welfare of the children." The Hard Shell Baptists. he declared, were opposed to all education. In Montgomery County the teacher training institute was injured by a large "Revival" distracting the people. He commented caustically on another occasion: "Politics and religion never fail to draw."

The politics of North Carolina at the time of the educational campaign was disturbed by bitter memories of the Reconstruction excesses and by the rise of the Populist movement. In analysing the political-educational situation in the town of Washington, Alderman wrote: "The negroes [sic]—the great bug-bear here. The place was once garrisoned by colored troops. Hence the aversion. They need a graded school there and if they can rise above the negro hindrance and prejudice, will get it. Party necessities and race prejudice keep all this feeling fresh." In Anson County he discovered some bitterness toward the Negro, leading him to say, "The negro is the main trouble here, though that is merely an excuse." On the other hand, in Watauga County, he made the significant observation: "There is a pretty good feeling in the county in regard to educational mattersthey do not trouble themselves about the negro. I am convinced that the demand for better schools must come from the West."

The rise of the Farmers' Alliance and the Populist movement directed attention to the improvement of the interests of the farmers which had been neglected while the Bourbons controlled the state governments in the South. Alderman hoped to use the Farmers' Alliance as an instrument to secure good free public schools in North Carolina. On October 4, 1899, he spoke to his largest audience, fully 700 people, in the Union County courthouse, a meeting which the Farmers' Alliance attended in a body. Later he addressed an audience of Alliancemen and "plead with them and argued with them in regard to their schools and the necessity of a training school for women." The Alliance in Lincoln County passed resolutions asking for doubling the school tax and providing better facilities for female education. In Alexander County a large and sympathetic audience attended his public address, after which Pool, a delegate to the State Alliance, told Alderman that the Alliance was "hot for an increase of 50% [in school appropriations] but it was thought that the Democratic party had better shoulder some of the responsibility." The race problem cast its shadow over this powerful farmers' organization which was seeking to better the lot of the white common man in the state. Alderman observed that one of the leaders appeared to be so opposed to the Negro that he would sacrifice unconsciously the interests of the whites. He was consoled, however, by the thought that "the action of the State Alliance and of the Democratic party in demanding better schools causes me to feel that my work for a year has not been in vain."

This campaign for popular education led by Alderman, Mc-Iver, James Y. Joyner, M. C. S. Noble, and Alexander Graham, "the father of graded schools in North Carolina," marks a turning point in the progress of the state. 11 It bore immediate fruit in the creation of a college for women at Greensboro to train teachers for the public schools. Both McIver and Alderman pointed out that women inevitably would become the chief source for teachers in the public schools and that the state had utterly neglected to give poor girls the same opportunity as men to achieve a higher education. Alderman declared in his report of 1890 that "An untaught woman is the most sadly marred of God's creatures." This interest in the education of women is an indication of Alderman's progressiveness in a period which still thought of women in mediaeval, romantic ideals. McIver conceived of a normal school for women as early as 1886 and converted Alderman to his project at a meeting of teachers at Black Mountain in that year. The two men drew up a memorial to the legislature in behalf of this cause and they tried to enlist popular support for it during their crusade of 1889-90.12 On February 18, 1891, bill creating the State Normal and Industrial College passed the legislature, and in the autumn of the next year the college was open to students. McIver became its first president and Alderman taught there for a year.

The broader objective of the educational campaign of the early 1890's, however, was not attained until another decade had passed. Alderman had the wisdom to realize that fundamental reforms act slowly. "The leopard spots," he wrote in 1890, "are not more difficult to change than fixed tendencies and types, especially in a democracy." Paul C. Cameron, a prominent trustee of the University of North Carolina, observed with profound pessimism to Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, a Chapel Hill intellectual who had done so much to reopen the doors of the University in 1875, that the people of the state did not appreci-

¹¹ For a good discussion of educational developments during this period, see Edgar W. Knight, Public School Education in North Carolina (Boston, 1916), chapters xiv and xv.

12 Alderman, "Charles D. McIver of North Carolina," p. 103.

ate the vital need of supporting an educational movement. "Yesterday I attended at the Court House, the Teacher's Institute here," he wrote. "Messers Finger and Alderman addressed the teachers of this county.... It was a better show than I expected. Finger thinks that he must have more money—longer terms for instruction—and better teachers—to make a marked impression on the State. The visit of a large body to Europe this summer by both male and female teachers was a surprise to the masses! At once it was muttered 'they are paid too much by the state to sit in the shade in the Summer or by a good fire in the winter!' And thus it is with our people.

It is very plain to me that the white population will not be taxed to pay much higher taxes for state schools or charitable institutions." 13

This opinion proved to be a correct estimate of the situation. Alderman's campaign did unquestionably have some influence on the decision of the Farmers' Alliance to advocate higher taxation for common schools. Nevertheless, the actual gains appeared slight, for this was the seed-time instead of harvest. The liberal law which the Populists enacted after they got control of the state government in 1897, requiring every school district to vote on the question of raising school taxes, and if such increase of taxes were defeated, to hold an election on the question every two years until the object of the decent support of schools should be attained, was repealed by the Democrats in 1899.14 Not until the famous "Declaration against Illiteracy" of 1902 in the Aycock administration did the state move effectively to activate the program of popular education urged by Alderman and McIver.15

Alderman's later career was devoted principally to the cause of collegiate education in the South. The board of trustees of the University of North Carolina established in 1893 a new chair. the professorship of history and of the philosophy of education. to which Alderman was elected. In a report to the president, February 16, 1895, he wrote that he was giving two courses in

¹³ P. C. Cameron to Cornelia Phillips Spencer, Hillsboro, November 2, 1889. Cornelia Phillips Spencer Papers, MSS in Archives of State Department of History and Archives, Raleigh.

¹⁴ R. D. W. Connor, North Carolina, Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925 (Chicago, 1929), II, 449-50.
15 R. D. W. Connor and Clarence Poe, The Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock (Garden City, N. Y., 1912), chapter viii.

education, (1) the science of education, and (2) the history and philosophy of education, as well as three classes in history. He pointed out that his work in teaching pedagogy was highly practical, particularly in view of the fact that over fifty per cent of the senior class of 1894 were engaged in teaching. ¹⁶ In addition to teaching 126 men in his various classes Alderman had charge of the university library. While he was professor of pedagogy he wrote a textbook for schools, entitled A Brief History of North Carolina (1896). His crusading zeal for improving the public school system of the state was also carried on in his new position, for he was placed in charge of the recently created summer normal school for teachers in 1894 and 1895. ¹⁷

Alderman was not a learned scholar but he was an accomplished orator, he had a pleasing and dignified personality, and he had definite administrative gifts. Accordingly, this young man of thirty-five was unanimously chosen president of the University of North Carolina, assuming office August 15, 1896. In his inaugural address, delivered on January 27, 1897, he tried earnestly to refute the old notion surviving from the past that the University was an aristocratic institution. 18 He pointed out that over one-half of the students were sons of farmers, that three-fourths of them were sons of poor men, that eighty of them were working their way through the University, and that one hundred and thirty-nine were aided by private scholarships or by scholarships given by the state.19 In bringing forward these statistics Alderman was speaking to the invisible audience of farmers of the state who had been stirred by the Populist movement. He declared that the University could not be a dreamer, but that it must be a reformer seeking to regenerate the society of North Carolina, extending its wholesome influence into every corner of the state.

Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina, 1891-1898, pp. 427-428. MSS in the University of North Carolina Library.
 Kemp P. Battle, History of University of North Carolina (Raleigh, N. C., 1912), II,

¹⁷ Kemp P. Battle, History of University of North Carolina (Raleigh, N. C., 1912), 11, 504-5, 526.

18 This reputation was not entirely unwarranted. The Visiting Committee for the year 1893-94 reported a serious cleavage between the fraternity and non-fraternity men. The latter claim, the report says, "that what is known as the 'Greek Letter Societies' among the students ought to be abolished. Their charges are: that the Fraternity men in all their college associations act on the notion that they are a superior class—that they have better family connections and more genteel social relations than the non fraternity men. That the spirit manifests itself in all the phases of University life—has greatly damaged the work of the Literary Societies and has a tendency to socially degrade that part of the student body who are not connected with Fraternities." Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1898, p. 370.

19 Extra Number of the University Record, Chapel Hill, February, 1897, pp. 26-27.

The young president was forced to deal immediately with a great storm of opposition to the University. The agrarian movement of the 1880's and 1890's had stirred the farmers to demand agricultural colleges. In South Carolina "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman had bitterly attacked the state university as the resort of the privileged class and had demanded that much of the state's money available for higher education be devoted to the agricultural college which had been recently established at Clemson. While Tillman was governor, he clipped the wings of the aristocratic college of liberal arts at Columbia, reducing its appropriation as well as the number of professors from twenty-five to thirteen.²⁰ The example of the Populists in South Carolina was an incitation to similar action in North Carolina. The University at Chapel Hill had enjoyed the income from the Morrill Land Grant Act, although it did not fulfill the spirit of the law in regard to the teaching of the science of agriculture. Colonel Leonidas L. Polk, editor of the *Progressive Farmer* at Raleigh, who was a great power in the Farmers' Alliance movement (in 1889 he was elected president of the National Farmers' Alliance) accused President Battle and the University authorities of perverting the Land Grant Act. 21 As a result of the agitation of the farmers the land grant income, amounting to \$7,500, was taken away from the University and given to the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts which was founded in 1889 at Raleigh.

The fear of the action of the Populist Party in regard to the state support of the University became acute when the Populists, combining with the Republicans and using the Negro vote, won control of the legislature in 1894 and in 1896 elected Daniel L. Russell, a Republican, as governor. While he was still a professor of pedagogy, Alderman wrote to Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, who was then living in Cambridge, Massachusetts, describing the atmosphere of tension under which the professors at the University worked. His letter is illuminating in its revela-

²⁰ Francis B. Simkins, The Tillman Movement in South Carolina (Durham, N. C., 1926), pp. 142-3; also by the same author, Pitchfork Ben Tillman, South Carolinian (Baton Rouge, La., 1944), pp. 93-95; 176-177.

21 William J. Battle (ed.), Memories of an Old-Time Tar Heel by Kemp Battle (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1945), p. 248. For an account of Polk's career, see Clarence Poe, "L. L. Polk: A Great Agrarian Leader in a Fifty-Year Perspective," South Atlantic Quarterly, XLI, 404-415.

tion of the dangers to academic freedom which faced the University during Alderman's presidency:

The everlasting dread and uncertainty of the Legislature is over us all, however. You know of course of the political revolution we have passed through and the denominational crusade against us.

The two together put us in grave danger. I am thoroughly hopeful and optimistic, but there is no denying the danger. A false step, an ill-considered word, an impolitic act, and we are seriously crippled. Our policy seems to be silence, with our guns all loaded, however, ready for action.

The *leaders* of all parties are for us. If they can control the rank and file we are safe. If not, we are gone. If Butler, Cook, Walser, and Ewart can't control them, our presence and lobbying would simply enfuriate them.

We are already outvoted, I think, if matters come to that but a sixty days residence in Raleigh is a sort of education to many utterly inexperienced men and they change their ideas. Things are being managed with great wisdom and my belief is that we will come out unhurt. What a curse it is to be thus dependent on legislative action or whim. The strength and energy that should go into the expansion and enriching of the University is spent in battling for its life—and all this in its centennial year. Just as we are rising out of competition with the colleges they combine like madmen, and seek to pull us back. Just as we were getting ourselves in shape to attract endowment, for you know rich folks never give to poor struggling things, they all unite to cripple us and thus prolong the friction and injure the state.²²

The campaign of the religious colleges against the University became very vociferous and dangerous in the autumn of 1896. The leaders were the dynamic president of Trinity College, John C. Kilgo, and Josiah W. Bailey, the editor of the Baptist periodical, *The Biblical Recorder*. They sought to have the legislature repeal the law of 1887 which gave free tuition to students suffering a bodily infirmity, sons of ministers, teachers, and those preparing to teach. The chief arguments of the leaders in this campaign against the University were that such scholarships put the University into unfair competition with denominational colleges, that it destroyed the spirit of self-dependence in the students, and that the money appropriated for scholarships should be

²² Alderman to Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, January 17, 1895. Cornelia Phillips Spencer MSS.

spent for elementary schools.23 The Baptist State Convention meeting at Morganton, November 11-15, declared its opposition to state aid by taxation to higher education, and a Methodist Conference passed resolutions on December 12th, requesting the legislature to abolish all free tuitions at the University. Alderman kept a scrapbook entitled "Facts about the University," in which he collected numerous clippings from the Charlotte Observer, the Raleigh News and Observer, and the Wilmington Messenger defending the University and condemning the illiberal fight of the denominational colleges against free scholarships at the University.²⁴ The most notable personality among the newspaper editors who fought against this religious crusade against the university was Joseph P. Caldwell, editor of the Charlotte Observer. 25 The university came out of this fight uninjured and the policy of free scholarships continued.

During the four years of Alderman's administration, the University of North Carolina had a remarkable growth. In his first annual report, February, 1897, he pointed with pride to the fact that the University had the largest number of academic students of any institution of higher learning in the South, 63 more than the University of Virginia.26 The Board of Trustees followed his recommendations in establishing a school of pharmacy and in opening the post-graduate courses to women. He was speaking to the prejudices of North Carolina legislators when he showed in his second report how local the university had become. In 1857-58, the date of the largest ante-bellum enrollment of the institution, sixty-three per cent of the 461 students came from the state. In 1898, he observed, only 26 of a student body of 501 came from outside of the state, giving the University the distinction of having a larger percentage of state students than was shown by any other university in America.²⁷ His reports to the Board of Trustees also emphasized the moral and religious nature of the student body and the fact that most of the students were poor boys.

²³ For Kilgo's role in his controversy, see Paul Neff Garber, John Carlisle Kilgo, President of Trinity College, 1894-1910 (Durham, N. C., 1937), pp. 44-83.

24 "Facts about the University," a scrapbook of clippings in the Alderman Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

25 H. E. C. (Red Buck) Bryant, Joseph Pearson Caldwell, 1853-1911, a Sketch (Statesville, N. C., 1933), pp. 12-13.

26 Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1898, p. 564.

27 Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1898, p. 658.

Alderman struggled constantly to carry out his dream of establishing a great university as the capstone of a broad educational system for the state. Although the legislature increased the annual appropriations for the University in 1897 from \$20,000 to \$25,000, the total income of the institution was below \$50,000, which was less than half the income of either Tulane, Vanderbilt, or the University of Texas. 28 In his last report to the board of trustees²⁹ he pointed out that the student body had expanded from 391 when he became president to 512 in the year 1900-1901. Indeed, the enrollment had increased during the last nine years one hundred fifty per cent, but income had risen only twenty-five per cent.³⁰ He resigned his position on May 5, 1900, to accept the presidency of Tulane University. Certainly an important factor in this decision was his belief that his native state would not give adequate support financially to its university.

After he left the University of North Carolina, he became more and more the poised aristocrat, the harmonious personality. He did not forget, however, his early zeal to democratize education below the Mason and Dixon line. While he was at Tulane, he was active in founding the Southern Education Board (1901) and in promoting its work of creating an enthusiasm in the Southern states for the education of the people. In 1904 he was elected the first president in the history of the University of Virginia, an office that he held until his death in 1931. Into Jefferson's university, which had grown conservative and aristocratic, he brought a more democratic spirit. In contrast to the earlier spokesman of the New South, Henry W. Grady, who represented the bustling spirit of the new industrialism, Alderman became the eloquent voice of the New South, expressing its ideals and aspirations for culture. Like Grady, he urged his fellow-Southerners to purge themselves of all sectional rancor and to unite in spirit with the nation. He recognized the need of a more balanced economy for his section and therefore he urged the new generation of Southerners to learn to master the machine and to develop their industries. But he wished, above all, to develop the human resources of the South, especially in advo-

²⁸ Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1891-1898, pp. 659-660.
29 Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 1898-1904, p. 123.
30 Edwin A. Alderman, "The University of To-Day; its Work and Needs," in North Carolina University Magazine, XVII (June, 1900), 289.

cating the education of the masses, and in upholding certain great humanistic ideals which are likely to be obscured in an industrial society. The ideals and political objectives of Woodrow Wilson greatly appealed to him, and he devoted his energy and his gift of moving oratory in the service of this cause. He was not a flaming radical, like the agrarian leader Tom Watson of Georgia, nor was he in later life a fighting liberal as was Judge Walter Clark of North Carolina, but he was an intellectual liberal, a leader who kept at the proper distance ahead of his generation.

IOWA, NORTH CAROLINA, AND THE HUMANITIES

By NORMAN FOERSTER

Walter Hines Page, back in 1903, delivered an address in Raleigh, in the course of which he made a comparison between North Carolina and Iowa. I naturally find myself making the same comparison, after living for fifteen years in North Carolina, then for fifteen years in Iowa, and returning to make my home in Chapel Hill. I am more at home here than anywhere else I have lived. In fact my friends in Iowa, to whom I have described the charms of North Carolina, now accuse me of being a regionalist! Inevitably, on returning to this region, I have been keenly aware of regional differences. The rich and rolling farmlands of Iowa, the simple neighborliness of the good-natured people of Iowa, are vivid and admirable; less admirable is the self-conscious assertion of democratic usages and ideas, since the concept of democracy in the Middle West is hardly an adequate one. After Iowa, North Carolina seems all forest, with just enough human shaping to make the woodlands usable and enjoyable, a land of varied forest and varied contour, from mountains to sea, a land of very exceptional natural beauty. And the people of the region impress one at once with their different voices. different accent, their sense of manners, the courtesy that appears in all classes, their organic folksiness (as if all of one family), their awareness of the past as a force both hampering and helping.

Whatever the differences, I find some striking similarities. Both states have natural boundaries on the east and west, the Mississippi and Missouri rivers in Iowa, the Appalachian crest and the sea in North Carolina. In size the two states are very nearly the same: Iowa has 56,000 square miles, North Carolina 52,000. In population, North Carolina now has more than three and one-half million people and Iowa a million less. (Iowa had more than North Carolina before the first World War, and, since that war, North Carolina has had more than Iowa.) In both states the relation of cities and country is the same; there is no really large city in either state, but rather a widely spaced constellation of small cities. Both states are seen at once to be

primarily agricultural, and yet in both the value of manufactured products is very great and is increasing. Both states are far more "American," as we say, than most of the Union, having a relatively small number of foreign-born citizens. In politics, both are conservative, which implies the Republican party in the North and the Democratic party in the South, though both have shown themselves capable of switching in a national election. The two states differ, however, in state loyalty, which is strong in Tarheelia but much weaker in Iowa, where, it appears, everyone aspires to die in California.

Among the differences between the two states, the most significant is in their tradition. Iowa has a strong disrelish for the very word tradition, for it wants to live only in the present and future. It is scarcely aware that it has a tradition. Yet it is celebrating, this year, its hundredth anniversary of attainment of statehood, celebrating with more decorum than enthusiasm. It is a tradition, above all, of material prosperity. Iowa was born in 1846, when it contained enough settlers who proposed to get on in the world, and it grew up in the unashamed Gilded Age after the Civil War. Naturally this very modern background colored its conception of the more abundant life.

North Carolina, on the other hand, is an old state, was once an old colony. It had more history before the Civil War than it has had since. If Iowa seems Jacksonian, North Carolina seems largely Jeffersonian; it seems, that is, much closer to the enlightenment of the eighteenth century. Outwardly, this appears, for instance, in the survival of colonial architecture and the continuing imitation of it. Colonial architecture speaks for North Carolina's past, but when it is attempted in Iowa it speaks for nothing, is merely exotic.

I have mentioned the sense of manners, which in North Carolina is a continuation and democratic widening of the old aristocratic ideal. Edmund Burke lamented the passing of the concept of the gentleman, but it is still a vital part of the mentality of this region—the very word itself is often on our lips. In Iowa, on the other hand, the word is outlawed, though the idea survives in an attenuated form. With the appreciation of manners in North Carolina there is a relatively lively sense of beauty—a quicker response than I found in Iowa, and again a willingness

to use the word. Spontaneity in this respect is not regarded as unmanly in North Carolina.

Again, there is more "spirit" in this state than in Iowa, something not too well contained in the phrase "hot-headed Southerner"—an uncalculating allegiance to ideal ends. Certainly I find a striking contrast between the moral tameness of both faculty and students at Iowa and the frequent spirited independence shown at Carolina. I may remark in passing that this independence is found next door to Iowa in Wisconsin, but I am not responsible this morning for that state.

And again, there is in North Carolina what I would call more interest in living, or a fuller concept of living, a determination to allow room for more than the humdrum routine of a vocation. In Iowa honor goes to work alone, and even activity for activity's sake is cultivated. In the old South everything *except* work was honored by the gentleman. In taking on work, the new South has not forgotten everything else.

As an educator, I am particularly concerned with the difference between the two states in higher education, the difference observable between the University of Iowa and the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill (of the greater University I know too little). Both are state universities, but that in the West I would call Jacksonian, that in the South Jeffersonian. The University of Iowa is a vocational school. Its unifying principle is preparation for a job. Everything is bent to that end, by students and faculty alike, with a rather grim intentness. This is true even in my own field, the humanities. History, which seems to be little more than American history, is an avenue to teaching; it is not for those who do not propose to teach. Music and the other arts are skills for the abnormal people known as musicians, painters, and the like. Philosophy simply does not count. There is a School of Religion, in which for many years the only popular course was on modern marriage, that desperate second vocation to which the young look forward. And there is a School of Letters, comprising the four language and literature departments. Of this school I will say more, since I was in charge of the organization of it in 1930 and of its development for the next fourteen years.

In going to Iowa, I went to a region in which foreign language study ranks lower than in any other part of the nation, a region which has had a linguistic as well as political isolationism. In the face of this fact, I accomplished virtually nothing, though I was the first to sponsor the introduction of Russian and I did something to rehabilitate ancient Greek among students of English. It was in the English department that I had my real opportunity, and I made use of it as fast as I could carry my colleagues along with me. We altered everything, from the freshman year to the Ph.D. I will mention one example. We changed the old freshman rhetoric and sophomore survey of English literature to a unified two-year course on the basic literature of Occidental civilization, the Hellenic and Hebraic heritage, limiting ourselves to six or eight works: Homer, Greek tragedy, Plato, the Bible, Shakespeare, and one or two American books. We focused upon the problem of human values, trying to find different meanings, for instance, in the concept of the dignity of man. In classroom discussions, in the many papers written by the students, we aimed to encourage the development of a critical sense of values. It was, essentially, a course in great books, begun four years before the St. John's plan, twelve years before the Harvard plan for a course called Great Texts of Literature.

Most of the University faculty did not understand what we were up to. Many of them, disdainful of the dead past, were inclined to think we should be teaching contemporary literature. Others pointed out that a literature concerning heroic characters was unsuited to students who were not going to be heroes (this was before the war). But by and large the faculty was tolerant, let us do what we thought best. We were not attacked till a new dean came on the scene, a dean imported to the College of Liberal Arts from the College of Education. He broke up the two-year course, returned to the old freshman rhetoric and sophomore literature. He broke it up easily, too, because the course had been, after all, an anomaly, involving a philosophy of education in glaring contrast with that of the vocationalists. Our interest in human values had no real place in an institution aiming only to train the young as directly and quickly as possible for various and sundry jobs in a practical world. Our effort to help students to think, to reflect upon fundamental human interests, to develop a critical intelligence, was a disturbing intrusion upon the trade school atmosphere of the institution.

It would ill befit me to comment on the humanities as pursued in the consolidated University of North Carolina today. But I may remark that the tradition of the humanities, as sketched by Professor Caldwell in the sesquicentennial volume, A State University Surveys the Humanities, suggests an attitude and procedure very different from those which have prevailed at Iowa. Though they are both state universities, the contrast between North Carolina and Iowa has been and is marked, and it will continue to be so, I think, in the future.

North Carolina is rightly known as a "progressive" state, the most progressive in the South. Much of its progress has been, so to say, progress toward the North, toward material development, but I do not believe that it proposes to be like any Northern state. The tradition of the region is too strong. It proposes to work out its own destiny. It is well aware, as I have said, that the hand of the past is a force both hampering and helping, hampering when it is a blind conservatism stubbornly resisting change, helping when it suggests human values of the past which deserve to be conserved and creatively forwarded in the changing future. From the human values of the past which are part of North Carolina history to the human values of the Classical and Christian foundations of our civilization is not a great way. We have here as good an environment for humanistic progress as may be found anywhere in the country. There is no reason why North Carolina should not take the lead, instead of waiting till some Northern state has set up a model for imitation. The conditions are favorable for setting up the model here. If the state is not so rich as some others, this is not a serious obstacle. It is not a question of money; it is a question of men. Real progress depends, as Jefferson saw so clearly, upon "men of intelligence and virtue." Are they coming to the fore, in adequate numbers, in the state today? If not, it is for us, in literary and historical associations, in colleges and universities, in journalism and the radio, to produce a situation from which sound leaders may be expected to emerge. Once a stream of vital ideas has become current, once a critical sense of values has been

propagated, we may expect a shaping influence upon the leaders of the future.

Let me give one example. We educated Thomas Wolfe, we educated him in Chapel Hill. I was here then, and share the responsibility. Clearly, there were elements in the university situation that helped him to become what he was, one of the finest novelists of the period between the two wars. But he was also a lost soul, beating his wings to exhaustion in an atmosphere which made breathing difficult. We did little to offset the influence on him of the sour naturalism then current. A single passage will symbolize this. You may recall that Tom Wolfe tells of driving in the country surrounding Chapel Hill. In the fashion of the day he describes the country as simply ugly, this charming rolling Piedmont scenery which deserves celebration by its novelists, poets, and artists.

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKS AND AUTHORS OF THE YEAR: A REVIEW

By CHARLOTTE HILTON GREEN

Only fourteen books are included in the volumes eligible for this year's Mayflower Society Cup competition for the best book of the year by a resident North Carolinian. Last year the number was twenty-eight, in 1943 it was thirty-five, and in 1941 it was forty-eight, an all-time high. War conditions, we are told, explain the decline.

The fourteen are as follows:

Legal Aid Clinic Instruction at Duke University, by John S. Broadway and published by the Duke University Press, features, as illustrations, hypothetical cases, through which they are trying to evaluate effects, looking toward improvement in the administration of justice. It describes what is taught at the Duke Legal Aid Clinic and how and why it is done.

The History of the North Carolina Congress of Parents and Teachers, 1919-1944, compiled by Mrs. N. A. Edwards, historian of the Congress, will be of value to all interested in our schools and especially to that vast army of parents and teachers who belong to the PTA. It covers the early years of the organization, the various institutions, administrations, and work.

Years of Light, the History of St. John's Lodge (Masonic) No. 3 of New Bern, N. C., by Gertrude Carraway, is an excellent study covering the years from 1772 to 1944. It shows that Free Masonry was actively at work in North Carolina prior to 1735, for by that year enough Masons had assembled in the Cape Fear settlements, near the present city of Wilmington, to form a lodge. It covers pre-Revolutionary meetings, all phases of Masonry, and, of course, the visit of "Brother" George Washington, to the New Bern lodge. Between sleeping in so many houses and visiting so many Masonic lodges, it is a miracle how Washington ever managed to find time for a war!

To those of us who grew up in a Masonic household, in those days before the civic clubs era—Rotary, Kiwanis, Civitan, and all the rest—when a person didn't quite rate if he wasn't a Mason, this will be of particular interest. And here may I

digress for a moment to tell a tale of my Northern grandfather, for though I am an adopted Tar Heel of twenty-six years residence, I am Northern born. Grandfather was an ardent Mason, Episcopalian, and G.A.R. and he ran all three. Once my young brother said "Grandpa, which do you think is the closest to heaven, the Masons or the G.A.R.?" Grandfather answered promptly, "Both, son, but I guess the Masons have a little edge on the G.A.R.'s."

The Heart of the Prayer Book, by the Rev. William E. Cox, is published by the Dietz Press of Richmond. If there is an Episcopalian grandmother in your family, she would probably enjoy this book for Christmas. It is really a layman's guide to the Book of Common Prayer and brings together a great number of explanations of simple and ordinary things and tells what we need if we are to worship with the proper spirit and with understanding. The work should meet a real need, especially of church schools, study groups, Lenten organizations, and summer conferences, as well as of some individuals.

Boundary Lines, a book of verse by Gertrude La V. Vestal, seems to cover everything from True Democracy to the Wheels of Progress, the Prince of Freedom, the Flags of War, and God's Will to Peace.

The Rock Was Free, by Paul Moss and published by Dorrance and Company, is a tale of the old Pickens place far back in the "Pot Rock" Mountains. Trouble came to the families descended from the early settlers who pioneered the land when Sewell, the timber grabber, getting a state grant for the Pickens land, tried to ride roughshod over all of them. The story is full of the hill dialect and shooting. In the end Sewell fires Pickens house and barn but in the final shooting Sewell is killed, Peter Picken's home is gone but the Rock is free.

Christmas Magic, by James S. Tippett, published by Grossett and Dunlap, is a charming little fantasy for children, one that grown-ups would enjoy reading aloud to them around the fire-side some night near Christmas. It is the tale of the jolly little Santa who had worked so hard in the Christmas show window, driving his reindeers and doing the same old thing minute after minute and hour after hour and week after week, until he was just tired of it. But he had a wonderful magic time—at mid-

night, when the lights went out, and when the cop on the beat was not looking. He jumped from his sleigh and bought a whole bunch of tickets for the toy merry-go-round, and what fun he had! He rode on the yellow tiger and on the spotted giraffe, he danced with the fairy queen, and he frolicked under the Christmas tree. He even rode on the engine, with the engineer, on the little electric train! Oh he gave himself a time!

Children will love it, and the illustrations are charming.

And now, from fantasy to divorce!

Conserving Marriage and the Family, by Ernest R. Groves and published by the Macmillan Company, is a realistic discussion of the divorce problem by the Chapel Hill authority on marriage and family relationships and case-work, who for thirty years, has been teaching, writing, and holding clinics on these subjects. This, his latest book, deals with the problem, "Shall I, or shall I not, secure a divorce?" It covers the various motives of divorce that are commonly recognized and should be helpful to all who are in that difficult situation. It tries to get the parties interested to face the problem unemotionally, taking into consideration every possible viewpoint and all who would be affected, especially the future interests of any children. It covers such situations as being unhappily married, continuous quarreling, poor sexual adjustment, mother-in-law interference, money troubles, disagreement over children, father and mother fixations,—and more. If one is certain he wants a divorce, there is advice on how to go about getting it. It is a good book covering many problems, but it seems to have two omissions, the growing part played by drunkenness in marriage problems, and the present tragic problem of the unfaithful wife, while the husband is in the army—at camp or overseas. That problem is, unfortunately, recent enough and important enough to have been included in this recent book.

In All Its Glory, by Edith Warner Huggins and published by Dorrance and Company, is a novel of the days of slavery with the scene laid in North Carolina. Carolina Wendell, the heroine, loses her sweetheart, John Winston, to her beautiful but selfish, tempestuous, and scheming step-sister, Lavinia. Carolina finally marries Phillip, her late father's overseer of the plantation—but, though she tries to build a good life for herself, it just doesn't

work. There are conflict, suspense, murder, fire, and tragedy—followed by a dramatic climax.

In Sage Quarter, published by Doubleday, Doran, and Company, Bernice Kelly Harris has done it again, with another good book on rural Carolina, whose characters, like the good red earth, are of the soil. It is the story of the plain people of North Carolina. Ruby and Tiny were twins, but Ruby always managed to get everything. As the uncle in disrepute said, "Ruby had god-dam size, but Tiny's got character." The Ardley clan-especially Nurmama, the grandmother who, with an iron will, ruled all the descendants of great, great grandfather Sage who "from landless people of the Old Country," came across the Big Water with dreams of having land-much land, "with green pastures, sweet flowing water and flowering meadows with young lambs." It is the story, too, of the "renter" boy, nicknamed "Rough-dried" because his clothes were rough-dried. Sometimes he went to sleep during school-those were the days when he had been up all night with his sickly mother. And that was why "Rough-dried" wanted to be a doctor, so he could "learn to cure body misery." In the end Ruby goes to the big city, and tries hard to win the able Dr. Stonewall Williams who is making such a name for himself-but who, in school, as "Rough-dried" she had refused to sit by. But in the end the doctor returns to Tiny, on the old "Sage Quarters" acres, and to the doctor's office in the yard—to practice in the country and "cure body misery."

Carolina Chats, by Carl Goerch, is typical Goerchana, even with the first inscription, "NOT copyrighted, Help yourself to anything you want." He dips into anything and everything that is amusing and interesting about North Carolina, from two outstanding funerals to the ladies who drove over his pants, the servant problem—and how he tried to handle it—his trip to Washington with Reuben Bland—the father of thirty-four children, even the famous bridge game when a friend and he played "common sense" against their wives, both bridge experts, and ending with a score of 5,280 for them as against 2,550 for the ladies who had "Culbertson and 17 books on 'How to Play Bridge.'"

But, delightful and amusing as it is, to many, its more important value will be the second part of the book. While Mr.

Goerch was doing some work in the State Library, going through old files of newspapers, he became so fascinated with the state's history as it appeared from paper to paper that he decided to take a period and scan the pages for interesting events. He chose 1800 to 1900. One is shocked at many things, the brutalities, the murders, the great number of devastating fires, wiping out large sections of towns and cities, the duels—even one in which the two men lashed each other with horsewhips for three hours, until both were bloody messes. You've guessed it—over a young lady!

This group will be interested in the fact that a state literary and historical society was founded in 1841. And Lake Mattamuskeet was drained—or at least partially so—in 1837! There were many temperance meetings in the early days. Today's high wages are of interest in comparison with those of 1852, when a wrought iron worker got thirty-nine cents a day, a male cotton worker forty-four cents a day—but a female only got twenty-four cents a day! There was an editorial in which the writer was pleased to see "hogs again free to roam the streets and revel in the delicacies found in our streets (in Raleigh)!

But some of the most enthusiastic editorials are about bathing—apparently 1828 antedated even the Saturday night institution so sacred to Victorians, for it was noted that in Raleigh a "Public bathing room" had been opened and the people were urged to make use of them because "moderate bathing tends to improve one's health." Later, another editorial becomes almost lyrical over the subject of bathing, claiming it as most agreeable and refreshing—and if the reader would only try it, he would not need to be urged to do it again. Then there is the woman pirate, Anne Bonney—who rates in two of our Carolina books of the year. Mr. Goerch makes her daring, ruthless and clever, but features her as a hard-bitten, sunburned, seared-faced woman.

But Inglis Fletcher, in *Lusty Wind for Carolina*, makes Anne Bonney a glamour girl, equally clever, cruel, ruthless, and daring—but exotic and beautiful. Of course, Mrs. Fletcher has done much more research on this fascinating, if devilish, woman, and we'd like to know whether Anne really was beautiful or if the author was merely using the writer's privilege of giving her a beautiful build up. How about it, Mrs. Fletcher?

Anyhow, Mrs. Fletcher has again put colonial North Carolina on the map, right up with those two mountains of Virginia and South Carolina which, until Mrs. Fletcher's advent, seemed to think we were nothing but what William Byrd called us in that early diary of the Dividing Line. We do appreciate all the careful research that has gone into Inglis Fletcher's books, a study in this one that took her to a year's residence on the Cape Fear, to Nassau, the one-time rendezvous of pirates (and where the book had its beginning), to the Library of Congress, where it was completed, and to various other sources. The story of the book begins in England, with Huguenot refugees; the characters leave for Carolina on a "lusty wind," encounter and give battle to pirates—and win—stop off at the Bahamas, where the pirates gather for the "King's Pardon," that foolish pardon that merely enables them to go back to the high seas and piracy, on to Carolina and the seating of the Cape Fear, the troubles there, with more pirates and Indians. There are also some characters from the previous book, Men of Albemarle, Roger Mainwaring in particular, and the more settled and elaborate life of those plantations—but still more pirates, with Governor Eden implicated and later, the pirate rendezvous on Oracocke, when they meet to establish rules for themselves and to divide the territory. It is the tale, too, of David Moray, the Scot of an old, old Scottish family who had "gone out for the Stuarts" and been imprisoned and sold as a bondsman to Robert Fontaine, the Huguenot. It is a grand book and one only hopes the movies will pick it for technicolor. As such, it would make "Frenchman's Creek" pale into insignificance.

From high romance in colonial Carolina we pass to the Carolina of 1910 to 1917—and to the Washington of the Wilson Era, in Josephus Daniels' book of that title. Most of us here are old enough to remember more or less of those days when peace was something we took for granted, even though there was trouble in China, Japan was on the prowl, and Mexico flamed with revolution. The book begins with Mr. Daniels' first meeting with Woodrow Wilson back in 1909—back in another world, it seems to us today—and yet back in the same editorial office of the Raleigh News and Observer where Mr. Daniels sits today. From the very beginning there was close friendship—it was apparently love at

first sight—between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Daniels, the latter helping him win not only the nomination, but also the presidency. It is a valuable book, going into infinite detail of those years—the years that were a bridge, almost, between two worlds—for certainly life changed for nearly everyone in the before and after period of World War I.

In Washington, Mr. Daniels becomes Secretary of the Navy, and busy days are ahead. Wilson is an idealist, and before the war interferes, not only is much accomplished, but we are taken behind the scenes to see how it is done. In rapid-fire order are passed the Underwood Tariff Act ("the first good tariff law for half a century"), the Federal Reserve Act, the Clayton Antitrust Act, and other liberal measures. And with the outbreak of the European war, our struggles to maintain neutrality, and yet to work for preparedness began.

It is an interesting cabinet—with names great in our history—Bryan, McAdoo, Garrison, McReynolds, Burleson, Houston, Lane, and William Wilson. It is the story of the building up of the United States Navy and of a dynamic young man of charm and ability, who had made a lifelong study of the Navy—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

There are the fight for the naval oil reserve, and a delightful portrait of the Grand Old Admiral Dewey, and tales of Henry Cabot Lodge—whose very memory leaves a bitter taste, as the world must wonder if it might have been saved from the cross if Lodge had not sabotaged Wilson's League of Nations. But that part of it will be in another Daniels book—one we will not have to wait too long for, we hope.

When We're Green We Grow, by Jane S. McKimmon, published also by the University Press, is the story of Home Demonstration work in North Carolina. Strangely enough, its early days coincide pretty much with the Wilson Era of Mr. Daniels' book. Mrs. McKimmon, before she resigned, was, in point of service, the oldest state Home Demonstration head in the country. Her pioneer work helped not only this state and the South, but all of the country. Though her years of service and that of the fine, loyal, and hard-working group she gathered around her, the picture of rural life in North Carolina changed radically. Much has happened in the state since those early days when the

work was started, mainly with young girls in tomato canning clubs. Before that Mrs. McKimmon had worked with the farm women of the state as lecturer and director of women's work at the farmer's institutes.

Those were the days of dirt roads, of travel by horse and buggy, of little money returns on farms, of barren lives for farm women. The early home demonstration worker was a sort of combination errand girl, family counselor, emergency nurse, and instructor in household activities. In those days few of the agents were technically trained, but they more than made up for that by their ability, understanding, resourcefulness, and by having their heart in their work. They had the zeal of missionaries.

But the women and girls needed more than the canning clubs. They needed a market for the foods canned—and that, too, was pioneer work—creating those markets.

They had to know and understand human relationships, too. There is the story, a little later, of the women who wanted their home agent changed. Yet she was well trained and seemed to be a hard worker. "But," was the reply, "we know that, but Mrs. McKimmon, she doesn't love us."

Later the market was to expand to include baked goods, chickens, sauages, butter, cheese, all kinds of farm women's products. And then to more than foods. As for sewing—the very appearance of the rural girls and women of the state changed with the coming of the home demonstration clubs and the 4-H clubs. Country women and girls, too, wanted pretty clothes, and needed to know not only how to make them, but also how to plan them and then how to wear them. Too, there were the home improvement work, the better kitchens, the planning for storage space, the demand for beauty in the home, and the learning to do over old furniture, to upholster, to make lovely old rugs. The depression came, and the home demonstration agents helped to weather that.

Nor was the work limited to the white women of the state. The Negroes, also, were being taught a better way of life, and that, too, reached out and touched every level of the population. When we came to the state, in 1920, we were privileged to attend one of Mrs. McKimmon's "schools" for her home agents, where

my husband, as agricultural editor, gave them a short course in journalism, as an aid in helping them with the weekly newspaper reports of their work.

Incidentally, it was as Mrs. McKimmon's guests that we first attended a meeting of the State Literary and Historical Association, that December of 1920—and we've been regular attendants ever since.

I have been privileged to see something of the work and training of these young 4-H boys and girls, for each year I am part of the Staff of the annual 4-H Wildlife Conference Camp, which outstanding boys and girls from all over the state attend, as an award for successfully carrying out wildlife projects on their own farms. I remember one meeting, early in the war, when an officer from Camp Bragg came to talk to these young people on the great need of food for the armies and the nation, and of how a young fourteen- or fifteen-year-old farm girl introduced this officer. I have never heard a club woman, a Junior Leaguer, or anyone else, give an introduction with more charm and poise and dignity.

Philadelphia: Holy Experiment, by Struthers Burt, published by Doubleday, Doran and Company, is a most meticulous study of Philadelphia, from even before the days when William Penn planned the "Holy Experiment"—back to the still earlier days when the Indians held sway over this beautiful and fruitful land. The book isn't a history, but rather a sort of civic biography, in which the city itself is the hero.

Before Penn and his Quakers, the Swedes had been there, and the Finns. And, probably unknown to most of us, it was those early Finns, explains Mr. Burt, who made a great contribution to an American way of life—they gave this country its early symbolic dwelling. "Forest people, timber men, they found the magnificent new forests exactly to their liking and built the first American log cabins."

It wasn't all easy sailing, that Holy Experiment. Penn's views, and those of the colonists—not all Quakers by any means—did not always coincide. The colonists' interests had to do with rum, Indians, Negroes, and illegitimacy. "Where slaves were concerned, the less you bother with marriage, the greater their

fecundity, and to the owners of slaves, slave fecundity is profitable. Selling rum to Indians is obviously profitable." Penn objected to all this. So it didn't take long for the "Holy Experiment" to break down.

Penn himself was arrested for debt, and, rather than pay what he considered an unjust demand, he went voluntarily to jail.

Another important figure in Philadelphia's "civic biography" is Benjamin Franklin, who though not born there, came as a young man, and worked and married there. His famous sentence, "There never was a good war or a bad peace," has been often quoted, but Burt also points out something which all Quakers do not seem to realize, that though he hated war, when he had to, he made it. He took drastic action over the Delaware River pirates (Pirates certainly feature in this year's Carolina books!), and he also organized the first police force in Philadelphia. And he believed in universal suffrage!

Franklin resembled Penn in many ways. "Like him, he was a good money maker, but not a good money-keeper, he was extravagant, he liked to entertain and was frequently in debt. And although he, like Penn, wrote much about self-discipline and order, he admitted that after drawing up an elaborate cardindex to keep his papers and desk neat, he found it much easier to forget it and just "hunt for things." The most human thing that's been told about Franklin yet!

It was through Franklin and the famed Junto that the first circulating library in America was formed. But I don't think it was Franklin who was responsible for the fact that in the "Athens of America," as Philadelphia was then called, about 1805 some classic statues were brought to Philadelphia, and that ladies were allowed to see them—just on Fridays—and then only when the statues had been draped in long white sheets! We were a proper people in those days, apparently—even if we didn't do much bathing!

The book deals, too, with the great iron industries of Philadelphia and its neighborhood. And as for the troubled industrialists of today, they might well look into the story of the Birdsboro Steel and Machine Co., celebrating 150 years of work, though in reality over 200 years old—and during all that time no strike.

Though there are only fourteen books, many of them are of high quality. With the war over and, we hope, the labor strife soon to be settled, with paper more plentiful so that publishers will be less prone to delay publication, the year 1946 will surely see an upsurge in the number of books written by North Carolina authors.

ALFRED MORDECAI'S NOTES ON MEXICO, 1866

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

INTRODUCTION

Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, the United States agreed to discharge the Mexican government from all claims of citizens of the United States not theretofore decided against the Mexican government. The awards of the American commissioners were to be final. Among those submitting fradulent claims was George A. Gardiner, an English dentist who was not even an American citizen. After the supposed damage was paid, a special committee was appointed in 1852 by the United States Senate to go to Mexico to investigate the claims for damages to the silver mine. One of the commissioners sent to Lagunillas, in the Department of Rio Verde, where the mine was alleged to be located, was Alfred Mordecai. Secretly he made a trip by water and by mule back through the jungles to this locality, but the mine could not be found.

In 1865 he made a second trip to Mexico as assistant engineer in the construction of the Mexican Imperial Railway. He remained in Mexico until the fall of 1866. His "Notes on Mexico" are based on his observations during these two trips.

Since Mordecai was a keen observer, interested in every field of knowledge as well as a man of culture and a writer of distinction, his notes make interesting reading. In reading authoritative works on Mexico he had discovered that pertinent data on Mexican life and customs were scant. As much of the general outline of the history of Mexico was already known to students, he made no attempt to embody in his notes, except for clarity, geographical, statistical, or political details, but merely recorded material relating to the natural and social history of the country.

Succinctly and in a striking style he wrote his observations on the topography and climatic conditions of Mexico and the effect of these on the animal and plant life of the country, which in turn influenced the living conditions of the people. In some detail he described the importance of the banana tree and maguey plant

¹ For a full account of the life of Alfred Mordecai see note No. 1 in "The Life of Alfred Mordecai, As Related by Himself, Edited by James A. Padgett," North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (January, 1945), 1. See also North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (April, July, October, 1945) nos. 2, 3, 4.

in the lives of the natives, which is an illustration of his selecting the common and not the unusual objects in his writing. He was intrigued by the religious festivals, deplored the living conditions of the Indians and lower-class Mexicans; and contrasted these with the middle and upper classes, Mexican and Spaniard. The account is well written, preserving as a picture of Mexico, as seen by a citizen of the United States, a little less than a century ago.

NOTE ON MEXICO

In writing down some of my observations & impressions of Mexico, I shall confine myself almost entirely to things which came under my own notice, during a journey in that country some years ago & a recent residence in the Capital for a little more than a year- Hoping rather to amuse a leisure hour than to give any serious instruction, I shall not enter into Geographical, Historical, Statistical or political details; but a few remarks on the general features of the country will form a necessary introduction to the subject.

Formerly the territory of Mexico, embracing Texas, New Mexico & Upper California, extended from the river Sabine to Campeche, on the Gulf of Mexico, & from San Francisco to Tehuantepec on the Pacific; including an extent of about 1,500,000 square miles. But the revolt of Texas, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; which terminated the invasion of Mexico by the United States, & the subsequent purchase of the Mesilla Valley have "cut me here a Monstrous cantle out," & reduced the territory to half its former extent. It is still, however, a vast country, with advantages of position, & of climate, soil & productions, to make it one of the most powerful nations of the earth, if these advantages alone were sufficient to ensure the possession of power.

The most remarkable physical feature of the country is the great elevation of the principal part of its surface above the level of the sea. On the borders of each of the great oceans that wash its shores, there is a narrow strip of low land, much of it not more than fifty miles in width, whilst the rest of its surface is a great table land, seven or eight thousand feet above the sea, intersected by ranges of mountains, the peaks of which rise as many thousand feet more above the table land. Take a view for instance, of the general profile of the great Railway which is intended to connect the port of Vera Cruz with the City of Mexico, & ultimately with some point on the Pacific. The Railway has been as yet surveyed only from Vera Cruz to Mexico. For about fifty miles it passes over the low land called the Tierra Caliente, or Hot Lands; it then ascends rapidly the eastern slope of the table land, & in about twenty miles it reaches the City of Cordova, the elevation of which is nearly three thousand feet above the sea- Under the latitude of 19° this elevation is not sufficient to modify the tropical

heat so much as to enable Cordova to be regarded as beyond the limits of the Tierra Caliente; but the pestilential influence of the tropical sun is here much lessened, whilst its beneficial effect is manifested by a luxuriance of vegetation of which those acquainted only with the temperate zones can hardly form an idea. Great forests of Mahogany 3, Ebony 4, Oak 1, Cedar 2, & other valuable woods are interspersed with an undergrowth of almost impenetrable thickness, & when these are cleared away the fertile soil produces with little labor the vegetable products most valuable in commerce: Sugar, Coffee, Chocolate, Cotton, indigo, tobacco, besides the fruits & vegetables peculiar to the tropical regions. It is here that, attracted by the fertility of the soil & the value of its varied productions, the first emigrants from this more northern portion of the continent settled & formed a colony, which if it had been protected & fostered by the Mexican Government, would have been the source of great benefits to the country, as well as to the colonists.

Following our railway about fifteen miles further we reach the city of Orizava, nearly four thousand feet above the sea. This city takes its name from that of the snow peak near it; the brilliant summit of which is the first portion of land that greets the eyes of the traveler, yet many miles at sea, as he approaches the shores of Mexico from the East. At Orizava we have gained a sufficient elevation to enter the Tierras Templada, or temperate region, where though vegetation is little less luxuriant than at Cordova, the resident may be considered safe from the dreaded pestilence of the coast, & removed in a considerable degree from the suffocating heat of the hot lands- We have not yet however reached the region of frost, & here we may still pluck, in the open air, the nutrititious [sic] banana & the mangoe, as well as the orange & the pineapple, from their native stems. This shelf on the mountain side, (on which the charming City of Jalapa is also situated, about fifty miles to the north of Orizava,) is one of the most favored & favorite regions of Mexico; in the eyes of both foreigners & natives; combining as it does the amenities of the temperate zone with the luxuriance & warmth of the Tropical.

Touring the course of our Railway, in its tortuous & difficult ascent of the "Cumbres" or mountain summit, we reach, at about twenty five miles from Orizava, the great plateau or table land of Mexico, which is there more than eight thousand feet above the sea. We have now attained the Tierras Frias, or Cold Lands; not that we encounter any thing like the temperature of the frigid zone; but that at this elevation the thermometer sometimes descends at night to the freezing point. At this height our road continues with little variation until, at the distance of about 150 miles from the Cumbres, it descends into the Valley of Mexico; But this descent is not very great, for the Valley is 7,350 feet above the sea, or nearly as high as the convent of the Great

St Bernard, which is perched among the eternal snows of the Alps. In this favored valley, however, we are far from having reached the snows; for we must still ascend as many thousand feet above the valley as the latter is above the sea, before we meet the lower line of the snow-capped summits of Popocatepetl² & Ixtacihuatl³ which peer out above the clouds on the East of the valley: the lower limits of perpetual snow in this latitude being about 14,400 feet above the sea.

The aspect of the beautiful Valley of Mexico has been so often the theme of praise for those who have given to the world their impressions of travel, that one hesitates to renew the subject: but certainly few scenes are more fitted to arouse the enthusiasm & excite the admiration of the beholder. Viewed from any commanding point, whether you look down upon it, as Cortes4 did, from the heights that enclose the valley on the east, or from the gently rising slopes of Tacubaya⁵ & San Angel⁶ on the south, or from the isolated hill of Chapultepec⁷ on the West, or from the Mountain Spur on which

² Popocatepetl means smoking mountain. It is in the solfatara stage at the present time, and is just forty miles southeast of the City of Mexico. It is surmounted by a crater 2,000 feet in width, and is one of the highest peaks in North America (17,550 feet). Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 819.

³ Ixtaccihuatl or Iztaccihuatl means white woman. It is a mountain in Mexico just north of Popocatepetl and is 16,705 feet in height. The name originated on the west side, where the mountain bears some resemblance to a woman lying extended in a white shroud. The summit is covered by glaciers. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 536.

⁴ Hernando, Herman, or Fernando Cortés or Cortez was born in Spain in 1485, and died in Spain on December 2, 1547. In 1504 he went to Espanola, and in 1511 to Cuba where he married. In 1518 Velasquez gave him command of twelve vessels and 508 soldiers and instructed him to follow up Grijalva's Mexican discoveries. Suspecting disloyalty, Valasquez sought to recall him, but, evading him, Cortés finally left Cuba on February 18, 1519. By sheer determination he became the greatest of all the Spanish conquerors with the single exception of Columbus. Valasquez then sent Narvaez in pursuit of Cortés, but the conquerer left 150 men under Alvarado and hurried to meet his fellow-countryman whom he defeated on May 28, 1520, at Cempoala, and enlisted most of his men. He then returned to find his men closely besieged by the Indians, but he rescued them and captured Montezuma. They killed Indians by the thousands and conquered the country. His success was so wonderful that he was empowered to conquer all of New Spain, and in 1523 he was made governor. Mexico City was rebuilt and expeditions were sent out in every direction. He marched into Honduras, but during his long absence his enemies gained power and deposed him from the governorship of New Spain in July, 1526. In 1528 he went to Spain to seek redress. Charles V received him with high honors and made him marquis of Mexico and milita

been sequestered, but portions are yet held by the heirs. Century Dictionary and Cyclopeala, IX, 282.

5 Tacubaya is now one of the principal suburbs of Mexico City and just a few miles out of the heart of the city. Encyclopedia Britannica, XV, 396.

6 San Angel is a village slightly west of south of Mexico City, and about six miles from the city limits. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, X, 65, map.

7 Chapultepec (hill of the grasshoppers) is a rocky eminence about three miles southwest of the City of Mexico. About 1245, when it was surrounded by swamps, it was occupied by the Artes and subsequently on equaduct was made so as to furnish water to Mexico City. of the City of Mexico. About 1245, when it was surrounded by swamps, it was occupied by the Aztecs, and subsequently an acqueduct was made so as to furnish water to Mexico City. It was strong in position and naturally they had some kind of worship there, but erected no religious buildings prior to the sixteenth century. About 1785 Gavaz, the viceroy of Mexico, began to erect a palace on the top of the hill. It remained unfinished until after the revolution. Under the republic a portion of it was used for a military school and the National Astronomical Observatory was erected there. The United States troops, under General Pillow, stormed the castle on September 13, 1847. The Emperor Maximilian made it his principal residence, and now a portion it is used as a summer residence for the President of the country, but parts of it are used for the military school and observatory. The hill is surrounded by a beautiful park, the favorite resort of the Mexicans. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 235.

stands the Capital of Our Lady of Guadalupe⁸ on the North, the view is lovely, & it is difficult to say which point of view should have the preference. That which I enjoyed most frequently was the view from the South as seen from the Azotea, or flat roof, of a house on the rising ground of Tacubaya, which was occupied by my friend, Col. Talcott,9 the chief engineer of the Imperial Mexican Railway; a man

⁸ Guadalupe is famous for the revelation of Our Lady of Guadalupe on December 9, 1531, to an Indian boy, Quauhtatopha, baptized as Juan Diego. As he passed through a barren country to Tlatelolco, near Mexico City, to hear mass and to receive instructions at the school there, according to the story, he heard the strains of sweet music. Turning his head he beheld the form of a beautiful woman in an arc of light. When he drew near she assured him that she was the Virgin Mary and expressed a wish to have a shrine erected on the spot where she was standing. The Indian then went to Bishop Zumarrago and related his story, but it was not believed. Upon returning to the same spot which has since been called Guadalupe, the Indian beheld the same vision and received the same instructions as before. The Bishop demanded proof and then ordered two persons to follow the Indian secretly, but when they crossed the stream near the hill, the Indian suddenly disappeared. Two days later,

where she was standing. The Indian then went to Bishop Zumarrago and related his story, but it was not believed. Upon returning to the same spot which has since been called Guadalupe, the Indian beheld the same vision and received the same instructions as before. The Bishop demanded proof and then ordered two persons to follow the Indian secretly, but when they crossed the stream near the hill, the Indian suddenly disappeared. Two days later, while on his way to Tateloloc to obtain a priest for his dying uncle, the Indian had the same while on his way to Tateloloc and the control of control of control of control of control of control of contro

to whose high & honorable character & untiring benevolence of heart I am happy to have an opportunity of bearing this public testimony. From this commanding position, on a summer evening, you look over green & level fields, crossed by the long lines of arches of the aqueducts, & intersected with rows of trees marking the roads leading in various directions towards the City, about three miles distant- The City is partly concealed by trees, over which the domes & towers of its numerous churches are visible; beyond it are the hill & church of Guadalupe, & above them the higher mountains whose blue outlines bound the landscape on the North West- On the left hand, near the city, rises abruptly the picturesque hill of Chapultepec, falling off in a gentle slope towards the West; its outline having thus some resemblance to the form of a grasshopper from which insect the hill takes its Aztec¹⁰ name of Chapultepec- It is crowned by a fair structure which is being transformed by the taste of the sovereign, into an Imperial Palace; & its base is surrounded by magnificent cypress trees, which formerly afforded shade to Montezuma, 11 & which are rendered still more venerable in appearance by their heavy drapery of Spanish Moss. 12 Among the hills still further to the west are seen the white towers of the church of Los Remedios, marking the spot where Cortes rested, with his little band of hardy adventurers, after the

assumed charge of the Eastern military department, who, upon being assured of Talcott's

assumed charge of the Eastern military department, who, upon being assured of Talcott's loyalty, released him. After this he went abroad for a season, and then returned to Richmond, Virginia, where he spent the remainder of his life in quietness except what time he was in Baltimore, Maryland. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society and an honorary member of the Connecticut Society of Arts and Sciences. National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, XIII, 405.

10 Aztecas is supposed to be derived from a word meaning the place of the heron or from the name of the Heron clan, which left its name to the place. It is remembered as the surname of the Mexican branch of Nahuatl Indians of central Mexico. The Aztecs were a band of Indians who had gradually drifted into the valley of Mexico, probably from the north, and, who, harassed by tribes of their own linguistic stock, which had preceded them in the occupation of the shores of the lagoon of Mexico, finally fled to some islands in the midst of its waters for security. With this almost impregnable natural line of forts they held their own and then turned on their enemies. From these petty tribal wars resulted, in the fifteenth century, the confederacy between the Aztecs, the Tezcucans, and the Tecpanecans, which became at last formidable to all the aborigines of central Mexico up to the year 1519, when Cortés put an end to the power of the confederates of the valley plateau of Mexico. The Aztecs are supposed to have been connected with the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 103.

Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 103.

Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 103.

11 Montezuma or Moteczuma, called Montezuma II or Xocoyotzin, was born in 1477 or 1479, and died on June 30, 1520. He was an Aztec war chief or the Emperor of Mexico at the time of the Spanish conquest. He succeeded his uncle Ahuizotl to the throne in 1503. Besides his almost continuous wars with the Tlascalans and Tarascans, he carried his arms to the southward and is said to have invaved Honduras. Thousands of captives were brought back for sacrifice in the temples. The news of white men and ships on his shores excited his superstitious fears. He sent Cortés tidings and presents, but did not want him to come into his kingdom. Cortés reached the city in November, 1519. He was well received and given handsome presents, but fearing danger, he seized Montezuma, who, at the request of Cortés appeared on the crest of the wall to urge his men to cease their resistance, but he was received by a volley of stones, from which wounds he died four days later. Descendants of one of his daughters are still living in Mexico. After the Spanish conquest Montezuma became a mythical personage among the Indians, the hero or hero-god they mention to strangers, although they do not worship him. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 702.

12 Only those who have visited the southern parts of the United States can form any idea of the Spanish moss, which literally covers the trees and often smothers them to death, yet it lives entirely on the air without being fastened at all to the bark of the trees.

terrors & losses of the "Noche triste," the melancholy night on which they were expelled from the conquered city.13

To the North East of the Valley stretch the plains & rising grounds by which the railway finds an exit, & where with the aid of a glass, may be seen, at the distance of thirty miles, the pyramids of San Juan Teotihuacan; 14 the monuments of some forgotten race, rivaling in magnitude the pyramids of Egypt. 15

Towards the right hand you look, across the lakes of the valley, to the lofty green eastern hills, above which tower the snow-clad summits of the extinct volcanoes, tinged with

"The rose tints which summer's twilight leaves Upon the lofty glacier's virgin snow: The blush of earth embracing with her heaven."

Such is a feeble description of the panoramic scene which burst upon the sight of Cortes, after ascending the eastern hills, & which

upon the sight of Cortes, after ascending the eastern hills, & which 13 After the death of Montezuma the Indians went wild with rage and pressed Cortés so fiercely that he had to flee. Consequently he hastily constructed a bridge to be placed across the canal, and on June 30, 1520, his men threw it across the canal, but when some had crossed, the plot was discovered and the struggle was on. The bridge sank into the moat and many tried to ride their horses or to swim across the canal only to be weighted down with their load of treasure or to be killed by the Indians. A partial causeway was formed by the bodies of some of the one and equipment and the control of the control

greeted the eyes of those who, following the victorious march of Scott. entered the Valley of Mexico from the south; when after the hard fought battles of Contreras¹⁶ & Churubusco, ¹⁷ they looked on the landscape from the heights of San Angel. In the days of Cortes the lakes covered all the lower parts of the Valley, washing the feet of the hills of Guadalupe, Chapultepec & Tacubaya, & covering the site of the City, which was then justly called an inland Venice. But the Spaniards having, with the unpicturesque propensity of their race, destroyed the forests & laid the ground open to the powerful influence of the tropical sun, the waters shrunk into narrower limits, & the New Capital was built, as it was supposed, on dry ground. The lake would, however, sometimes reassert its former rights; for as the waters of the Valley have no natural outlet, when very heavy rains occur in quick succession, Lake Texcoco, 18 which is but a few feet lower than the level of the principal square, overflows the city & converts it again into the Aztec Venice- In consequence of a great calamity of this kind, which laid Mexico under water from 1629 to 1634, an enterprising Viceroy determined to prevent its recurrence by cutting a channel through the hills at the North West part of the Valley, by which the surplus water might be discharged into the river Tula, which flows into the Gulf of Mexico at the distant port of Tampico-This great enterprise, the cut of Nochistongo, as it is called, was accomplished in a wonderfully short time; but the sides of the canal not being properly protected, the earth caved in & nearly filled it—The channel was again partially opened & still serves the purpose for which it was made, but imperfectly; for the city is not secure from inundation as I myself witnessed in the summer of 1865; when, the lake being already at a high level, a rain fall of a few hours sufficed to

¹⁶ Contreras is a village some eight miles southwest of the City of Mexico. Here on August 19-20, 1847, the Americans under General Scott defeated the Mexicans. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 276.

17 Churubusco is a village about five miles south of the City of Mexico. Here, on August 20, 1847, after the battle of Contreras, some 8,000 United States troops defeated a force of 20,000-25,000 Mexicans under Santa Anna. An old convent in the center of the village, garrisoned by some 800 Mexicans under General Pedro Maria Anaya, was attacked by about 6,000 Americans under Generals Twiggs, Smith, and Worth. The strong convent walls made an excellent fortress and it was carried only after a fierce battle, after the ammunition of the defenders was exhausted. In the two battles the United States losses were 1,053, and those of the Mexicans about 7,000. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 251.

18 Lake of Texcoco, or Tezcuco, is the largest of a cluster of lakes in the valley of Mexico. At present it is nearly oval in shape, about twelve miles long, seven miles wide, and less than two feet deep. Mexico City is about four miles from the western shore, and the town of Tezcuco is about the same distance from the eastern shore. Low and swampy lands mark its former boundaries, a fact which proves that it was formerly about four times as large as it is at present. Mexico City was then on an island in it, approached by causeways, and Texcuco, Tlacopan, and other towns were on its shores. The water was deep enough in 1520 to float the ships of Cortés. It often became so filled with water in rainy seasons that it flooded the surrounding country. Due to its being filled with water in rainy seasons that it flooded the surrounding country. Due to its being filled with water in rainy seasons that it flooded the surrounding country. Due to its being filled with water in rainy seasons that it flooded the surrounding country. Due to its being filled with activation, and also because of drainage and evaporation, it has lost m

convert most of the streets temporarily into canals- By the next morning, however, it was possible to walk again in many of them; but much distress was caused to the poor people in the suburbs, whose houses of unburnt bricks were dissolved or undermined by the water. This near approach to another serious inundation has stimulated the Government to act again in the matter of drainage & protection, & it has been decided to undertake a new canal & tunnel through the Northern range of Mountains; not at the former place, but on a plan proposed by Martin Luther Smith, 19 a Lieutenant of Engineers in the United States Army at the time of the occupation of Mexico- A special tax for this purpose has been laid on the proprietors in the Valley, & it is to be hoped that the work will be successfully accomplished: as it requires however a tunnel of six miles in length, it will undoubtedly be a work of many years: Mean time, temporary expedients for restraining the water have been adopted, & we hope that the heavens will be propitious.

In this latitude one can hardly form an idea of the copiousness of these tropical rains, although the total average quantity of rain that falls in a year in the Valley of Mexico is much less than that which falls here— The learned in Meteorology will gather exact information from the statement that in the rain which I witnessed in 1865, there fell $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches of water in less than 3 hours; & to the unlearned I may say that the quantity of rain which fell in those 3 hours was nearly one tenth of the whole average quantity which falls here in a year.

A curious phenomenon of the rains in the Valley of Mexico is the regularity of their recurrence, both as regards the season of the year & the time of the day. The year is regularly divided into two seasons, the rainy & the dry: The former extending from about the first of June to the end of September, the remaining eight months being dry: I mean that absolutely no rain falls during nearly the whole of those eight months. From the middle of October 1865 to the 1st of April following, hardly more water fell in the Valley altogether than you would sprinkle from a watering pot on a dusty floor— Clouds occasionally envelope the summits of the secondary mountain range, & I once saw the loftiest of that range covered with snow for a few hours in the night & early morning; but in the Valley one day of brilliant sunshine succeeds another; Every evening you may

"See the sun set, sure he'll rise to-morrow, Not through a misty morning, twinkling weak,

¹⁹ Martin Luther Smith was born in New York City in 1819, and died in Rome, Georgia, on July 29, 1866. He graduated from West Point in 1842; served in the Mexican War as lieutenant of topographical engineers; became first lieutenant in 1853; was made captain in 1856; and resigned on April 1, 1861. He enlisted in the Confederate army; soon rose to the rank of brigadier-general; commanded a brigade in the defense of New Orleans; was at the head of an engineer corps of the army which planned and constructed the defenses at Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he was made a prisoner; was later made a major-general; and after the close of the war became chief engineer of the Selma, Rome, and Dalton Railroad. Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography, V, 579.

But with all heaven to himself; that day will break, Beautious as cloudless:"

And the temperature is so delightful that one never wearies of the subject; at least I did not: for as I advance

In the dry season, the beauty of the landscape is impaired by the withering of the grass on the plain & on the hill sides. & by the sight of leafless trees; for even in this enchanting climate. "leaves have their time to fall:" & in a visit, in early spring, to the "Canada," a romantic gorge in the mountains that bounded the Valley on the South, I have been reminded of my distant Northern land, when I have heard the dry leaves rustle under my feet in the path which follows the windings of the clear mountain stream "that travels along the wood." But the number of evergreens is very great, & many even of the trees which are deciduous in our latitude do not lose their leaves in Mexico-The ash, a little different from ours, is one of the most common trees; its leaves begin to fall late in December & by the middle of February the tender green is again shooting forth to clothe the tree rapidly in its feathery foliage. There are two remarkably fine ash trees in the village of Tacubaya which were not bare during the whole of last winter-One of them gives a name to the street in which it stands: The "Calle del Arbol Bendito"; The street of the Blessed Tree; because once, when it was thought to be in a state of decay, a priest at the head of a religious procession, bestowed his blessing on the tree which soon resumed its former vigor. Its neighbor in the same street has been equally blessed by the refreshing influence of a fountain over which it throws its broad shade, where the laundresses of the village may always be seen engaged in their lavatory occupations.

In the dry season, the roads, few of which are paved or macadamized, become necessarily pulverized to a considerable depth, & travelers at that time present an uncomfortable spectacle, "Stained with the variation of each soil," betwixt their points of departure & arrival: such as some of us may remember who have crossed New Jersey in the summer time, before the introduction of the Railways. But in the City the annoyance from dust is less than might be supposed; not that the pavements are kept so clean, but because in this rarified region of the atmosphere, where the Barometer stands at 23 inches, instead of 30, storms of wind are infrequent— When they do occur, as sometimes in the month of March, the clouds of dust would do credit to Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, before a thunder storm in August.

Any discomfort which may be felt from heat in the Valley of Mexico results from the immediate influence of the sun; cross to the shady side of the street, or let a cloud obscure the sun, & you no longer feel the heat. At night consequently it is always cool, & in the dry season, which you will remember is the winter, the thermometer sometimes descends to the freezing point, & a thin skim of ice may be seen on

shallow pools of water. In the day time the temperature in the shade stands so uniformly at about 65° that I used to say to a friend that I believed the thermometer at his house contained a piece of steal wire in place of mercury. To give you an idea of the usual temperature of the nights, I may mention a scene at my friend's house in Tacubaya on New Year's eve. A party of young people had assembled there to see the new year in, & instead of gathering round a fire, they adjourned to the garden, where on an open platform, under the light of a full moon, they drank their eggnog & exchanged with each other the good wishes for a happy new year which it is the privilege of sanguine youth to indulge in.

This is the time for long rides on horseback, drives, pic-nics, "dias de campo" (field days) as the Mexicans call them; when no consideration of the weather need influence the choice of a day, or make the selection contingent, & when if any accident should occur, it is no hardship to pass the night, if necessary, in the open air.

In the rainy season the mornings are, with few exceptions, as bright & beautiful as during the rest of the year- One of my pleasures at Mexico was a morning walk to a little public garden in the western part of the City, at the beginning of the rainy season- At 7 or 8 o'clk, in May or June, although the sun is already pretty high & I am clad in woolen garmets, I prefer the sunny side of the street, both for warmth & dryth: The shower of the evening before has laid the dust; the air is soft & balmy; light clouds floating in the atmosphere fleck the green slopes of the western hills with alternate shadow & sunshine; & perhaps on the eastern side of the Valley the summits of the snow mountains glitter above the white clouds which usually hang around them. Passing by the "Bronze Horse," an equestrian statue of Charles IV20 of Spain, which stands at the beginning of the "paseo," or fashionable drive, & crossing the end of the new board "avenue of the Empress," which is terminated by the picturesque hill & castle of Chapultepec,²¹ I enter at the south gate the garden of the Tivoli del Eliseo, the Elysian Trivoli; This is a small space, thickly planted with shade trees, under which, among flowering shrubs & plants are placed latticed pavilions & tables set in the open air; at one of these, regaled by pleasant odors & by the songs of birds, I take my cup of chocolate

²⁰ Charles IV was born in Naples on November 12, 1748, and died in Italy, on January 19, 1819. He was the son of Charles III, whom he succeeded in 1788 as King of Spain. He was completely under the sway of his wife, Maria Louisa Theresa of Parma, who, in 1792, elevated her favorite Godoy to the post of Prime Minister. A revolution having been provoked by the incompetence of the minister, Napoleon embraced the opportunity to expel in 1808 the Bourbons from Spain. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 236.

²¹ There were no buildings on Chapultepec previous to the sixteenth century. About 1785 the viceroy of Mexico, Galvez, began the erection of a palace on this hill, which was made in the form of fort or castle. It was intended for a summer residence as well as a fort. It was not finished until after the revolution and then under the republic a portion of it was used for a military school, and the National Astronomical Observatory was erected on the same hill. The Emperor Maximilian made Chapultepec his principal residence and it is now occupied as a summer residence by the Presidents of Mexico. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 235.

or coffee, which constitutes the usual "desayuno," or early morning repast. Leaving the garden by the north gate I issue on the street called the "Bridge of Alvarado," ²² because tradition points it out as the place where Alvarado made his famous leap over a chasm in the causeway, when Cortes & his followers retreated from the City, on the Noche Triste.

Returning eastward, past the fountain where the arches of the aqueduct of San Cosmé terminate, I enter the Alameda, or public promenade, where a fine military band of about fifty musicians plays three mornings in the week, for the entertainment of numerous loungers, on foot or on horseback, who begin the day by a promenade under the thick shade of the ash trees, if the sun shines brightly, or on the open walks & spaces around the fountains, if it is cloudy & cool—This I think a delightful preparation for the business of the day—

In the fifteen months that I passed in the Valley, I do not think that I saw six mornings, & unless the evening rain has been uncommonly heavy, the side walks are dry by morning; indeed such is the rapidity of evaporation that the streets are often dusty before the next day's rain comes up. But about 2 o'clk the scene usually changes; dark clouds begin to obscure the hills; the distant thunder is heard, & soon the rain descends, sometimes in torrents as I have before mentioned; but oftener in a soft, steady shower, unaccompanied by wind— The rain sometimes falls at a late hour, but rarely continues after 10 o'clk at night—

In July & August, there is often an intermission of the rains for a week or so; & as this is just the time when the sun has passed, a second time, the latitude of Mexico, on his return south, he sheds his heat vertically with great force; but this does not seem to produce an inconvenient increase of heat in the air itself; & I would sit comfortably at my desk, at 3 or 4 o'clk in the day, with the sunlight streaming in at an open west window, all across the room. Often after walking at this season, without an umbrella, under a vertical sun, I would return to my room to read accounts from the United States of people dying of sun stroke in New York & Philadelphia.

²² Pedro de Alvarado was born in Badajoz, Spain, in 1485, and died in Guadalajara, Mexico, on June 4, 1541. He went to the West Indies in 1510; joined the expedition of Valasquez to Cuba, where he received a grant of land; commanded a vessel of Grijalva in an expedition to Yucatan in 1518; and went to Mexico in 1519 with Cortés. He was present at the seizure of Montezuma, and when Cortés went to meet Narváes, Alvarado was left in command of the forces of Mexico. During the absences of Cortés the Indians rose up and besieged the Spaniards in Mexico, and in the disastrous nocturnal retreat on July 1, 1520, Alvarado commanded the rear guard, and escaped with great difficulty, saving his life by leaping a great gap in the causeway, a spot still called "Alvarado's Leap." In subsequent operations, including capture of Mexico City, he took a prominent part. In December, 1523, he took 420 Spaniards and a large force of Indians to conquer Guatemala. After winning several battles he founded the town of Guatemala on July 25, 1524. He was called to Spain to answer to the charge of defrauding the royal treasury, of which charge he was acquitted. He returned to Guatamala in 1530 as governor, with a large number of colonists. With a force of 400 men he invaded Quito in 1531, claiming that that region was not included in the grant made to Pizarro, and thus was open to conquest. He led his men from the coast over mountains where many perished. Near Riobamba he met the forces of Almagro and Benalcazar, and was induced to retire, receiving, as it is said, a large sum of gold from Pizarro. Most of his men remained there. Returning to Guatalama, he took part in the conquest of Honduras, which was added to his government. In 1540 he went to Mexico and was engaged in subduing a revolt in Jalisco, where he died from wounds received from a fall from his horse. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 46.

The remarkable purity & salubrity of the atmosphere, in the Valley of Mexico, are strikingly shown by the general freedom from diseases produced by malaria, under circumstances which, in almost any other climate, would fill the air with pestilence. The city is surrounded & intersected by ditches, which, on account of the small elevation of the ground above lake Texcoco, are filled with water nearly stagnant & covered thickly with vegetable growth: The drains of the city, for the same reason, are very sluggish & often emit offensive odors; many of the surrounding fields are covered with water which is distributed over them to prevent the inundation of the City, by exposing a greater surface to evaporation; and yet, under the influence of a vertical sun, acting on this expanse of water & vegetation, malarious diseases are very rare- At the close of the rainy season, when the unclouded sun shines every day on this wet surface, & when the ground on which the City stands is satuated with moisture, typhoid fevers are apt to occur; but not with the virulence of an epidemic, & few cases of intermittent fever originate there.

The great obstacle to agriculture in Mexico is the liability of the country to long droughts; though the crops are sometimes also destroyed by floods. In a journey from the east coast, in the months of June & July 1854, I travelled several days in constant rain, & wading through mud & water on the low grounds; crossing the first range of mountains, I found many of the valleys so wet that the people had not been able to plant their crops & were just beginning to plough the ground for that purpose. But when, from the summit of the great range of the Sierra Madre, 23 I looked down over the State of Queretaro,24 the scene was one of African desolation; there had been no rain for weeks & the whole surface of the land presented a white & arid aspect. Whilst on the eastern side of the mountains, I had been obliged to encamp & literally to wait, like Horace's 25 simpleton, "dum transeat amnis," until a river should run out, that I might cross it; here the dry beds of the streams often formed my pleasantest roads-The corn that had been planted was shivered & brown, as if a fire had passed over it: thus the planter's hopes are often doomed to disappointment in portions of the country where irrigation cannot be secured by rivers or reservoirs of Water, & he is obliged, in abundant seasons, to lay up something, not for a rainy day, but for a dry one.

²³ Sierra Madre means "mother mountain," or "main range." It is a main range in Mexico and in an extended sense the name is applied to the Rocky Mountain system in New Mexico. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 931.

Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 931.

24 Querétaro is a State in Mexico, surrounded by San Lois Potosi, Hidalgo, Mexico, Michoacan, and Guanajuato. Its area is 3,556 square miles, and its population in 1895 was 227,233. The capital of the State bears the same name and is situated 110 miles northwest of Mexico. It has important manufactures, particularly of cotton. The peace of Guadelupe-Hidalgo was ratified here in 1848, and here Maximilian was besieged and captured in 1867. The population of the city in 1895 was 32,790. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 835.

25 Quintus Horatius Flaccus Horace was born at Venusia, Apulia, on December 8, 65 B.C., and died in Rome on November 27, 8 B.C. This famous Roman lyric and satirical poet was the son of a freedman; was educated at Rome and Athens; served in the republican army at Philippi in 42 B.C.; and enjoyed the patronage of Maecenas, by whom he was presented with a farm or villa in the Sabine hills about 34 B.C. His works are Satires, Odes, Epodes, Epistles, Ars Poetica, and Carmen Seculare. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 513.

These meteorological & climatic details appear to me very curious & they have necessarily an important influence on the habit of life in Mexico- Its serene climate is at present the greatest charm of the country, & it was to me a charm "Never ending, still beginning"- I left the United States the last time under great vexation of mind & depression of spirits, caused by the sad condition of my native country- In writing to a friend, after I had been some months in Mexico, I said: "My health has been uninterrupted & the serenity of the climate seems to be reflected on my mind & spirits." A short time afterwards, in reading a modern french tale by Jules Sandeau, 26 in which he makes his hero, under affliction engage in the army in Algiers where he remains a long time, I found these words: "He only asked henceforth to be permitted to grow old under that beautiful sky, the serenity of which had descended, as it were, into his heart." This similarity of feeling & expression may assist in illustrating the benign influence of the climate on the human system.

I said just now that, even in this delightful climate, "Leaves have their time to fall"; but it would be unjust to apply to Mexico the next of Mrs Hemans'27 lines: "And flowers to wither at the north wind's breath"; For, although the "Norther" (as this wind is called here,) is chilly & uncomfortable, the flowers never wither. They are not so abundant in the dry season as in the summer; but at any season, you may see the black eyed & black haired daughters of the people seated at the street corners, making up their great bouquets of beautiful flowers; Roses of every variety, violets, heart's ease, dahlias, in fact all the flowers to which we are accustomed are combined with the orange flower, cape jessamine, camelia, fuschia, geraniums & many others which are known only as rare plants in our hot houses; for a few reals, (about half a dollar, or less,) one may procure at any time a superb bunch of flowers.

This taste & that for birds these people inherit from their Aztec progenitors, as the reader of Prescott's²⁸ poetic history may remark—

²⁶ Léonard Sylvain Jules Sandeau was born in France on February 19, 1811, and died in Paris on April 24, 1883. This French novelist and dramatist, having made the acquaintance of George Sand, accompanied her to Paris in 1881 to try their fortunes in the world of letters. They lived and worked together and published articles in "Figaro"; but in 1833 Sandeau went to Italy and thus ended their liaison. He returned to Paris in 1834; became the librarian of the Mazarin Library in 1853; and was made curator in 1859. He wrote under joint nom de plume "Jules Sand," in collaboration with George Sand, the novel Rose et Blanche in 1831. Independently he wrote Marianna and other works. With Augler he wrote comedies. He became a member of the Academy in 1858. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX. 892.

¹X, 892.

27 Mrs. Felicia Dorothea Browne Hemans was born in Liverpool, England, on September 25, 1793, and died near Dublin on May 16, 1835. She was an English poetess, best known for her lyrics. Among her other poems are The Vespers of Palermo (1823); The Forest Sanctuary (1826); and Poetical Works, edited by W. M. Rossetti in 1873. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, 1X, 493.

Cyclopedia, IX, 493.

28 William Hickling Prescott was born in Salem, Massachusetts, on May 4, 1796, and died at Boston on January 28, 1859. This noted American historian had the misfortune to be struck in the eye with a piece of bread, thrown by a fellow student at Harvard, a calamity which in a short time rendered him almost totally blind, Notwithstanding this drawback, he was able to make careful researches, principally in Spanish history, employing a reader and using a special writing-case. His principal works are: History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella (1838); Conquest of Mexico (1843); Conquest of Peru (1847); and History of the Reign of Philip II (unfinished, 1855-1858). Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 825.

In the streets of Mexico you will often have offered to you a cage full of humming birds, of several varieties, whose brilliant plumage would be a valuable prize to the cabinet of an academy of Natural Sciences: Poor things! their life of imprisonment is always, I believe, very brief, & notwithstanding the dainty food of sweetened water with which they are supplied, in imitation of the honey they extract from the flowers, their beautiful feathers soon pass into the hands of the native female artists, who prepare from them, with great skill, pictures of birds, flowers & insects. Mocking birds are very numerous, & there is a songster called the "Clarin," from the resemblance of its note to that of a clarinett.

In the City of Mexico I happened to meet with an artist from the United States, Mr Grayson, 29 who has devoted many years to the delineation of the birds of the country, especially of the Northern part where he lived- He is self taught, & having spent a part of his life in the military service in California, he did not take up the occupation of ornithologist, or perhaps even suspect his talent for it, until past middle age; but his beautiful portfolio of Mexican birds vies in splendor, & I believe in accuracy with Audubons, 30 & if published, as he hopes it will be under the auspices of the Mexican Academy of Fine Arts, it will form an admirable continuation of Audubon's work on the Ornithology of North America.

The venomous & troublesome reptiles & insects of which we hear, as the pests of tropical countries, are confined to the hot lands, & they are almost unknown in the cool regions of the table land. I have never been annoyed by mosquitoes in the Valley of Mexico, & mosquito bars are unknown there; Even the common house fly is very little seen in the dwelling rooms- (Water flies) There is however a species of water fly which occur in such vast numbers that the flies are collected by the Indians & sold by measure in the streets as food for birds, & their eggs, obtained from the leaves of water plants, are sold in the market for making fritters which are esteemed a delicacy. I might justly be accused of wilful partiality if I failed to admit the existence on one little insect plague which it seems hard to exclude even from the best regulated houses in Mexico, as in Spain & Italy. I should suspect that troublesome little creature, the flea, of a peculiar fondness for the

²⁹ Doubtless he here refers to Andrew J. Grayson (1819-1869), the author of Natural History of the Tres Marias and of Socorro, by Col. Andrew J. Grayson. The caption title of this work was: "On the Physical Geography and Natural History of the Islands of the Tres Marias and of Socorro," by Col. Andrew J. Grayson. Ed. by George N. Lawrence . . . From the Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History, June 7, 1871. Boston, Press of A. A. Kingman, 1871. (Library of Congress Card Catalogue.)

30 John James Audubon was born near New Orleans, Louisiana, on May 4, 1780, and died in New York on January 27, 1851. This celebrated American ornithologist, of French descent, is chiefly known for his drawings of birds. He was educated in France, where he was a pupil of the artist David, and on his return to the United States he made various unsuccessful attempts to establish himself in business in New York, Louisville, and New Orleans. His time was chiefly devoted to the pursuit of his favorite study, in the prosecution of which he made long excursions on foot through the United States. His chief work, Birds of America, was published in 1827-1830 by subscription, the price of each copy being \$1,000. In 1831-1839 he published Ornithological Biography (5 volumes). His Quadrupeds of America (chiefly by John Bachman and Audubon's sons) appeared in 1846-1854. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 94. pedia, IX, 94.

blood of the Latin race, if I had not found them far more numerous in the Crimea, than in the other countries I have mentioned.

Excusing this little digression on the Aminal kingdom, we pass naturally from the subject of flowers to that of fruits; & here it is difficult to speak without the appearance of exaggeration; for there are few fruits produced in any quarter of the globe which may not be found in the markets of Mexico. The largest market of the city is chiefly taken up with stalls for fruits & vegetables, which constitute the principal food of the great mass of the people; that is, the poorer class. If the market place were neat & well ordered, like a Philadelphia market house, a walk through it in the morning would be a charming diversion, for a stranger, especially. Here, alongside of strawberries, peaches, pears, grapes, melons, apples, & quinces & all the fruits which are successively exposed in our markets, are seen great piles of tropical fruits of every variety; among others, the golden orange, the crimson pomegranate, the luscious pine apple, the nutritious banana, the sweet but cloying Chirimoya, and the juicy mango, with its rich hue of mingled red & olive. Although some of these are more abundant at one time than at another, they seem really to be scarcely ever out of season- In walking one morning through the market with a friend, we counted thirty four varieties of fruits & twenty seven of vegetables exposed for sale at one time.

Truth obliges me to add however, that, with few exceptions, the attractions of this display are addressed more to the eye than to the taste. On account of the invariable coolness of the nights in the table lands, & also, no doubt in part the want of scientific culture, the fruits of the temperate climate, although they grow to a good size, do not attain that perfection of sweetness & flavor which is imparted to them by our hotter & more dense atmosphere, & they would be regarded with little favor at a Horticultural exhibition in this latitude. On the other hand too, the climate of the table land being too cool for the production of the tropical fruits, these have to be brought from the hot lands. The distance, it is true, is not great; for by crossing the mountains, you descend, at the distance of about fifty miles from the city, into the hot fertile region of Cuernavaca, which is in the tierra caliente, & furnishes luxuriously all the tropical productions. But although there is a wagon road between Mexico & Cuernavaca, the fruits from the latter place are brought up in panniers, on the backs of mules, donkeys or men, who are almost equally employed in Mexico as pack animals-The fruit cannot consequently be gathered perfectly ripe, & though they may be had very fine in the City, they want the lusciousness which characterizes them when eaten on their own soil.

Cuernavaca³¹ is a limestone region, & the wonders of the cavern of

³¹ Cuernavaca is the capital of the State of Morelos, Mexico, just forty-seven miles south of the City of Mexico. It was an ancient Indian town; was captured by Cortés before the siege of Mexico; and became his favorite residence. The Emperor Maximilian had a country-seat here. In 1895 its population was only 8,554. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 295.

Cacahuamilpa are said to surpass those of the Mammoth Cave³² in Kentucky.

In my remarks on Mexico it would be inexcusable to omit the mention of two of its most valuable vegetable productions: the banana & the Maguey. Although the former (which is there called Platano) grows only in the hotter portions of the country, the fruit is to be seen every where, & it furnishes a most important element of food, & a very nutritious & palatable one; whether eaten in its natural state, or cut into slices & fried, or dried like the figs which, in that state, it resembles a good deal in taste. Humbolt³³ [sic] estimates that there is no other plant which furnishes, in a given space of ground, anything near to the same quantity of nourishment as is supplied by the bannana [sic], & this you may readily imagine, from seeing the enormous bunches of its fruit which are sometimes brought to this country.

The Maguey is serviceable in a different way. This magnificent plant, the Agave Americana, or American aloe, would be remarkable for its beauty alone. To the age of 7 or 8 years its leaves continue to grow, until they have attained a length of 8 or 10 feet & a thickness at the base of as many inches: If left then to nature the plant shoots forth rapidly a thick central stem, which, at the height of about 30 feet is surmounted by a magnificant coronal or rather clusters of large flowers. But to this beauty it is rarely suffered to attain; for the plant having then as it were accomplished the natural object of its creation, in producing flowers & seeds, perishes & becomes worthless except for fuel- When the planter sees that the stem of the Maguey is about to be formed, he scoops out the heart of the plant, forming the centre into a bowl about 16 inches in diameter & 8 or 10 inches deep, into which is poured for 5 or 6 months, the sap which would have gone to form the stem & flowers- This juice is collected every day by drawing it out with a sort of syphon made of a gourd, & this is pulque, the ordinary & favorite beverage of the Mexicans. It is a whitish fluid, sweet at first, but soon contracting a slight acidity; it is put into bags made of dressed sheep or hog skins, which have been ingeniously stripped from the animals with very little mutilation, & it is thus conveyed daily to

³² The Mammoth Cave in Edmonson County, near Green River, Kentucky, seventy-five miles southwest of Louisville, has been considered the largest known cave. It extends over an area of eight or ten miles in diameter, and consists of numerous chambers connected by avenues which are said to be in the aggregate of 150 miles in length. The stalactitic formations are of great beauty, and the animal inhabitants are of great interest. The cave was discovered in 1809. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 647.

33 Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt was born at Berlin on September 14, 1769, and died there on May 6, 1859. This celebrated scientist and author was educated at the Universities of Frankfort-on-the-Oder and Göttingen. After traveling in Holland, Belgium, and England, he continued his studies at the Mining School in Freiberg. For several years after 1792 he was a mining engineer at Steben, but resigned in 1797 to travel in Switzerland, Italy, and France. In Paris he met Aimé Bonpland, with whom he undertook, from 1799 to 1804, a scientific journey through South America and Mexico. From 1809 to 1827 he lived for the most part in Paris, engaged in scientific work. After 1827 he took up his permanent residence in Berlin. In 1829, at the instance of the Emperor of Prussia, he undertook a scientific expedition to Siberia and the Caspian Sea region. After this he lived in Berlin until his death. The results of his American journey were published in a large series of works and showed much careful research. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 518.

market; for it cannot be kept long without undergoing fermentation, & this is the reason why it is not preserved in wood or glass; When the tension of the skin becomes too great, the pressure of it is easily relieved by untying the mouth & thus they are enabled, without risk, to put new wine into old bottles. Pulque has a peculiar odor which is very offensive to the uninitiated, & which it is said to derive from the skins. It is true, I believe, that when first drawn from the plant the liquor is free from this peculiar odor, but the smell results, I fancy from incipient fermentation & not from the bags. It may be rendered more palatable by being sweetened with sugar, flavored with pine apple or lemon juice, & being left to ferment for a few hours; but in its natural state it is a great favorite with all classes of natives. & immense quantities of it are consumed; & consumption resulting in frequent intemperance; for, although not highly spirituous, pulgue is not, like lager beer, incapable of producing intoxication. Another liquor, much more powerful in its intoxicating effects, is also obtained from the Maguey. For this purpose, when the plant is ready to furnish the pulque, the leaves are cut off & the central part of the plant is split into several pieces & toasted in a smothered fire; it is then ground up & distilled into a strong, clear spirit called Mescal. The best kind of this spirit is not a very bad substitute for the Irish or Scotch whiskey, when taken with a quantum suff. of sugar, lemon & hot water. An inferior mascal is made from the pulque which has, by standing, become unfit to drink; in which state it may also be converted into vinegar.

But the Maguey has many other uses; less pernicious & not less valued by the natives. The fibers of the leaves, when macerated in water, furnish fine strong threads which are used in sewing & are also converted into twine & cordage, & woven into sail cloth, mats, & other much finer fabrics— The strong money bags in which the cumbrous, but substantial, silver currency of Mexico is carried about, are made of this material.

The thin pellicle taken from the mascerated leaves & dried becomes nearly white & served the ancient Mexicans for pepper. The pulp is used instead of soap for washing woolens, & it also serves as a useful plaster for bodily ailments. When you go to a bath a little bird's nest made of fibers of the Maguey is furnished to you for friction of the skin; and your clothes are dusted with a brush made of the same material. The fermented pulque is used for yeast, in making bread.

The thick strong leaves of the plant are used in place of shingles & gutters, for the roofs of cabins; & instead of nails, they are fastened to the boards by means of the hard & sharp pointed spikes which terminate the leaves; these points are used also for needles, or we might rather say, for machine spikes. Lastly, of the uses that I can recollect, the plants form a most efficient hedge for the fields.

With such a climate then as I have endeavored to describe, & such

natural productions, animal, vegetable & mineral, as Mexico possesses, what does this land require to make it an earthly paradise? It wants that without which the scriptural Eden would have been created in vain; a race of beings worthy to inherit such a favored region.

"Strange— that where Nature loved to trace,
As if for Gods, a dwelling place,
And every charm & grace hath mixed,
Within the paradise she fixed,
There man, enamored of distress,
Should mar it into wilderness."

There are few persons who take a more sincere interest in the country than I do; & I do not mean to assert that it is destitute of native inhabitants, endowed with talents, improved by cultivation & refinement; But the proportion of such is too small to leaven the whole mass; a few thousands, among the 8 millions of people, who inhabit the country. When we compare the conduct of the Spaniards towards the natives of the countries which they conquered, with the course of expulsion & extermination pursued by our English ancestors & ourselves towards the Indian population of the northern part of this continent, we must award the merit of comparative humanity to the Spaniards, in spite of the atrocious cruelties which the lust for gold & the Zeal for religion, induced them to inflict. But in the cosmopolitan view of the actual condition of the two portions of the continent, & of their relative position in the social scale & in the scale of nations, we may doubt whether the policy of the Spaniards was the wisest, or the most beneficial to the world at large. Certainly the results of the mixture of the Spanish & native races have not been such as to give much encouragement to the advocates of amalgamation- In the revolution which separated Mexico from Spain, the number of native Spaniards resident in Mexico was so small that the decree for their expulsion from the country, could be carried, almost absolutely, into practical effect; so that there are now very few inhabitants of Mexico whose veins are filled with the "Saugre Azul," the purple blood, which the Spaniards of pure race are proud to boast of.

The manufacturing establishments of the country & the mines, the great sources of wealth at present, are generally under the management of foreigners; French, English, Germans, or Americans; (as the inhabitants of the United States are called there,) & these are also the principal, merchants & shopkeepers, for the importation & sale of articles of foreign production.

The proprietors of the land & governing class consist chiefly of creoles (descendants of Spanish parents,) & of the educated and enlightened members of the mixed race; the other classes of the latter race are the rancheros (farmers) & the handicraftsmen; the domestic servants & laborers. The people of this race are habitually gentle &

amiable in their manners, & exceedingly attentive to the forms of politeness- A common laborer approaching another to ask a light for his cigar, raises or touches his hat before & after lighting the cigar; the footman, & the coachman on his box, takes off his hat & remains uncovered, whilst the master or mistress enters or alights from the carriage. I have seen a ragged "Mozo," driving a lot of donkeys loaded with panniers of manure, approach another of his kind, taking off his hat & giving him the morning salutation, to which the other, also uncovering his head, replies in the usual formula: "Good morning, Sir; how have you passed the night?" although he knows that the poor wretch has passed it lying in his blanket on the earthen floor of his hovel, or on the stone pavement under a gateway or in the open court yard. All this chivalry is very pleasant, & it were muchly to be wished that the sturdy people of some nations who regard themselves as much more advanced in civilization, would not think their dignity & independence compromised by adopting something of this soft manner & deference in their intercourse with each other.

Like the polite & dignified Spaniard, the Mexican gentleman, in writing you a note, does not put at the top of the page his own address, but dates it from "Su casa de usted"; "from your house," & at the close, if necessary, he tells you where "your house" is situated. This custom of the Spaniard and Mexican, of putting his house at your disposal, we are accustomed to regard as a meaningless exaggeration of civility; but it always gives me pleasure to remember several cases, in my travels in Mexico, where it proved to be a good deal more than mere ceremony. In many, perhaps most parts of the country, there are no inns, in our sense of the word: the traveler takes with him his own bedding & conveniences, all that the "Meson" furnishes in the way of accommodation being the four walls of a room, which has probably an earthen floor & no window. On one occasion I was traveling with three companions, a guide & two servants, all mounted of course, & four pack mules; forming quite a little cavalcade— at a house where we had been very hospitably entertained by a government officer, I fortunately procured letters to the principal man in the village which was to be our next stopping place—On approaching the village I sent my guide ahead to procure lodgings, & on riding up soon after him, I found him at the door of a house, in conversation with the owner, whose hospitality he seemed to have been asking; for the gentleman was referring him to the Alcade, 34 as the proper person to provide lodging for strangers. It occured to me to ask the name of the gentleman, & finding him to be Don Felix Castillo, to whom my letters were addressed, I handed them to him. As soon as he glanced at them he said: "Oh! these gentlemen are my very good friends"; then turning to me: "Señor, Stà in su casa." "Sir, you are in your own house"- And so indeed it proved; for

³⁴ In Spanish countries an alcalde is an official having the powers of a mayor and a judge. This official held an important position in colonial Spanish America. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, I, 131.

he entertained us & the whole cavalcade with the greatest liberality for the night, & would receive no compensation: "No! I am a rich man, I can afford it." This rich man lived in a rambling sort of a thatched house, of one story, & I believe an earthen floor, at least in part.

Of the middle class of this race a Mexican writer who drew up, in the time of the Republic, statistical notes of the State of Queretaro, for its Legislature, says: "The Ranchero is mild, humble, very sturdy at his work; but he is not sincere: (noes franco) he is wanting in that fine quality. Even a favor conferred does not gratify him unless he obtains it by indirection & deceit. Dissimulation is his element in every thing relating to his own interest." Although the writer adds that he is faithful to the interests of others entrusted to him, I fear that his remarks are to be regarded as a gentle admission of the want of truth & honesty, of which foreigners generally complain in this race of Mexicans. If these virtues & that of cleanliness could be instilled into the working people of this class there would be little cause to complain of their services; for they are patient, attentive, obedient, & sufficiently skilful.

They are fanatical in religion, & of course strictly observant of all its forms; & if the priesthood possessed an elevated moral character, their influence might, no doubt, be exerted with great effect in reforming the character of the people. Although a Mexican peasant does not, like a Russian, kneel & say a prayer whenever he passes in front of a church, yet he generally lifts his hat, & if the church bell is tolling the hour of morning or evening prayer, or announcing the celebration of the mass, he uncovers his head whilst he crosses himself & joins in the prayer- When the tinkle of a little bell announces the approach of a priest bearing the consecrated wafer to the death bed of a dying sinner, the devout believers in the real presence, may be seen, kneeling at the door, on the side walk, or in the muddy or dusty streets, wherever they may happen to be. This genuflexion is no longer required, as formerly, for all persons; but nearly all men, think it becoming to pay respect to the genus loci, by removing their hats as the carriage containing the host passes by them.

About one half of the population of Mexico consists of Indians of pure race. One of this race will occasionally rise to distinction, like Juarez, 35 by dint of talents & energy; but the mass are no more than

³⁵ Benito Pablo Juarez was born in Guelatao, Oajaca, on March 21, 1806, and died at Mexico City on July 18, 1872. He developed into a noted Mexican liberal politician of pure Indian blood. He was banished in 1853 by Santa Anna, but returned in 1855; was minister of justice under Alvarez; and in 1857 was elected president of the supreme court and vice-president of Mexico. After the fall of Comonfort (January, 1858) he became President of Mexico by succession. Revolutionists seized the government, but in December, 1860, he triumphed over his enemies after a bloody civil war. He was elected President in 1861, but the invasion of Mexico in December, 1861, by the forces of England, France, and Spain in the interest of foreign bond-holders ended in the occupation of Mexico City by French troops in June, 1863, and the proclamation of an empire under Maximilian. Juarez retreated to the northern frontier, but upon the withdrawal of France's army in January, 1867, he quickly gained strength. Maximilian was captured and shot. Juarez entered Mexico City and was elected President again in 1867, but revolts continued. Although he was re-elected in 1871, he was unable to put down the revolts in the northern states up to the time he died. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 553.

hewers of wood & drawers of water for the rest of the population. By their relations of indebtedness to the owners of the soil, they become in some measure attached to the glebe, & they compose therefore the great body of agricultural laborers. The writer whom I have just quoted says of them: "The Indian is quiet, patient, apathetic where his interests are not immediately concerned; but quarrelsome & quick when they are interfered [sic] with. Monotonous in his habits he does to-day what he did yesterday & will repeat to-morrow. The plough & the pick are the objects of his care; indian corn, frijoles & some spontaneous fruits of the earth constitute his food. He is a superstitious believer, & the savings of his labor are spent in religious dances, which are conducted as if they were the most august ceremonies. He is indifferent, in short, to every thing: the country, the government & its institutions; nothing excites him which does not interfere with his quiet- The cost of maintaining himself, his wife & three children does not exceed a dollar a week"-

This character, no doubt faithful, is, in many respects not unlike that of the northern Indians, and the appearance of the aborigines of Mexico does not altogether belie the moral resemblance. In the more retired parts of the country, as the isthmus of Tehuantepec³⁶ & the mountains, the Indians retain their own dialects & are not acquainted with the Spanish; I have found this the case on the Sierra Madre, not far from the settlements; but in the neighborhood of cities, as in the Valley of Mexico, they speak the Spanish language—In the streets of Mexico, they may at any time be seen, loaded with packs of charcoal, or with paniers of earthen ware, fruit &c; sometimes driving a donkey with a load not greater than that of the biped who conducts him- The women & children have their proportionate burdens, & as no body is left at home, the woman often carries a child wrapped in her "rebozo"; with its black head bobbing, or resting asleep on the mother's bare shoulder & its little legs dangling out below- Their clothing is very scant & generally in rags; that of the man may be a pair of cotton trousers & a "serape" or blanket, with a "sombrero," or broad straw hat probably of his own manufacture: The woman has a skirt of dark cloth & a rebozo, or colored cotton scarf; her head protected only by its natural covering of thick, black & matted hair; The utmost attempt for a shoe, for either sex, is a leather sole fastened to the foot with thongs, something in the classical style of the ancient Masters of the World. With stolid looks they trot along under their heavy burdens which they have brought from the mountains or beyond them, & when they have disposed of it they return to their miserable huts of mud or reeds, to their supper of tortillas & frijoles & their lodgings on the

³⁶ The Isthmus of Tehuantepec is in southeastern Mexico, between the Bay of Campeche on the north and the Gulf of Tehuantepec on the south. The width of the narrowest part is about 120 miles. The mountain lands are here somewhat interrupted, and there are several passes below 900 feet. A railway crosses it and a canal and a ship-railway have been projected. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 983.

cold ground. I have passed a night in one of these huts & became acquainted with the whole domestic economy- It was about 12 feet square, & of such a height that standing on the ground I could buckle my pistol belt round a rafter: Besides my party of five persons, there were the man & his wife & five children to be lodged. As I lay on my cloak, with my head resting on my saddle, I could see the stars through the chinks in the roof & sides of the cabin, (for it was on a high mountain,) The poor woman regaled us with the best fare she had, tortillas & beans simply boiled in water, on a fire in the centre of the hut. Tortillas are cakes of indian [sic] corn ground by a peculiar process: The corn is soaked over night in lime water, to remove the husk, & it is mashed to a pulp on a hollowed stone, by means of a spindle shaped stone which the woman on her knees holds with both hands, like a rolling pin: This pulp is made into a thin cake by patting a portion of it between the hands, & it is baked on an iron or earthen gridle. This & "frijoles," (beans) cooked with lard, form an indispensable accompaniment of breakfast to the poorer classes, & may very generally be found on the tables of the better class- For the poor, the principal addition to their meal is the "Chile" or pepper, like our bell pepper, of which great use is made in all their cooking, & very savory messes they make with it, I think- These remarks on the culinary art are no digression from the subject of the Mexican Indians, for it is from them that these processes of the art are derived; & the people are so unwilling to give them up that the efforts heretofore made to substitute the operation of a mill for that of the "Metate," or stone, on which the corn is ground, have been thus far unsuccessful.

I have mentioned that the Indians are superstitious in their religion. They are counted as Christians, & priests, usually of their own race, or of the mixed race, are to be found every where among them; but with the liberal policy of the Catholic church, the priests are allowed to look with a good deal of indulgence on religious practices which partake very much of the former idolatry- Their holy days are celebrated with fire works, dances around the altar in the church & processions of images in the streets- It is even said that, in some parts of the country, the ancient idols are preserved & occasionally worshiped in secret- Our Lady of Guadalupe, the hereditary deity of Mexico, (as the Romans would have called her,) is an Indian manifestation of divinity- You may read in Prescott's history, the tradition of her miraculous appearance, soon after the Spanish conquest, to a poor Indian, on the hill of Guadalupe, near the Capital. Here, in a magnificant church is still preserved the picture impressed on the Indian's blanket, by which she manifested her presence. This shrine is accordingly an object of special veneration to the Indians, who assemble around it on the 12th of every month. On the 12th of December, the anniversary of the Miraculous Event, immense crowds are collected there; & under the cloudless sky of that season of the year, the day is celebrated by a procession of the highest temporal & clerical authorities of the land, to hear high mass in this beautiful temple, which is profusely ornamented with oak carvings, with gilding; & with balustrades & furniture of silver. The highest distinction which the ruler of Mexico can confer, for military or civic merit is the ribbon & silver star of the order which bears the effigy of our Lady of Guadalupe.

The mixed race of Mexicans are almost universally of small stature, & of defective physical organization, as is usually the case in a mixture of races. In no city perhaps in the world, of whatever population, are there so many cases of blindness, partial or total, as in Mexico: This is the result of small pox & other diseases, acting on feeble constitutions, more than of sudden changes of temperature & of light, from shade to sunshine, to which blindness is often attributed there; Poverty, & filth, wretched clothing & lodgings & want of good medical care, continue with other causes to multiply the causes of deformity & disease which so often offend the eye of the stranger in the city: I might add to these causes, the prevalent use of a vegetable & fruit diet:

"For, though man's anatomical construction
Bears vegetables, in a grumbling way,
Your laboring people think, beyond all question,
Beef, veal & mutton better for digestion."

But, on the other hand, to say nothing of other countries, the most remarkable instances of strength & endurance in Mexico, are to be found among the Indians & laborers; the very class that are almost exclusively nourished by vegetable diet- I have spoken of the loads which the Indians carry, often equal to those borne by the quadruped beasts that accompany them-So with the "cargadores" & "aguadores." The porters & water carriers, who form a numerous class of the population, carrying loads hardly less than are borne by those of the same class in Constantinople, Rio Janeiro, & other places where transportation is performed principally on the heads of men. If you wish to remove your furniture from one house to another, you send for two or three cargadores; one of them takes on his back your wardrobe, with half of its contents perhaps untouched; another your bedstead & bedding, with a few tables & chairs for make weight, & they trot off to the new abode. The weight rests on a cushion on the back (appropriately called a "mula," or mule,) & is retained in place by a strap passed around the forehead. The aguador thus carries his principal load of water, in an earthen jar of some eight or ten gallons capacity, to balance which he suspends a smaller jar in front, by a strap passing round the back of the head, & these he carries, if necessary, to the upper stories of the house.

One cause no doubt of the frequency with which cases of deformity & disease obtrude themselves on the sight, in Mexico, is to be found in the imperfect organization of charitable asylums, & another in the nature of the climate which induces all the poor, whether sick or well, to exchange as much as possible their damp & ill-ventilated lodgings for the warm sunshine & the open air— Lepers are now only occasionally seen, as some care is taken to send to the hospitals those afflicted with that revolting malady—

In some districts of country the people are really handsome, & outside of the cities, here as elsewhere, a more robust population is found, though hardly less filthy & ragged.

The mixture of African blood in the population of Mexico is so small as to be hardly appreciable.

The Mexicans are by no means deficient in intellect or talent; They are fond of music, & the young people of both sexes cultivate it with success; The poorer class evincing their fondness for it by performing on such simple instruments as they can command. They make, with a great deal of taste, the feather pictures which I have before mentioned, & they are particularly skilful in moulding figures in wax, rags or clay, representing the costumes, occupations & amusements of the people— At the academy of San Carlos I have seen very creditable works of painting & sculpture by native artists, & the meritorious, bronze equestrian statue of Charles IV, on the paseo, was the work of a Mexican artist unaided by any opportunity of foreign instruction.

If the qualities which I have attributed to the people, do not furnish evidence of a high order of civilization, they authorize at least the hope of improvement, by means of good influences acting on a docile & intelligent people.

My fair readers may wish to learn something about the domestic life & the management of a Mexican household of the better class- On this subject I cannot speak "avec connaisance de cause," as in the case the Indian hut; but I will mention some things which came under my own observation- The houses of the better class, both in town & country, are built very much on the plan which prevails in Southern Europe. The principal entrance is a porte cochère, through which you drive into a "patio," or paved court enclosed by the dwelling. At the further side, or in another court yard beyond, are the stables & coach house; the lower rooms in front & at the sides, are generally used, in the cities, for shops or warehouses. In the country the patio is often a flower garden, with paved walks & perhaps a fountain in the centre, & it is surrounded by corridors & the best rooms, the doors of which open on this cheerful looking court, & the windows on the lawn or garden- The houses, even in cities, are scarcely ever more than three stories high; the basement or ground floor, the entresuelo or intermediate story, generally low pitched, & the third floor, containing the finest apartments; large, airy rooms, with lofty ceilings; the stairs are of stone & the rooms & corridors are generally paved with large square bricks or tiles, which are at all seasons covered with carpets, or mats; The flat rooms are also formed of brick pavements & constitute a pleasant place of resort in the morning or evening.

There being no frost & the changes of temperature being very slight, these roofs are little liable to leak on account of the opening of the joints by contraction & expansion of the materials.- With this mode of construction there is great security from conflagrations, of which besides there is little risk, as there are very few chimneys or fire places even for the kitchens- In some houses occupied by forigners, natives of colder regions, fire places have been made & chimney flues cut out of the thick walls. Seeing one of these in a gentleman's house of the country, I remarked on it, saying: "It is cold here, I suppose, in the winter." "Not so much in the winter," he replied, "as in the rainy season, when it is damp & chilly in the evenings"- It is sometimes agreeable also to have a little fire in the winter, but then you are sure of a source of heat from an unclouded sun during the day, & by closing the doors & windows the rooms are made comfortable in the evening; at night you always require the covering of a blanket; & even of two, in mid winter & mid summer.

The apartments are usually arranged so as to be occupied in suits by several families, having separate kitchens even on the same floor; the rooms besides communicating directly with each other, all open on a corridor running round the interior of the building—This corridor is generally ornamented with large pots of flowering plants, & is sometimes enclosed with glass & furnished with seats & pictures, forming a pleasant lounge or sitting room. The windows on the streets have balconies for the indulgence of sight seers, which on festive occasions are hung with appropriate drapery, flags & lanterns.

In the house arrangements not much trouble is usually taken to provide accommodations for servants—Wrapped in a blanket, the man or woman of this class, sleeps on the floor of the kitchen or the corridor, if there is no servant's room provided.

The usual cooking arrangement consists of a range of stew holes & ovens, with a separate fire under each; very convenient & well adapted to a mild climate. As the fuel is charcoal, no large chimney is required, but only a small flue or a hole in the ceiling to carry off the gas & steam. The cooking utensils of the Mexicans are generally very simple, consisting chiefly of earthen vessels of various shapes & sizes which are made by the Indians & sold for a few cents; & it is surprising what a variety of savory messes are concocted with this rude apparatus— I at least have always been content, when thrown on the resources of native cooks; but it is true that this was often after a long fast & perhaps after a long day's ride. The experienced traveller,

however, learns to accommodate himself to circumstances in this respect, & I have always found that where men live, it is not difficult to eatt [sic] & be satisfied: Whether partaking of roast beef with the Englishman; or singed sheeps head & oatmeal bannocks, with the Scotchman; or brown bread flavored with anniseed, with the Swede; or black bread & cabbage soup, (Bèhitschi") with the Russian; or Sauer Kraut with the German; or Kibabs & pillaer, with the Turk; or Macaroni, with the Italian; or riz de veau & foie gras, with the frenchman; or pumpkin pie, with the Yankee; or corn doings & chicken fixings, with the Hoosier; or frijoles, tortillas & chilés, with the Mexican.

As very few perishable provisions are kept, from day to day, in Mexico, but little storeroom is required in house keeping- The butler or cook is furnished every day, or every week, with a certain sum to expend in the purchase of meat, vegetables, fruits, & charcoal to cook with, if you do not choose to buy coal by the "Carga" or load. Milk is usually procured "al pié de la vaca," at the cow's foot: that is to say, the cows are driven into the city & kept at certain open places, to be milked as the customer requires. As I have said that the class from which the servants are taken are not proverbial for honesty, it may be supposed that the purchasing agent makes his or her own profit out of the transaction, & the infection of insincerity is very apt to be taken by foreign servants: An English cook said to a friend of mine who proposed to save her trouble by sending the man servant to market: "I am not used to have other people market for me; how do you suppose I laid by them \$3,000, whilst I was living with Mr K., except from the saving in the marketing?" This money making operation however is probably known to servants in other countries, or I should hesitate to publish it here.

Of the inner social life & habits of the Mexicans I cannot say much, as an imperfect knowledge of the language would have restricted my intercourse with them, Even if the habitual Spanish reserve which they inherit did not place a certain restraint on familiar association with strangers. The usual, rather theatrical looking embrace with which ladies, & sometimes gentlemen, accost each other means no more, I fancy, than the hand shake of English or American acquaintances- The beautiful mornings tempt many of both sexes to enjoy the air & take exercise on horse back; & a Mexican family will pinch themselves in other expenses to obtain the means of taking the regular evening drive on the Paseo- This is a wide road planted with trees, where all the people of fashion, especially the ladies, parade in their best dresses; the carriages following each other in a stately & rather monotonous procession, & drawing up in line near the central fountain, that their inmates may receive the salutations of the cavaliers as they prance by. Here the Mexican dandy is seen in his glory: with his

white sombrero & his velvet jacket embroidered with silver; his leather or cloth overalls fastened with thick rows of silver buttons down the sides; his Saddle with broad silver plated Pommel, the seat, skirts & wide stirrup leathers & bridle richly embroidered with the same material; his chaperaras, or hairy Saddle bags, surmounted by a gay serape strapped behind the saddle; he shows off himself & his horse by practising the tricks & caracoles which he had been at great pains to teach the animal. Notwithstanding the prevalence of a national costume, the style & color of dress are so various & so gay that no peculiarity or eccentricity seems to attract much notice by its strangeness. At church, or in the holy week, black is considered the proper dress for the ladies; the inconvenient bonnet is not worn, but in stead, their own luxurious black hair, fastened with a gorgeous comb, & fully covered by a lace mantilla or a rebozo, according to the rank & means of the wearer.

The city of Mexico, containing about 200,000 inhabitants, is so compactly built that it occupies a comparatively small space of ground; the main part of the buildings being in an area of less than two miles square— It is regularly laid out, the principal streets, crossing each other nearly at right angles. The central plaza, or principal square, has the palace on one side, the Cathedral on another & shops with arcades in front of them on the two other sides— It is quite spacious & the central part has been recently embellished, under the direction of the Emperor, by planting trees & beds of flowers, & providing seats for the numerous loungers who frequent it in the mornings & evenings—The Cathedral is an imposing building from its great size, but it is not otherwise remarkable: It stands on the site of the great Teocalli³⁷ or lofty temple of the Aztecs, of whose works however hardly a vestige is seen except the curious calendar stone which is preserved by having been attached upright to the west wall of the church—

The liability to Earthquakes causes the houses to be built low, which prevents any great architectural display; but the style of the better class of houses is very tasteful. They are built of stone, but the masonry is usually rough, being composed of stones of irregular shapes. By making the walls very thick however, the structures are rendered sufficiently solid, & when the face stones are not dressed, their exterior appearance is improved by the use of stucco, which like the mortar

³⁷ Teocalli is a general name applied to any pyramidal temple in ancient Mexico, in particular the great temple in Tenochtitlan of Mexico City. It was completed about 1486 by Ahuitzotl. It was an artificial truncated pyramid faced with stone and about 375 feet long and 300 feet broad at its base and 325 by 250 feet at its top and eighty-six feet high. In ascending to the top it was necessary to pass five times around the temple on a series of terraces. This arrangement was well adapted to exhibit processions as well as for defense. On the flat surface were several buildings, with the images of Huit-Zilopochtli and other gods and the sacrificial stone. The pyramid was surrounded by a stone wall nearly 5,000 feet in circumference and probably enclosing other but smaller temples. The great Teocalli was the scene of several fierce battles between the Spaniards and Indians in 1520-1521. After the city was taken the pyramid was torn down and a part of its site is now occupied by the cathedral. Some of the sculptured stones and idols, which were on or near it, are now in the Mexican National Museum. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 986.

hardens quickly & well in that mild & uniform climate- On account of the Earthquakes also, the ceilings of the rooms, when they do not show the joists of the roof or upper stories, (like the cedar beams of one of the principal rooms in the palace,) are formed with canvass stretched tight & painful in a very neat & tasteful style of ornament.

The city is very well lighted with petroleum lamps; these were formerly suspended to long iron brackets attached to the sides of the houses; but they have been recently hung in the centre of the principal streets, on iron wires stretched across from houses to house: This arrangement is economical & answers very well for lighting the street. The lamps are not let down, to be cleaned & lighted, as they formerly were in Paris, where the cords of the "lanterns" were found so convenient, during the revolution, for suspending other illuminati. In Mexico the slaves of the lamp carry very high step ladders to reach them, & they wear swords by their sides, which looks ridiculous enough when they are engaged in this occupation; but they are also the city watchmen, & like others of their tribe, at least in old times, they may often be seen comfortably sleeping in a door way, while their lanterns, burning on the edge of the side walk in front, serve as a warning to evil doers- During my residence there the police of the city was excellent, & in going about at night I have never known its quiet disturbed by riot or noise. A contract has been made with an English company for lighting the Capital & several other cities with gas, an improvement which will probably be realized some day; but the want of bituminous coal & of roads to transport it on are serious obstacles to the enterprise.

The city of Mexico is supplied with water by two stone acqueducts, which like most other great improvements there, are the work of the Spanish Viceroys. 38 They are raised on arches which stretch over the plain, like the more grand & lofty aqueducts over the Campagna of Rome.³⁹ One of them brings water from a fine spring on the hill of Chapultepec; the other from a much greater distance. To some of the

³⁸ Not all the viceroys in Spanish America had the same power. There were some seventy laws dealing with their powers and duties. In general he was the chief colonial officer, ruling over a vast district, representing the Spanish monarch. He exercised supreme governmental authority, and was to administer justice equally to all Spanish subjects and vassals and to study everything that might promote the pacification, tranquility, and welfare of the provinces just as the king would do if he were present in person. He was chief financial agent of the viceroyalty; was captain, general, president, and viceroy within a special district; was president of the audiencia; was chief civil ruler of the province; and was expected to be a patron of the monasteries and hospitals, protector of the poor, and defender of the oppressed. He was the king's alter ego. The vast viceroyalties were carved up into districts, each of which was under a captain general with powers almost independent of the viceroy except in military affairs, but not all the captain generals possessed the same powers. The judicial system was rather complex. At the top was the audiencia of the viceroyalty or other districts under governors, alcalde mayores, and corregidors. William Spence Robertson, History of the Latin American Nations, pp. 93-99.

39 Campagna di Roma is a large plain in Italy, surrounding Rome, lying between the Mediterranean and the Sabine and Alban mountains. It is of volcanic formation and has been for centuries noted for its malarious climate, though in antiquity it was covered with villas and towns and was brought to a high state of cultivation. It has now been reclaimed in part. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 208.

houses, especially the modern built ones, the water is conducted in pipes; but the greater part of it is deposited in fountains, in various parts of the city, from which it is distributed to the houses by the patient laborious aguadores or water carriers— The water from the spring of Chapultepec is clear, but not so soft & wholesome as that brought by the aqueduct of San Cosmé; but the latter being generally muddy, especially in the rainy season, all houses of the better class are provided with filtering stones, which are hollowed out by the Indians from a porous rock found in the mountains. The water thus filtered & received in jars of porous earthen ware, is delightfully cool, & the want of ice is not felt. But the confectioners are regularly & well supplied at all seasons with ice brought from the snow mountains on the backs of mules & at a modest price.

You have heard the saying: "There is reason in the roasting of an egg. This is exemplified in Mexico by the fact that the three minutes allowed here for boiling an egg would not there be sufficient for that purpose.— On account of the rarefaction & consequent diminished pressure of the atmosphere, water boils in the valley of Mexico, at the temperature of about 198° Fahr. instead of 212°, as with us; hence a longer time must be allowed for the boiling of your egg to the exact consistency.

Strangers in Mexico often complain of oppression of the lungs in breathing "The difficult air of the high mountain top"— You feel this quite sensibly at first, in ascending a hill, or going quickly up stairs; but the effect soon wears off when one becomes accustomed to the native practice of taking things quietly. Mexican ladies rarely if ever walk for exercise & they are seldom to be seen on the streets except in carriages or on horseback— Even the cool & pleasant Alameda, is little frequented by the world of fashion, except to drive or ride on the carriage road which surrounds it, when on their way to or from the Paseo; stopping sometimes to listen to the music of the band.

During Lent they abstain, in a spirit of self denial, I suppose, from driving on the New Paseo, as it is called—This drive is then quite deserted & custom required that they should drive instead on the old Paseo de la Viga, which is a fine road along the bank of the Canal that conducts the waters of Lakes Chalco⁴⁰ & Xochimileo⁴¹ into lake Texcoco, the lowest basin in the valley. This canal is bordered by vegetable & flower gardens to which it affords the means of irrigation in the dry season; the water of the first mentioned lakes being fresh, although that of Texcoco is strongly impregnated with salts. In former

⁴⁰ Lake Chalco is a rather small lake some twenty miles southeast of Mexico City. On the east side of this lake is the village of Chalco, which before the Spanish conquest was one of the most important pueblos of the Mexican valley. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 232.

⁴¹ Xochimilco (field of flowers) is one of the lakes of the Mexican valley, about seven miles south-southeast of Mexico City. It is separated from Lake Chalco by only a narrow causeway. At the time of the Spanish conquest it was nearly or quite confluent with the Lake Texcuco, which surrounded Mexico. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1074.

times, when all this part of the valley was covered with water, many of these gardens, "chinampas" as they are called, floated on the surface, upheld by a sort of raft of reeds & roots; but none of these are now to be seen, & the chinampa of the present day is merely a narrow slip of ground surrounded by wet ditches from which the water for irrigating it is taken.

On Sunday evenings, especially about Easter time, the Canal presents a very gay appearance, being crowded with boats in which parties of men & women, in bright colored dresses & crowned with garlands of roses & poppies, enjoying the air & amuse themselves, in their own fashion, with a quiet sort of dance, to the music of a guitar; good humor & sobriety prevail over this pleasing scene. In all public places the quiet & decent behavior of the people is remarkable & very agreeable, although one might wish them to be a little more demonstrative. I have seen on the Plaza an exhibition of fire works which would do credit to any city, witnessed by a dense crowd of people, equal in number perhaps to one third the population of the place, from whom not a shout or sound of approbation manifested their gratification at the display- An ill-natured enemy of the Imperial government might say that, as the particular occasion referred to was the Emperor's birthday, the silence of the people might indicate their indifference or dislike to the chief of the Government. But, besides that this feeling would have been more decidedly manifested by abstaining from the show. I have observed the same apathy on occasions of their own national festivals; as for instance in the public celebration of the anniversary of Independence⁴² on the 16th September 1865. One of the prettiest spectacles that I ever saw in a theatre, so far as the audience was concerned, was on the evening of that day, in the Imperial Theatre. The Emperor had engaged all the places of public amusement, which wer [sic] thrown open gratis to the first comers, except the Opera House where the company was admitted by special tickets of invitation, one of which I was fortunate enough to procure. The Emperor & Empress were present, & the audience were of course attired in their best; the ladies resplendent with silks & diamonds, & the military & other official gentlemen in embroidered uniforms, decorated with stars & medals. The programme announced that no applause was to be given

⁴²The contest for independence in Mexico was a long-drawn-out affair. When Napoleon forced Charles IV to abdicate the throne of Spain in honor of his son Ferdinand VII on March 19, 1808, the whole of Spanish America was perturbed, but when Joseph Bonaparte, after Ferdinand VII was carried to France a virtual prisoner, was proclaimed King of Spain on July 8, 1808, all of Hispanic America was convulsed. The separatist tendencies under Hidalgo and Morelos, however, had very hard sledding. A Mexican Congress of Chilpancingo, however, on November 6, 1813, proclaimed a declaration of independence. Between 1817 and 1820 the cause of independence declined in Mexico, but the revolt in Spain in 1820 against the forces of reaction under Ferdinand VII, in favor of the Spanish constitution of 1812, rekindled the flames of freedom in Mexico. The Plan of Iguala of February 24, 1821, was a crude pronunciamento which contained a declaration of independence and a form of government. On August 24, 1821, Viceroy O'Donojú, after the former viceroy was deposed by his own troops, signed the Treaty of Cordoba with the revolutionary leaders. And, on September 28, 1821, the day after the victorious army under Iturbide marched into Mexico City, the junta signed an act that declared the independence of the Mexican Empire. Robertson, History of Latin American Nations, pp. 161-169, 178-182.

unless the example was set by their Majesties, & as this did not occur, the performance, including the singing of the National Hymn, by the whole opera troop, passed off without the slightest public expression of the gratification which, I am sure, all must have felt on the occasion.

To a northern eye the display of female beauty in such an assemblage in Mexico is not striking; but the manners of the ladies are remarkably gentle & pleasing, and their "Voice is ever soft & low; an excellent thing in woman."

Religious festivals consume much of the time of the people & the frequency of them is much complained of by the industrious foreigners, whose money making operations are thus seriously interfered with. On Sundays, as usual in Catholic countries, work is not altogether suspended, especially in the morning; but the day is mostly devoted, after the morning mass, to amusement & excursions to the country, & Monday is very apt to feel its influence on industry- Then, besides several National festivals, & other minor feats, there is on an average a great church holiday once a month, when the people are enjoined to abstain from secular occupations; the shops & factories are closed & these days also are chiefly given to pleasure parties & perhaps dissipation. Many of these days have their peculiar customs which are very amusing to the stranger: Thus in Easter week, during several days, wheeled carriages & beasts of burden are excluded from the streets; the places for the sale of intoxicating liquors even of pulque, are closed; Stalls decorated with evergreens & flowers; for the sale of innocent beverages, lemonade, sherbets &c, are erected at the street corners & on the public squares, The streets are crowded with people, & the quiet is disturbed only by the noise of the rattles, of every imaginable form & of all sizes, from that of a penny to that of a small carriage wheel, which the children & many grown people carry or roll about, accompanied by hideous effigies of Judas. On St John the Baptist's day, 43 the children are dressed up as soldiers, & parade the streets & have the mock balls on the square, in front of the cathedral. On All Saints day,44 the toys exposed for sale, have all a mortuary character: Skeletons, death's heads & cross bones, coffins, tombstones, &c, in wood, plaster & sugar: in the evening the fashionable people, (the ladies in bonnets for that occasion,) promenade round & round, to the sound of music, in a great circular canvass pavilion, erected in the centre of the plaza- In the day time, as in other Catholic countries, they dress in black & visit the cemeteries, to strew flowers on the graves of relatives & friends.

⁴³ Saint John the Baptist's Day is celebrated on June 24. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XI, 259-60.

⁴⁴ All Saints' Day is a feast observed for all the martyrs and saints. It was observed as early as the fourth century. In the Greek Church it is the first Sunday after Pentecost. In the Latin Church it was formerly the thirteenth of May, but since the time of Pope Gregory III it has been celebrated on November the first. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia (1911), VI, 5307.

But it would require more space than I can bestow, to give an idea of the numerous religious celebrations in which this simple people are encouraged to indulge- Seeing how little real benefit the priesthood seem to have conferred on the country we cannot regret that their influence & power have been reduced by the strong but necessary measure taken by the last Republican Government, 45 (that of Juarez,) in suppressing many of the religious establishments & sequestering a large part of the property which was held by the church, in an unproductive state, to say the least. If this measure had been followed up to its legitimate consequences, the vast property thus confiscated would have furnished immense resources for the regeneration of the country & for its relief from the heavy burdens of taxation & foreign debt-But with the usual want of Sincerity, (to use our mild term,) which characterizes the operations of government in Mexico, the property has passed, by favoritism, into private hands, with little benefit to the National Treasury; & it can only be restored to its proper destination by another act of the Government as arbitrary as that by which it was taken from the clergy.

The house in which I passed the greater part of my time in Mexico is built on, I may say out of, a corner of the immense convent of San Francisco, in the heart of the City. The establishment covered a very large space of ground, & contained seven churches, & a large botanic garden: Two wide streets have been cut through it & good houses erected on them. The principal church is still standing, though surrounded by dwellings & not used for religious purposes: Its towers, adjoining the building in which I lived, bear sad evidences of the disordered condition of the country, being full of holes made by cannon balls fired into the city during one of the many political convulsions which have shattered the social fabric of Mexico more than Earthquakes ever did the physical.

This remark naturally suggests the subject of the political condition of the country, on which however I cannot venture to dwell, & do not consider myself competent to speak; for I have not meddled with it, nor attempted to study it. No man, however, can shut his eyes to what is daily passing around him, & when I left Mexico it seemed to be approaching on [e] of those political *crises* which have been so frequent in its recent history. A crisis there appears to be regarded like a water spout: a danger to be averted by the firing of cannon: I remember one which was successfully encountered in that way, in the country of which we are speaking. During the occupation of the city

⁴⁵ In January, 1858, Benito Pablo Juarez became President of Mexico, but he had revolutions to contend with on all sides. The revolutionists seized the government, but Juarez won over them in 1860. He was elected President in 1861, only to meet with home and foreign opposition. France, England, and Spain all sent an expedition to Mexican waters, but all except the French withdrew when they saw the real intent of the French. In June, 1863, the troops of Napoleon III occupied Mexico City, which ended the Republic for the time being and Maximilian became Emperor of the Mexican Empire. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX 553.

of Puebla by the United States forces the garrison was attacked by a body of Mexican troops: At one period of the engagement, one of the United States batteries had ceased firing, there being no enemy in its front; but the officer in command of the City, observing the silence of this battery, rode up in a state of great excitment, & called out to the commander of the battery: "Captain, why don't you fire, sir; this is the very crisis of the action." "Why, really, General," was the reply, "I see nothing to fire at; but (turning to his men,) never mine, boys; fire away! fire at the crisis."

Wishing well to Mexico, I should be glad to give in conclusion, an encouraging view of its condition: but when I look at the disturbed state of the country, & reflect on the long years of ravage, oppression & misrule under which that beautiful land has suffered, & the anarchy & spoliation inflicted on it, by native rulers & by foreign enemiesinvaded or defended, as it now is, by French, Austrian, Belgin & Egyptian soldiers- I feel inclined to address to it the words of Filieja⁴⁶ to his beloved Italy: which have been so well rendered by Lord Byron:47

"Thou who hast

The fatal gift of beauty, which became A funeral dower of present woes & past Oh! that thou wert in thy nakedness Less lovely, or more powerful: Then might thou more appeal; nor would the hostile horde Of many- nationed spoilers from thy streams Quaff blood & water; nor the Stranger's sword Be thy sad weapon of defence, & so,

Victor, or vanquished, thou the slave of friend or foe."

The timely intervention & sagacious counsels of the Emperor of the French have enabled Italy to shake off its foreign oppressors, & to establish Union & Independence: It were to be wished that the same powerful influence had enabled Mexico to assume the position which her geographical extent & situation on the globe, her climate, soil & productions entitle her to hold among the nations. That the best efforts of the amiable Sovereigns who were placed on the throne of Mexico were sincerely devoted to this object, I truly believe; & I think that the act of Prince Maximilian & his consort, in leaving their great and beautiful home on the shore of the Adriatic, & the blandishments of European life, to assume the vexations & laborious, & I fear thankless

⁴⁶ Vincenzo da Filicaja was born at Florence, Italy, on December 30, 1642, and died there on September 24, 1707. He was a famous Italian lyric poet and jurist. He was especially noted for his odes and sonnets. His works were published in 1707. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 390.

47 George Noel Gordon, Lord Byron, was born in London, on January 22, 1788, and died at Missolonghi, Greece, on April 19, 1824. He was a celebrated English poet, but gave his life for the independence of Greece. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 199.

task of regenerating Mexico, is a striking example of self-sacrifice & of devotion to the claims & duties imposed by birth & high position.

I agree with them in thinking that this is a "dignus vindice nodus;" that the hoped for result was well worthy of the efforts; for, in all my travels, I have seen no country where, under a government which should afford security for liberty & property, I would more willingly await my termination of my earthly pilgrimage than in Mexico.

NORTH CAROLINA BIBLIOGRAPHY, 1944-1945¹ By Mary Lindsay Thornton

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BOOK REVIEWS

The South Carolina Rice Plantation as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston. Edited by J. H. Easterby. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1945, Pp. xxi, 478. \$5.00.)

No collection of rice plantation records comparable in scope and completeness to the Robert F. W. Allston papers has heretofore been published. The full collection, now in the possession of the South Carolina Historical Society, consists of some 8,000 items from which Professor Easterby has chosen about 500 for inclusion in this volume. These cover a period of more than fifty years (1810-1868) and include personal letters of the Allston family, reports from overseers on the seven plantations at one time controlled by Allston, business correspondence with Charleston factors, financial records, fragments of diaries, and other miscellaneous material. There are chronological gaps, but for one plantation the financial records are practically complete for a period of more than thirty years.

In arranging the material the editor has tried to group the documents in a way to facilitate study of different phases of the subject. Thus there are sections on the overseer, the slave, and the factor, and a larger one containing family correspondence. This is not an entirely satisfactory arrangement because each section contains much that is closely related to the others. But the advantages of the plan are obvious and the disadvantages are partially overcome by cross references and an inclusive index. An excellent guide to the study of the papers is also provided by the editor in a comprehensive introduction.

The Allston papers cast a flood of light on many aspects of the day-to-day operation of a South Carolina rice plantation. Perhaps the most instructive portions of the correspondence, however, are those relating to the overseer and the factor. Evidence appears that the much abused overseer was sometimes not only efficient but also was appreciated and was given employment for long periods, as in the case of one Jesse Bellflowers who was retained twenty-four years in Allston service. The factor's correspondence reflects many details of plantation finance and the wide range of services rendered by the factor, apparently without compensation except his commissions on sales of produce.

Marketing and purchasing agent, counselor, and friend, the factor figured prominently in the planter's personal and family problems as well as in his business transactions. His function as private banker, however, was more limited than is usually supposed. At least in the case of the factors serving the Allstons it appears that established sound practice prohibited extension of credit to clients. Drafts were accepted only when funds left in the custody of the factor allowed it.

Because Allston was prominent in South Carolina political life (becoming governor in 1856) and because his own family and that of his wife (sister of J. L. Petigru) were widely connected, the personal letters of the collection have a significance broader than economic. They furnish many sidelights on state social and political history especially in the period of the Civil War and during the Federal occupation of Georgetown District immediately following.

C. E. Cauthen.

Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C.

Seargent S. Prentiss: Whig Orator of the Old South. By Dallas C. Dickey. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 422. \$4.00.)

Seargent Smith Prentiss was born of sea-faring stock in Portland, Maine, on September 30, 1808. Educated at Gorham Academy and Bowdoin College, from which he was graduated in 1826, he went west the following year to seek his fortune. After a brief sojourn in Cincinnati, he removed to Natchez, Mississippi, in the fall of 1827. For a while he taught school but in 1829 he began to read law in the office of Robert J. Walker and was subsequently admitted to the bar. He moved to Vicksburg in 1832 and soon became distinguished as a lawyer, a real estate speculator, an orator, and a leader of the Whig party in Mississippi. He served in the state legislature and in the second session of the twenty-fifth Congress, after a memorable disputed election which gave him an opportunity to exhibit his oratorical wares on the national scene. Disgusted with the policy of repudiation which the state of Mississippi adopted in the early forties in regard to certain questionable bank bonds and heavily involved in financial difficulties which resulted from his generosity. mismanagement, and reckless speculation, he moved to New

Orleans in 1845 in the hope of recouping his fortune. Here he lived until his death which resulted from dysentery and (probably) excessive alcoholism on July 1, 1850. Such is a brief outline of the life of the subject of this biography.

The book is composed of sixteen chapters which cover with all available detail Prentiss' activities from early boyhood until death. Perhaps the most interesting are those devoted to appraisal and characterization, namely, "Prentiss the Orator," "Prentiss the Lawyer," and "Prentiss the Man." The bibliographical essay is not only a helpful guide to sources and secondary materials but also attests Dr. Dickey's acquaintance with the authorities. The job has been done well and will not have to be done again unless letters and papers in the possession of Mr. E. Bryan Dabney of Vicksburg, to which the author was denied access, contain important facts which are not available from other sources.

The biography of a man who is worthy of remembrance almost solely because of his ability to enthrall huge audiences for hours at a time with his remarkable gift of oratory will necessarily be much concerned with speeches. And these speeches, despite Professor Dickey's drastic cutting and careful summarizing, are not likely to be interesting to the reader of this generation. This reviewer could wish that the author had included, in an appendix perhaps, a few uncut paragraphs from some speech, possibly Prentiss' "Eulogy on Lafayette," so that the reader might have some appreciation of the stately periods, the classical and historical allusions, the "figures of speech, and flights of fancy," which characterize his style. In closing it might be of interest to give the explanation, attributed to Prentiss many years after his death, of how these figures of speech and flights of fancy came to his mind as he spoke:

When I get to speaking and become excited, I am like a little boy walking through a meadow when he sees a beautiful butterfly, with its fancy wings of gold and starts in pursuit eager to capture his glittering prize, then in the race, up jumps another and still another until the whole sky is filled with beautiful Butterflies, each a new one, capable of attracting the boy's attention, so with me, each fancy starts a new one till in the pursuit my whole mind is filled with beautiful Butterflies.

The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Cecil Johnson.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The State Department of Archives and History often receives requests for early numbers of the North Carolina Manual, Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association, the North Carolina Booklet, The North Carolina Day Program, and other publications which are out of print. Anyone possessing duplicates of these publications is requested to send them to D. L. Corbitt, Head, Division of Publications, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, North Carolina. The supply thus accumulated will be used to serve the cause of North Carolina history by filling gaps in the collections of libraries and students.

Mr. John Motley Morehead of New York has given the University of North Carolina \$1,000,000 for the erection of a building to house the Morehead Art Collection and a planetarium. The building will be called the Genevieve B. Morehead Gallery, in honor of the benefactor's late wife.

"Chatham Courthouse, Built of Native Brick, Fourth to Serve That County," by W. B. Morgan, is an interesting short article on the Chatham County Courthouse which appeared in The Greensboro Daily News, March 3, 1946.

The North Carolina division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy has recently published a calendar of its work. The cover is printed in gold, as this is the jubilee year of the division. The division has also announced "The Judah P. Benjamin Scholarship," which is given annually by B'nai Brith of Fayetteville. The award will be made through the J. E. B. Stuart Chapter. The division has also announced that Mrs. J. E. Latham of Greensboro has established through the division of the Children of the Confederacy the May Gordon Latham Kellenberger annual scholarship at Crossnore, N. C. This scholarship is given in honor of Mrs. Latham's daughter, Mrs. J. E. Kellenberger of Greensboro.

The State Department of Archives and History has recently received Volume 1, No. I (Jan. 1946) of Delaware History, a

publication of the Historical Society of Delaware, Wilmington, Delaware. Mr. Charles L. Reese, Jr., is the editor.

"The Dismal Swamp Canal," by Alexander Crosby Brown, is an article of interest to Virginians and North Carolinians. This article appeared in Volume V (July and October 1945), Nos. 3 and 4, and Volume VI (Jan. 1946), No. 1, of *The American Neptune*, a publication of the American Neptune, Incorporated, Salem, Massachusetts.

On January 1 Mr. Malcolm C. McMillan, formerly a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, was added to the staff of the North Carolina State College as an instructor in history.

The Lower Creek Baptist Church in Caldwell County celebrated on March 3 the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of its organization. When the church was organized there were eleven members. This church organization has had four buildings during its existence, the last of which was dedicated on October 1, 1944.

The Daughters of the American Revolution at the forty-sixth annual conference held in Charlotte on March 7, elected Miss Gertrude S. Carraway of New Bern state regent. Other officers elected are Miss Virginia Horne of Wadesboro, vice-president; Miss Sara Louise Stewart of New Bern, recording secretary; Mrs. R. I. Dalton of Charlotte, chaplain; Mrs. W. Beatty Farr of Greensboro, historian; and Mrs. E. A. Branch of Raleigh, treasurer.

A large quantity of records of Belgian underground activities have been presented to the Library of the University of North Carolina by William Lanier Hunt, who made this collection of documentary materials while in the United States Army in Belgium.

The following addresses have been made by Dr. Christopher Crittenden: January 18, Lafayette Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, Raleigh, "The United States and World Responsibility"; February 14, International Relations Club, Meredith College, Raleigh, "Balance or Concert of Power"; February 22, Raleigh Chapter, Colonial Dames of America, "Washington and Public Duty"; and March 18, Humanities Club, Wake Forest College, Wake Forest, "The Archives and Manuscripts Program of the State Department of Archives and History."

Recent accessions of the Hall of History include the cover for the first air mail flight from Elizabeth City, given by Mr. John A. Park of Raleigh; a United States Army blouse, loaned by Mr. John O. Lassiter of Raleigh; a silver spoon made by Alvan Wilcox of Fayetteville in 1819 and a silver spoon made by Zebulon Eliott of Salisbury in 1821, both given by Dr. George Barton Cutten of Chapel Hill; two photographs of the Governor's Mansion and three photographs of Governor Thomas Jordan Jarvis' watch, purchased from Mr. Albert Barden of Raleigh; a North Carolina state flag, purchased from Louis E. Stilz and Brothers Company of Philadelphia; a United States Cadet Nurse Corps winter uniform, given by Miss Lucile Petry of Washington, D. C.; a photograph of Governor Thomas Jordan Jarvis given by Mrs. Nina L. Cleve of New York; a picture of Willie Jones, purchased from the Storr Engraving Company of Raleigh; the sword and sash of Colonel Edward Graham Haywood, given by Miss Ella Field Simpson of Chevy Chase, Maryland; a bedspread spun and woven by Clarissa Brandon, daughter of Major James Brandon, Revolutionary soldier and first entry taker of Rowan County (1753), and a bedspread spun and woven by Edith Bruner, née Harris, youngest daughter of Colonel West Harris of the Continental Line, given by Mrs. James P. Moore of Salisbury; a photograph of William D. Moseley, given by Dr. R. D. W. Connor of Chapel Hill, and two offset printings of the William R. Davie bookplate, given by Mr. Arthur L. Stearns of Washington, D. C. Also accessioned and of particular interest are: a model of an Indian village based upon the drawings of Captain John White, showing the various occupations of the Indians of that day, made by and purchased from Mr. Larry Richardson of Westerlo, New York, while he was in the Army and stationed at Camp Butner; first editions of Volumes I and II of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, published in 1614 loaned by Mrs. Annie Cheshire Tucker of Raleigh; and Cherokee Indian artifacts, one small porringer about five inches in diameter, one figurine of a man smoking a pipe, and one small stature of a wolf or bear, which were taken in 1895 from the grave of an Indian chief named Kaisar on the Biltmore property near Mills River Gap. These artifacts were purchased by Dr. Carl A. Schenk, carried to Germany, and returned to North Carolina, the place of their discovery, through Major James P. Dodge of Raleigh.

Two lectures on "Early American Silver and Silversmiths" and "Identification of Early American Silver" have been given in the Hall of History by Dr. George Barton Cutten of Chapel Hill, formerly president of Acadia University in Nova Scotia and Colgate University in New York. The first lecture was given on February 17, the second on March 17.

Books received include George E. Mowry, Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement (Madison; The University of Wisconsin Press, 1946); Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography (New York, N. Y.: Social Science Research Council, 1946); Katharine Elizabeth Crane, Blair House, Past and Present, An Account of its Life and Times in the City of Washington (Washington, D. C.: United States Department of State, 1946); Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, Volume I (January, 1946), No. 1 (New York: Henry Schuman); J. G. Randall, Lincoln and the South (Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1946); and Richard Beale Davis, Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson and Francis Walker Gilbert, 1814-1826 (Columbia, South Carolina, University of South Carolina Press, 1946).

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RICHARD CASWELL'S MILITARY AND LATER PUBLIC SERVICES

By C. B. ALEXANDER

On account of the British invasion of the Southern states during the latter half of the Revolutionary War, the years 1780 and 1781 were critical for North Carolina from the military point of view. On January 29, 1780, General Benjamin Lincoln, commander of the American forces of the Southern department, wrote to Governor Caswell from Charleston that a British fleet of "140 sail" had left New York on December 24 with a large number of troops on board under the personal command of Sir Henry Clinton. Some reported that there were as many as 10,000 men embarked on this expedition, although the actual number turned out to be 8,500. Their object was the capture of Charleston, then the subjugation of South Carolina, and ultimately the conquest of North Carolina. Savannah, Augusta, and the interior of Georgia were already under the control of the British. Lincoln informed Caswell that the militia of South Carolina preferred to stay at home to protect their families from the Indians on the western frontier, rather than to march to the relief of Charleston, and he stated that the defeat of the British plans of conquest depended largely on the exertions of the people of North Carolina. Furthermore, he requested that with all possible dispatch the full number of 3,000 militia be sent forward as authorized by the assembly at Halifax on October 18, 1779.2 In April, 1780, the assembly again ordered Brigadier General William Caswell to hurry forward 700 additional militia for the relief of Charleston, but that city had already surrendered to the British before the arrival of these troops. With the capture

¹ State Records, XV, 348. 2 State Records, XV, 330.

of Charleston on May 12, nearly all of the North Carolina Continentals were taken prisoners of war, a loss which left the state without any reliable defenders.

To meet this critical situation Washington, on April 16, had dispatched from headquarters at Morristown Baron Dekalb with 1,400 Continentals from Delaware and Maryland, hoping to check any further progress of the British, although the doom of Charleston had already been foretold by Lincoln. Baron Dekalb was delayed for several weeks in Virginia, waiting for wagons and reenforcements from that state, so that it was not until June 20 that North Carolina was reached. After a short rest at Hillsboro, the Continentals were forced to halt at Wilcox's iron works for want of provisions. In the meantime the assembly of North Carolina had voted, May 10, that 4,000 militia should be raised and marched to South Carolina under the command of Caswell, who was appointed major general of all the state troops when his third term of governor expired.3 Extraordinary exertions were deemed necessary to meet the danger of invasion to which the state was exposed.

According to the plans of Clinton and Cornwallis, General Leslie was to take Petersburg, Virginia, where many supplies were stored; and from this base he should make incursions into North Carolina to prevent troops from going to the aid of South Carolina. Cornwallis, after subduing South Carolina, was to march northward in the autumn of 1780, and expected that the British army would be supplied out of the abundant crops, especially in the western part of North Carolina. He had sent instructions, therefore, to the Tories to remain quietly at home gathering in the harvests until the British came to their assistance. Then these loyalists were to rise and join in the speedy conquest of the state. But Cornwallis was disappointed when he arrived in Charlotte, September 26, after the victory of Camden. He had been assured by former Governor Martin and others that large numbers would rally to the British standard. But the total destruction at Kings Mountain, October 7, of Ferguson's force which had been sent into the western counties to raise recruits, thwarted the plan for the general rising of the Tories, and made it advisable for Cornwallis to retreat to South Caro-

³ State Records, XIV, 811.

lina. This postponed the second invasion of the state until the following January, which gave time to collect the American forces for defense. Then began the masterly retreat of General Nathanael Greene culminating in the battle of Guilford Courthouse, March 15, 1781, which induced Cornwallis to withdraw to Wilmington and finally to leave the state, as he marched on to Virginia and to his downfall at Yorktown.

The details of the part played by Caswell in these military preparations may now be presented, considering first his march into South Carolina and the battle of Camden on August 17, 1780. Caswell notified Governor Abner Nash on June 1 that he would establish his recruiting camp near Cross Creek because of the great importance of guarding the stores there, which were in danger of seizure. The unpromising conditions under which the fighting organization had to be built up may be inferred from his report that there was not a soldier nor a firelock nor a wagon in that whole region. Six days later he again informed Governor Nash that he was distressed on account of the militia coming in so slowly. He urged that £20,000 be provided for the purchase of supplies in Wilmington, which port was threatened by an attack on the part of the Tories who were marching in that direction.

Caswell marched the militia to the camp of the Continentals at Coxe's Mill about the middle of July. A difficulty which made Baron Dekalb consider a retreat advisable was the desolate country, known as the pine barrens, extending many miles in front of the army. Over these sandy wastes, infested with the insect pests of summer, it would be next to impossible to move the troops and baggage without great hardship and delay. These natural obstacles were magnified by the shortage of wagons and by the large number of women and children who insisted on riding. These considerations seem to have been sufficient to justify Caswell in moving the militia to the Yadkin Valley, where the crops were fine. But since he did not wait at Coxe's Mill until the arrival of General Gates on July 25, some writers prefer to explain his decision as an unwillingness to cooperate with the Continental officers and a desire to reap personal glory by inde-

⁴ State Records, XIV, 828. 5 State Records, XIV, 841.

pendent action. However, this criticism should rather be aimed at General Gates, who failed to consult his officers about the route to be chosen, especially since they were more familiar with the country than he was.

On June 13 Congress had appointed Gates to succeed Lincoln in command of the Southern army. Washington, who preferred Greene, had not been consulted regarding this appointment. Caswell received a letter from Gates asking him to bring with him General Griffith Rutherford and General H. W. Harrington to Coxe's Mill on July 27, for a meeting of all the general officers to plan the campaign and to determine the route that should be followed. But, without waiting for this consultation. Gates ordered that the march begin on an hour's notice, selecting, on his own responsibility, the most direct course across the pine barrens toward the advanced post of the British on Lynche's Creek near the Cheraws in South Carolina. Colonel Otho Williams, the adjutant general, protested against this precipitate and ill considered march, telling Gates that the officers thought it would be better to go through Salisbury and Charlotte, where the large number of sick soldiers and women and children could be left. Gates told Williams that he would confer with the officers when the troops halted at noon, although there is no record that the conference was ever held.

When Gates reached Kimborough on July 29 he sent letters to Caswell and Rutherford requesting their opinions as to the designs of the British, to which Caswell made answer the next day from Anson Courthouse that the information received from many sources did not agree. Nevertheless, he expressed the belief that all the British forces would be collected at their head-quarters in Camden, where he expected that either a stand would be taken or a retreat to Charleston would be ordered. He had planned to meet General Rutherford the next day five miles from the Cheraws, at which point they were to be joined by General Harrington. He said that his men and teams were worn out for want of rest. Also, he agreed with Gates that all of their forces should be combined so that they might act together or separately as circumstances necessitated. Again, on August 2, Caswell notified Gates that the wet weather of the preceding

⁶ State Records, XIV, 514.

three days had stopped the mills from grinding so that the troops did not have meal for more than half rations for the day. He added that General Rutherford and General Gregory agreed with him that they should march to Anderson, South Carolina, at which place General Butler had been directed to join them as soon as possible, leaving the wagons behind to bring on the meal later. The next evening he notified Gates that the militia would join the main army at Anderson, according to their arrangement. He added that he had gleaned both sides of the Pee Dee River for forty miles without finding a grain of corn or wheat.

Yet even if he had been unable to find a grain of corn, his operations on the Pee Dee had not been in vain, as is shown in the following letter from the former governor, Josiah Martin, written on August 18, at headquarters in Camden, to Lord George Germain:

The North Carolina militia under General Caswell spread terror and intimidated all the ordinary and extraordinary spies employed by lord Rawdon to a degree so great that every channel of intelligence failed him, which I could hardly have believed had I not been a witness to the fact, considering the number of our friends in North Carolina interested to keep us advised as to the enemies movements, and considering the assiduity of lord Rawdon in gathering information from all quarters.

Colonel Williams tells of Gates arriving at Caswell's camp on August 5 and finding it in confusion. Caswell was trying to get rid of his heavy baggage, so that he could move more rapidly. The women and children were sent to Charlotte with the baggage. Then the main army came up with Caswell's forces at the crossroads on Deep Creek, and they marched on to Little Black Creek with Dekalb commanding the right wing and Caswell the left. This put Caswell third in rank, a position with which he seemed well satisfied.

Colonel Williams also described how he and some officers made an inspection tour of the camp that night and found the sentinels alert on the right wing among the Continentals, but all quiet along the left wing among Caswell's militia, so that they rode unchallenged to the tents of the officers, who complained of

 ⁷ State Records, XIV, 522.
 8 State Records, XIV, 525.

being disturbed by "gentlemen calling at such an unreasonable hour." This incident illustrates well the characteristic lack of discipline prevailing among the militia generally.

Gates ordered the infantry under Caswell and Porterfield, with a detachment of cavalry, to pursue the British, but this expedition did not get started until the next day. This cavalry, according to Josiah Martin's report to Lord George Germain, forced the pickets to retire on August 9, and on the next day shots were exchanged. On the twelfth the British expected an attack, as Caswell's camp was only three miles away, but this did not take place.

The main army left Lunche's Creek on August 10, and four days later halted at Clarmont or Rugley's Mill, where it rested for two days. On the fourteenth General Stevens came up with 700 militia from Virginia, thus increasing Gates's eagerness for an attack. The American officers had reconnoitered the region toward Camden and had selected a strong position on Sander's Creek, five miles north of the British, who would be forced to make an attack as soon as their supplies were cut off by Marion and Sumter. Gates thought he had a good chance to win a victory, as his number was twice as great as that of the British. However, half of the 6,000 Americans were sick; moreover, Williams said that two-thirds of this number were militia who had never been exercised in arms, a weakness which proved to be fatal, as they could not maintain their organization under fire.

The information of the movements of Gates was delivered in Charleston to Lord Cornwallis, who had been in command of the British army since the departure of Sir Henry Clinton on June 5. Cornwallis determined to reenforce Rawdon at Camden, where he arrived at four o'clock on the morning of August 14, after a swift march of 150 miles in three days and nights. He regarded an immediate encounter necessary, since his communications with Charleston could be easily cut off. Therefore on the evening of August 15 he began his march from Camden northward. At two-thirty on the morning of the sixteenth the advance guard was unexpectedly fired on by the Americans, who had begun their march toward Camden at ten o'clock that same night.9

⁹ State Records, XVI, 50.

Military experts say that Gates made the best possible deployment of his army. On the right Baron Dekalb commanded the two divisions of the Continentals from Maryland, who were joined by the Delaware regulars and Dixon's regiment of militia from North Carolina, with these regiments extending from the Maryland troops to the road. The 800 yards on the left between the road and the swamp were covered by Caswell's militia in the center in three brigades commanded by Gregory, Rutherford, and Butler, flanked by the 700 militia from Virginia under Stevens. Armand's cavalry was in front on the left, while General Smallwood commanded the 400 Continentals from Maryland, as a reserve. Cornwallis ordered Colonel Webster to begin the attack and concentrated on the two Maryland brigades. As the British came on firing and huzzaing, the Virginia militia broke and fled in a panic, exposing Caswell's militia to attack both on the flank and in front. They immediately gave way without firing and threw away their arms in their terror. Gregory's brigade held their ground for a short time, but soon fled in uncontrollable fear, though Caswell and Stevens did all in their power to rally the panic-stricken mob. The British then wheeled on the left flank of the Maryland and Delaware regulars and Dixon's militia from North Carolina.

Colonel John Williams, who was an eye witness of the rout of the militia, wrote: "He who has never seen the effect of a panic upon a multitude can have but an imperfect idea of such a thing. The best disciplined troops have been enervated and made cowards by it. Armies have been routed by it even where no enemy appeared to furnish an excuse. Like electricity it operates instantly and like sympathy it is irresistible where it touches."

When General Smallwood's brigade moved up to take the place of the militia, the Americans were outnumbered by about 1,300 British regulars to about 1,000 Continentals, who could not prevent the flanking movements. After the cavalry under Tarleton had charged in front and flanks, the bayonet charge of the infantry gave a complete victory for the British. The fighting lasted about an hour, during which about 300 Continentals were killed and Baron Dekalb was fatally wounded. General Rutherford was later taken prisoner, but very few of the militia were

lost as they had fled without firing a shot, escaping into the woods and swamps.

Major McGill wrote to his father soon after the battle of Camden:

I was there with Genl. Gates, who perceiving the malitia run, Rode about twenty yeards in the rear of the line to rally them, which he found impossible to do there; about half a mile further, Genrl. Gates and Caswell made another fruitless attempt, and a third was made at a still greater distance with no better success. . . . the Enemy's Horse came and charged our rear. The men to their Immortal Honour made a brave defence, but were at last obliged to give ground, and are allmost all killed or taken. . . . We owe all our misfortune to the Militia; had they not run like dastardly cowards, our Army was sufficient to cope with theirs, drawn up as we were upon a rising and advantageous ground. 10

Gates and Caswell made three unsuccessful attempts to rally the terrified militia, and finally at Clermont tried to form them into some kind of order for a retreat, but Tarleton's cavalry pursued them and drove them off the road. Gates and Caswell then rode on that night sixty-five miles to Charlotte, attended only by their aides. While Caswell remained to collect the militia and organize some resistance to the British invasion, Gates went on to Hillsboro to meet the assembly about to convene there.

Colonel H. L. Landers pronounces as "cruel and unjustifiable the contumely heaped upon Gates whose only mistake was his confidence in the fighting spirit of his army, which was betrayed by the militia." ¹¹ The temporary loss of popular favor endured by Caswell seems even more unjustifiable, especially when it is remembered that all the officers, from Washington down, condemned the militia as unreliable.

In spite of his illness, Caswell seems to have done all that could have been justly expected of him in the days immediately following the discouraging defeat at Camden. From Salisbury he informed the governor that he had ordered the troops to repair to Charlotte to repel the British invasion. Also, he called out the militia of Rowan, Lincoln, and Mecklenburg counties to gather at Charlotte where he was to go on August 20. He would put General Butler in command of the forces and then he would go

¹⁰ State Records, XIV, 585.
11 H. L. Landers, The Battle of Camden, p. 62.

on to Hillsboro to meet the assembly there. He requested that a ton of lead be sent to Charlotte and arms and cartridges to replace those which the militia had thrown away in their panic. 12 When the assembly met at Hillsboro on August 23 vigorous measures were adopted to repel the British. A specific tax on produce authorized the seizure of a part of the crops for the use of the troops. Half of the militia of the state was called out and the towns of Charlotte, Salisbury, and Hillsboro were designated as assembling places. W. L. Davidson was appointed brigadier general of the Salisbury district in the absence of General Rutherford, although General H. W. Harrington held this position for a time and spoke of resigning when he was displaced. General Davidson established his camp ten miles south of Charlotte on McAlpine's Creek, and twenty miles from the Waxhaws, where Cornwallis was encamped on October 21.

After arranging the militia in Charlotte, Caswell probably reached Hillsboro soon after the assembly convened there, but he did not tarry long at that place. He hastened on to Ramsay's Mill in Chatham County where he had requested Colonel Jarvis, Colonel Sewall, and Colonel Exum to meet him with their regiments of militia. On September 3 Caswell and General Jethro Sumner, conducting this brigade of 800 men, began the march to Salisbury, which they reached a fortnight later. In the meantime General Smallwood had proceeded to Davidson's camp near Charlotte, where he remained until the middle of November. At that time General Nathanael Greene arrived to take command of the southern department, replacing General Gates, while General Smallwood left North Carolina to return to Maryland in order to settle a controversy with an officer as to which of them had precedence over the other.

It seems that Caswell's health grew worse, so that, unable to keep the field, he left General Sumner in command of the camp on the Yadkin. However, his withdrawal may have been due in part to the action of the assembly in appointing General Smallwood to supersede him as major general of the militia of the state. This appointment on September 12 caused a great deal of jealousy and disappointment among both the Continental and militia officers. General Jethro Sumner had expected to succeed

¹² The Governor's Letterbook.

Caswell as major general of the militia, and offered his resignation to Gates when Smallwood was appointed. Gates submitted Sumner's resignation to the Board of War for their consideration. On October 12 the Board wrote to Sumner that they would not undertake to justify the policy of the assembly in requesting Smallwood to command the militia.

We shall not undertake to justify the Policy of the General Assembly in their request to General Smallwood, thereby impliedly tho' not directly superseding Major General Caswell in the Command. You, Sir, was invited by the Assembly, with your Officers, into the Service under Gen'l Caswell, which you were then pleased to accept. General Caswell's Situation at that time prevented him from taking the Field. General Smallwood, whose Military Fame is great, was about returning to Maryland to equip his Troops, to prevent which, however impolite, he was desired to stay and command our Militia, with the Rank he then bore, not suggesting it could affect your Honour or the Officers of the Line, when his Continental Rank was superior to yours, and your having accepted a Command under a Militia Major General. 13

On October 26 Governor Nash received notice from Caswell that he had resigned, as he regarded the resolutions of the assembly on September 12 as having dismissed him from the command of the militia. 14 In answer to this statement the Board of War informed the governor: "A separate command would be acceptable to General Caswell, not subjecting him to the command of any but the commander-in-chief of the southern department. We therefore recommend a separate command for Major General Caswell." 15

When the next assembly met at Halifax, the house of commons informed the senate that a committee had been named to act jointly with the senate for the purpose of explaining the ambiguous resolutions of September 12 concerning Caswell, which had been construed much to his prejudice. 16 It was agreed that "There had been sundry and sufficient reasons why Major General Caswell could not immediately take the field and that Brigadier General Smallwood, being the oldest officer in the southern department, should command the militia of the state in his absence." 17 Furthermore, the assembly expressed the high sense

¹³ State Records, XIV, 425. 14 State Records, XV, 131. 15 State Records, XIV, 435. 16 State Records, XVII, 746. 17 State Records, XVII, 670.

of appreciation they had then and "still have of the merits of General Caswell and of his singular services to the state." 18

Caswell had been elected a member of the senate, and on February 2 he brought in a bill which was passed substituting for the Board of War a council extraordinary to advise the governor. Caswell, Allen Jones, and Alexander Martin were appointed the members of this council to meet the crisis at the time when Cornwallis was invading the state. The assembly also restored Caswell to the rank of major general in command of the Continentals as well as of the militia. The records do not support Judge Schenck in his assertion that Caswell shared the jealousies of some of the militia officers in depriving the state of the services of the most experienced Continental officers during this period of dire need. Proof that Caswell was on good terms with the Continental officers is furnished in a letter written by Archibald MacLaine, a political opponent, to Thomas Burke on February 9, 1781, in which he said:

The British hold Wilmington. Cornwallis is at Salisbury, and God only knows how we shall extricate ourselves. The militia officers are not to be counted upon. We have called into service the continental officers of whom Caswell has the chief command, and they obey him with alacrity.²¹

Also, General Greene desired the Continental officers to repair to Caswell's camp at Halifax to receive his orders and to assist in arranging and commanding the troops. In writing to Colonel Ashe on February 21, General Sumner professed a willingness to comply with this request of General Greene, but in spite of his profession he stayed at his home in Warren County and never went to the camp at Halifax near by. Since it was expected that Cornwallis would march through Halifax on his way to Virginia, General Greene wished Caswell to make his camp at that town, which was important for several reasons. Caswell's absence from the battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15 was probably due in part to this plan for him to remain at Halifax to block any possible march of Cornwallis in that direction, and in part to his continued bad health. However, he did send val-

¹⁸ State Records, XVII, 746. 19 State Records, XVII, 635, 662. 20 State Records, XVI, 6. 21 State Records, XXIII, 534.

uable aid to General Greene in provisions for the army and a brigade of 1,500 for which Greene waited before making his attack. The next word about Caswell's activities in meeting the British menace was on April 6, when he requested the governor to have an officer at each of the district headquarters to assist in getting out men to complete the Continental battalions, in which work most of the officers were then engaged.

The only clash that took place during Cornwallis' march from Wilmington to Halifax was on May 6, at Peacock's bridge on the Cotechney River, when Colonel David Gorham's 500 men were scattered in a skirmish with Colonel Tarleton's cavalry.²² After a brief rest at Halifax the British marched on to Petersburg, Virginia, where they arrived on May 20.

For several weeks thereafter, prominent Whigs in North Carolina did not dare sleep in their homes. Their plantations were often plundered, their cattle stolen, and their women outraged. To check these depredations and outrages Caswell resorted to stern measures of repression, of which Major Craige, commander of the Tories at Wilmington, complained to Governor Nash on June 21.23 Great terror was aroused especially in Duplin County where Captain Doherty reported that the tumults were worse than elsewhere because of the draft riots. The Tories there had not been subdued early in June, but the quelling of these riots was the last military service performed by Caswell in the year 1781.

In evaluating Caswell's military services during the Revolution, it may be said that he was not pre-eminent as a commander, for he did not plan or execute independently any military operations of major importance, and he showed no such remarkable skill in handling men on the field of battle as he did in civil affairs or in political life. Yet, on the other hand, he did not deserve to be blamed for the failure of the militia to stand their ground at the battle of Camden.²⁴

Soon after that Caswell went on a journey to the frontier settlements, leaving his son William, the brigadier general of the New Bern district, to defend the people against the Tories. The Whigs rallied in several counties and restored a measure of order. The records do not make it clear whether that western

²² State Records, XV, 456. 23 State Records, XXII, 1024. 24 State Records, XV, 479.

trip was due to the large land interests which he acquired in Sullivan and Washington counties at that time, or whether he went mainly for the purpose of pacifying the Indians who were then renewing hostilities after a long period of quiet. It is likely that both of these motives influenced him to follow his pioneering inclination to go west. He refers to this journey in a letter addressed to Judge David Campbell of the Washington district dated February 23, 1787. Also he may have thought that such a trip would improve his health, which had been on the verge of a break-down for several months. He repeatedly mentioned "giddiness in the head" and a disorder of the stomach which was partially relieved by vomiting and purging, and which may have been biliousness, a common ailment in the eastern counties, though rare in the back country. Furthermore, the depletion of his financial resources, caused by years of public service together with the inflation of prices, must have made Caswell feel keenly the need of engaging in some private enterprise that would remove the pecuniary embarrassments endured by his family. The new lands of the west which were then so eagerly sought by settlers and speculators offered the most promising field. In view of the hostilities with the Indians on the frontier, Caswell's journey to the west in 1781 cannot be explained as an attempt to escape danger, but must rather be regarded as an acceptance of the most perilous situation.

The later years of Caswell's public service naturally divide into two periods of three years each. During the first period, from May, 1782, until May, 1785, he served the state as controller general, and during the second period, from 1785 until 1788, he continued his public career as governor.

Hardly had he finished his work as major general of the military forces when the voters of Dobbs County elected him to represent them as the member of the state senate. On April 18, 1782, he took his seat in that body.²⁵ Immediately he was chosen speaker, a position to which he was unanimously reelected in 1783 and again in 1784.

For some years following the Revolutionary War one of the most insistent and intricate questions to be dealt with was the

²⁵ State Records, XIX, 9.

adjustment of the disordered finances of the state and the settlement of the accounts with the Continental treasury. For this task the assembly on May 6, 1782, elected Caswell controller general.²⁶ The forgeries and fraudulent accounts made in 1786 by many prominent officials, including the state treasurer, Memucan Hunt, which Caswell discovered and exposed, proved the wisdom of his selection.

Governor Alexander Martin hinted at the great difficulties involved in straightening out the financial tangle when he notified Robert Morris, the Superintendent of Finance for Congress, that Caswell had been appointed controller general "to examine our various and perplexed accounts, that they may be reduced to some kind of order, if possible, before submitting them to the scrutiny of the continental commissioners." 27 The controller's work was so slow and tedious that more than two years elapsed before Governor Martin, in 1785, notified Congress to send representatives to North Carolina to settle these accounts with Caswell.28

Another phase of the controller's duties was to see that the quartermasters, commissaries, and others who had furnished supplies to the troops within the state should have their claims properly adjusted.²⁹ At the session of 1783, on request from both houses. Caswell submitted his accounts as governor for the three years of the war. This report was examined by a joint committee of which Thomas Person was chairman, and on May 8 this committee reported that it had found the accounts and vouchers to be "Just, fair and correct." This approval of the committee was endorsed and concurred in by both houses.30 However zealous Caswell may have been in saving money for the state, the General Assembly seems to have been very tardy in rewarding him for his services. Even when his last term as governor was expiring, he found it necessary to make a final appeal to the assembly to make good his personal losses in salary, due to the depreciation of the currency.

The work of the controller also involved the examination of muster rolls and commissions, to make certain that the soldiers

²⁶ State Records, XIX, 119, 122. 27 State Records, XVI, 341. 28 State Records, XVII, 112. 29 State Records, XIX, 226. 30 State Records, XIX, 264, 216, 196.

and officers of the Continental line were duly paid.31 In addition the controller was required to inspect the certificates and to make proper allowance for their depreciation in paying the officers and men. In the year 1781 interest-bearing certificates had been issued to the amount of \$260,000 for the purpose of paying the bounties to the volunteers. In 1785 the controller's report showed the amounts due on certificates both to the soldiers and to the commissioned and non-commissioned officers for the years 1781, 1782, and 1783.32 In presenting to the assembly on December 14, 1785, the accounts for the three years in which he had served as controller, Caswell presented the vouchers.33 A committee of which John Spicer was chairman, after examination, reported that the accounts for the three years were supported by vouchers as required by law.34 The proper adjustment of the various claims, both between the state and the Continental treasury, and also with individuals within the state, must have given the controller no small amount of trouble, since the public accounts during the war had neither been kept accurately nor preserved carefully. Also, no military chest had been established in North Carolina as had been done in other states, and proper credit had not been allowed the state for meeting the expenses of the militia while serving in Virginia or South Carolina, or on the frontier against the Indians. From 1780 until 1784 no part of the quota of war debts had been paid by North Carolina, and in May, 1784, to meet this obligation, the legislature passed an act ceding the lands beyond the mountains to the United States, but William R. Davie and Hugh Williamson, the delegates in Congress, advised a repeal of this act, partly because the quota of the state was not known at that time.

Before taking up the consequences of this cession act, it may be best to mention the election of Caswell again to the office of chief magistrate of the state. He had been a candidate for governor in 1784, but was defeated by Alexander Martin, for reasons given in a letter which he wrote to his son William on May 4. He said that Martin had received sixty-six votes to forty-nine for himself. The Edenton and Halifax members had voted for

<sup>State Records, XX, 128.
State Records, XVII, 470.
State Records, XVII, 348.
State Records, XX, 90.</sup>

Martin because they declared that Caswell "had crammed him down their throats last year and now they were determined to keep him there." The western members had supported Martin for "interested motives" and were joined by some men from the Cape Fear region, who with the aid of the representatives from the west counted on establishing a district court at Cross Creek and then getting the capital of the state located there. Those from New Bern and the Duplin district generally voted for Caswell.³⁵ In November, 1784, however, he was elected governor by large majorities of both houses. The installation ceremonies were observed on May 13, 1785, at Tower Hill, one mile from Caswell's home at Kinston. In the address of the speaker of the house. William Blount said that the highest mark of public regard had been conferred on the governor. With what tact and faithfulness he discharged the responsibilities imposed on him appeared in his dealing with the three major problems of his administration: (1) the insurrection of the "State of Franklin"; (2) the menace of Indian attacks; and (3) relations with the federal government.

When the act ceding the western territory was repealed in November, the general assembly adopted measures to meet the complaints of the settlers on the frontier. A new military district was established for the protection of the western counties against the Indians. John Sevier, successful Indian fighter and the popular hero of the back country, was appointed brigadier general of this district. Also, an additional judiciary district was formed beyond the mountains to satisfy the settlers who complained that the laws had not been enforced among them and that the courts were not held regularly. To meet another complaint of the settlers, namely that Governor Martin had not appeased the hostility of the Indians by paying them for their lands, in December, 1784, Martin appointed Colonel William Blount and Caswell as commissioners to make a treaty with the Cherokees.³⁶

In the meantime the inhabitants of the western counties had taken affairs into their own hands by setting up an independent government. When Caswell became governor in May, 1785, an impasse had already been reached by reason of a threatening

³⁵ State Records, XVI, 958. 36 State Records, XVII, 110.

manifesto in which Governor Martin called on the Franklinites to return to their allegiance to North Carolina and a countermanifesto of Sevier refusing to obey this order. Sevier reminded Caswell how pressingly Congress had requested the cession of the western territory ever since the year 1780, and stated that the necessity of protecting themselves from the common enemy that always infested that part of the world had compelled the people of Franklin to act as they had done. He said that forty people had been murdered by the Indians since the act of cession, and yet it was denied that these murders had been committed because of delay in delivering the goods to compensate the Indians for their lands. Nevertheless the Cherokees had stated in frequent "talks" that if these goods had been delivered there would have been no hostilities.³⁷ In replying to Sevier's letter of May 14, Caswell promised that the goods would be delivered to the Indians, and accordingly, on September 13, he notified Colonel Blount that he would join the three commissioners appointed by Congress in making a treaty with the Cherokees and the Creeks at Fort Rutledge, South Carolina, in October. He would have the goods transported to Fort Rutledge and would give instructions to Blount to distribute them and to make a report of the treaty so that it could be submitted to the legislature.38

Caswell thought that, by giving the inhabitants of the west time to grow calmer, they would return to their allegiance to North Carolina. Therefore, affairs were allowed to run on smoothly through the year 1786. In October Sevier informed Caswell that honorable terms would be accepted. Accordingly, in January, 1787, the legislature of North Carolina offered pardon to all who would return as loyal citizens, while the taxes for the past three years would be remitted. Factional strife broke out afresh in the spring and summer of 1787, however, and party feeling became so bitter that bloodshed was expected. The assembly of the state of Franklin threatened to imprison or fine any officers who accepted commissions from North Carolina or issued any orders in the name of that state. Bounties of a section of land in the Great Bend were offered to those who would

³⁷ State Records, XVII, 446. 38 State Records, XVII, 516.

enlist in the militia to resist the authority of the old government. Colonel Anthony Bledsoe on May 4 advised the governor to send an address calling on the people to return to their duty to North Carolina, as his influence was great with all the principal men of the west.³⁹

On May 31, replying to Colonel Bledsoe's letters, Caswell informed him that he had stated matters to the inhabitants of the western counties in such a way that they must be obstinate indeed if they did not see the necessity of uniting against the common enemy.⁴⁰ This address to the people of the west was so full of the spirit of good will and forbearance that a quotation from it may be given to show the governor's attitude:

Friends and Fellow Citizens: I have received information that the former Contention between the Citizens of those Counties respecting the severing such Counties from this State & erecting them into a separate, Free and Independent Government, hath been again revived notwithstanding the lenient & salutary measures held out to them by the General Assembly in their last Session, & some have been so far misled as openly & avowedly to oppose the due operation & execution of the Laws of the State, menacing & threatening such as should adhere to the same with violence; and some outrages on such occasions have been actually Committed whereby sundry of the good Citizens of the said Counties have been induced to signify to Government their apprehensions of being obliged to have recourse to arms in order to support the Laws and Constitution of this State.

And notwithstanding the conduct and Behaviour of some of the refractory might Justify such a measure, yet I am willing to hope that upon reflection and due consideration of the Consequences which must issue in case of the shedding of blood among yourselves, a moment's thought must evince the necessity of Mutual Friendship and the Ties of Brotherly love being strongly cemented among you. You have, or shortly will have if my information is well grounded, enemies to deal with which may require this cement to be more strong than ever; your whole force may become necessary to be exerted against the common enemy as 'tis more than probable they may be assisted by the subjects of some foreign power, if not publicly they will furnish arms and ammunition privately to the Indian tribes to be made use of against you, and when your neighbors are so supported and assisted by the Northern and Southern Indians, if you should be so unhappy as to be divided among yourselves what may you not then apprehend? I dread the event.

³⁹ State Records, XX, 682. 40 State Records, XX, 709.

Let me entreat you to lay aside your party disputes, they have been as I conceive and yet believe will be if continued, of very great disadvantage to your public as well as private concerns whilst those disputes last. Government will want that energy which is necessary to support her Laws & Civilization in place of which anarchy and confusion will be prevalent & of course private interest must suffer.

It certainly would be sound policy in you for other reasons to unite. The General Assembly have told you whenever your wealth and numbers so much increase as to make a separation necessary they will be willing the same shall take place upon Friendly & reciprocal Terms; is there an individual in your Country who does not look forward in expectation of such a day's arriving. If that is the case must not every thinking man believe that this separation will be soonest and most effectually obtained by unanimity. Let that carry you to the quiet submission to the Laws of No. Carolina, till your numbers will justify a General application & then I have no doubt but the same may be obtained upon the principles held out by the Assembly, nay 'tis my opinion that it may be obtained at an earlier day than some imagine, if unanimity prevailed amongst you.

Altho' this is an official Letter, yet you will readily see that it is dictated by a friendly and pacific mind, don't neglect my advice on that account, if you do you may repent it when 'tis too late, when the Blood of some of your dearest and worthiest Citizens may have been spilt and your Country laid waste in an unnatural and Cruel Civil War, and you Cannot suppose, if such an event should take place, that Government will supinely look on and see you Cutting each other's throats without interfering and exerting her powers to reduce the disobedient.⁴¹

There was no exaggeration as to the imminent peril from the Indians, as every account showed that the savages meant to carry on a general war that summer, while they were to be supplied with arms and ammunition by the subjects of European powers. Especially desperate was the crisis in the Cumberland district, where the settlers were abandoning their lands in fear of being exterminated. The greed of the Franklinites for the Indian lands was the chief cause for this situation.⁴²

Colonel James Robertson, the leader of the Cumberland settlement, in June and July sent to Governor Caswell accounts of the Indian outrages and asked for help. He said that the Spanish were doing all in their power to arouse the savages against the Americans. They had offered rewards for the scalps of Americans.

⁴¹ State Records, XX, 707. 42 State Records, XX, 653.

ans, and had urged the Creeks, the Choctaws, and the Chicasaws to go to war. The people requested the governor's aid, knowing his good intentions.43

These troops had been dispatched for the defense of the Cumberland as early as February, but they did not reach Nashville for several months, having been delayed east of the Blue Ridge by the Franklinites, who were probably afraid that these forces might be used against themselves. On June 2 Caswell urged Major Thomas Evans, commander of these forces, to hasten to the Cumberland where Brigadier General Shelby would assist him. He said that he had furnished the contractor with £1,000 with which to purchase supplies.44 And again, on August 13, he ordered Major Evans to go forward immediately as the General Assembly had directed, without waiting to cut roads. 45 It was not until October that these troops reached Nashville. 46

After the arrival of these troops on the Cumberland, the attacks of the Indians appear to have subsided. Also, the state of Franklin collapsed on March 3, 1788, when Sevier's term of office expired. The General Assembly of North Carolina passed an act of oblivion and pardon for all, and accepted Sevier as a member of the senate at Fayetteville. He was restored to the rank of brigadier general of the Washington district with all the honors and emoluments of that office. This was followed the next year of 1789, by the second act of cession of the territory which was later admitted into the Union as the state of Tennessee. And thus came to a peaceful conclusion an episode in the history of the state which might easily have developed into a civil war, if Governor Martin's policy of intimidation had been continued. Much bitterness and bloodshed was prevented by Caswell, whose intimate and first-hand knowledge of the country beyond the mountains and whose kindly sympathy and understanding of the frontiersmen made a reconciliation possible.

Turning now to federal relations during this period, it appears that North Carolina was more willing to support Congress than most other states were. The amendments to the Articles of Confederation proposed by Robert Morris were favored by this

⁴³ State Records, XX, 721. 44 State Records, XX, 714. 45 State Records, XX, 730. 46 State Records, XX, 787.

state, but failed to get votes of the number of states necessary for adoption. Again, with reference to the peace treaty of 1783. Caswell supported Congress in protesting against its violation both by the British authorities and by the states of the Confederation. On January 20, 1785, the governor wrote to the delegates in Congress that remonstrance should be made to the British, demanding reasons for the infractions of the treaty in holding the military posts on the lakes. He favored raising an army to capture these posts by force, if satisfaction was not given, and publishing a manifesto to the world for so doing. He realized, however, that prudence, caution, and address were called for in handling this matter.⁴⁷ Likewise, when President Arthur St. Clair notified Caswell that Congress regretted that, in some states, too little faith had been accorded the treaty although national honor and good policy demanded it, Caswell replied that he would present the matter to the General Assembly at the earliest possible date, feeling confident of the approval desired. 48 According to the recommendation of Congress, the treaty of peace was ratified by North Carolina in November, 1787, and thus became a part of the laws of the state.

Caswell responded favorably to the request of John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that retaliatory duties should be imposed by the states on British vessels. Therefore in November, 1785, the assembly levied a duty of five shillings a ton on vessels from countries refusing to make treaties of commerce with the United States. Also a duty of twenty per cent above the regular tariff schedule was charged on goods not manufactured in the United States. In referring to the legislature the several acts and resolutions of Congress, Caswell said:

I cannot however omit requesting your particular attention to the several recommendations of Congress, the propriety and necessity of which I presume I need not urge as I flatter myself every Member of the Legislature will conceive it his duty to pay that respect to the Grand Federal Head of our Republican Empire, and give them that dispatch that their Importance required.49

But Congress had already lost respect both at home and abroad, and from that time on delegates were frequently absent-

⁴⁷ State Records, XVII, 427. 48 State Records, XX, 668. 49 State Records, XVII, 270.

ing themselves from its sessions. As private affairs prevented some gentlemen from attending Congress, the governor hoped that conditions might be remedied in the future by consulting them before appointments were made. 50 These absences, especially of the delegates from North Carolina, were also due in part to the inability of the state to pay their salaries or expenses — a matter to which the governor called attention. He suggested to the assembly that it would be some inducement for the delegates to undertake their duties if some persons were appointed to purchase produce with the treasury notes which could then be sold abroad for hard cash. William Blount had notified Caswell in July, 1786, that he would sit in Congress only on condition that he was paid in hard cash.⁵¹ Blount and Timothy Bloodworth were the only two who had promised the governor that they would accept appointments, and Bloodworth resigned in 1787.52 Richard Dobbs Spaight had already resigned, while Samuel Johnston and Sitgraves had declined to serve.

For various causes there had been "a general uproar in the Assembly" because of the loss sustained in connection with the purchase and sale of tobacco to the value of £36,000 set aside by the legislature in 1785 for the payment of the state's share of the foreign debt. The sum paid for the tobacco was £37,757, or a little more than the law had authorized, while the price allowed, tifty shillings per hundred, was more than twice the market price. Also, there was some loss of weight in handling the tobacco, and the bankruptcy of Constable, Rucker, and Company prevented the delivery of part of the amount purchased. To straighten out this scandal the governor was instructed to sell all the tobacco for the public, the proceeds to be applied on the state's quota of the French and Dutch loans.53

In 1786 new attempts to amend the Articles of Confederation were made at the Annapolis trade convention, and in these attempts Caswell cooperated by appointing five delegates. But the only one who attended was Hugh Williamson, who reached Annapolis the day of adjournment. The recommendation for a general convention to be held at Philadelphia the following May,

⁵⁰ State Records, XXI, 992. 51 State Records, XXI, 992. 52 State Records, XX, 151. 53 State Records, XX, 451.

for revising the Articles of Confederation, was accepted by the General Assembly and five more delegates were appointed.

When Caswell was elected one of these delegates to the constitutional convention, it was provided that in case he could not go to Philadelphia, he should appoint a substitute for himself and for any others who could not attend. As his health made it impracticable for him to attend the convention, he notified the General Assembly on November 2 that he had appointed William Blount to take his place and Hugh Williamson to take the place of Willie Jones, who had declined to serve. 54 In selecting Blount and Williamson, who were in favor of making a stronger constitution than the Articles of Confederation, Caswell showed more friendliness for the purpose of the convention than has generally been credited to him. These appointments left Alexander Martin the only one of the delegates from North Carolina who was opposed to any material changes in the federal government. The other two delegates, Richard Dobbs Spaight and William R. Davie, were both advocates of strengthening it. Spaight reported on May 13 that the Virginia delegation was the only one that had arrived in Philadelphia, but all of the representatives from this state had gone forward in May.55

Caswell's correspondence with the delegates during their stay in Philadelphia showed a practical support and sympathetic encouragement of their work. Writing to them on July 1 that he had drawn on the state treasury for allowances for four months, he said:

... Your Task is arduous, your undertaking is of such magnitude as to require Time for Deliberation and Consideration, and altho' I know each Gentleman must sensibly feel for his own private concerns in being so long absent from them, Yet the future happiness of the States so much depends on the determination of the Convention I am convinced your wishes to promote that happiness to your Country are such as to induce you to attend to the completing this business if possible. Any thing I can do which may tend towards making your stay agreeable shall be most chearfully attended to & I shall be most happy at all times in rendering you service or receiving any communications or advice from you. . . . 56

⁵⁴ State Records, XX, 128.
55 State Records, XX, 627.
56 State Records, XX, 729.

Hugh Williamson reported that of the five delegates appointed, he and William Blount would continue until the end of the convention. He thought that they had met the difficulties of the state with a firmness that should call forth the thanks of the people. But, as if doubting that due appreciation would be given, he consoled himself with the observation that they had added to the happiness of millions.⁵⁷ On November 2 Caswell submitted to the General Assembly the proposed constitution and a letter supporting it from the deputies of the state. The constitution provided that the voters of each state should choose a convention to consider its ratification. Accordingly, the General Assembly called a convention to meet on July 21, 1788, at Hillsboro.⁵⁸

The campaign for the election of members of this convention was one of the most exciting in the history of the state. On the Federalist ticket from Dobbs County were the names of Richard Caswell and his son, Winston; his brother-in-law, John Herritage; James Glasgow, then secretary of state; and Benjamin Sheppard. Opposed to these well known men, experienced in public affairs, were five obscure men on the anti-federalist ticket. When a group of men gathered on Saturday night to receive the election returns, the intense feeling grew to consternation as the count went on. The total number of votes cast at Kinston was 372, and the tabulation of the first 282 ballots showed that the anti-Federalists were leading by nearly forty votes over Glasgow and the other federalists. Feeling that Dobbs County would be disgraced by putting "preacher Baker before Governor Caswell," the Federalists decided on a daring plan to prevent further counting of the votes. Candles were put out and in the darkness the ballot box was forcibly taken from Sheriff Benjamin Caswell, who had been knocked down. Benjamin Sheppard, one of the Federalist candidates, gave his approval to the riot by saying: "Well done, boys, now we will have a new election." Next morning the box was found near the jail broken open and the ballots scattered. Both sides picked up ballots and claimed favorable results.

The governor, Samuel Johnston, called for a new election to be held on July 14 and 15. The anti-Federalists refused to take

⁵⁷ State Records, XX, 765. 58 State Records, XX, 128.

part and only 85 votes were cast, electing the Federalists without opposition. Accordingly, Richard and Winston Caswell, James Glasgow, Nathaniel Lassiter, and Benjamin Sheppard were given certificates of election.⁵⁹ The convention's committee of elections reported on July 23:

The sitting members from the county of Dobbs should vacate their seats as it does not appear that the majority of the county approves of the new election under the recommendation of the Governor, nor was there any evidence before the committee by which they could determine with certainty which candidates had a majority of the votes of the other election. The committee is therefore of the opinion that the first election is void as well as the latter.

This report was accepted and Dobbs County was not represented, so that Caswell took no part in the debates of the convention which failed to ratify the Constitution.

This action left North Carolina out of the Union, as a sufficient number of states had already ratified the Constitution providing for the organization of the new government. Public opinion in the state underwent a rapid change, however, and many petitions were sent to the next General Assembly asking that a second convention be called. Therefore Caswell moved on November 17, 1788, that a convention should be called to reconsider the Constitution. 60 This motion was adopted, and the second convention was called to meet at Fayetteville on November 16, 1789. In the meantime Congress had recommended ten amendments which removed the most serious objections to the Constitution. Consequently, when the delegates assembled at Fayetteville, the Constitution was ratified by a majority of 118, and the convention adjourned on November 22. Although Caswell did not live to see this act completed which made North Carolina a member of the Union, having died six days before the convention assembled, he was probably assured of the successful consummation of his efforts by the change of views among the people and the political leaders. He was in close touch with these leaders, for he had met with them at Fayetteville when the General Assembly had convened on November 3, at which time Caswell was elected speaker of the senate for the last time.

⁵⁹ State Records, XX, 2, 5. 60 State Records, XX, 514.

On November 5 Caswell was paralyzed and remained speechless until his death on the following Tuesday, November 10. A joint committee of both houses was appointed to arrange the details of the funeral, and the General Assembly adjourned to go to Kinston in a body to take part in these last rites.⁶¹ His grave, two and a half miles from Kinston on the Tower Hill road, is in the family burying ground of a half acre, reserved in his will, near the "Red House."

In his will Caswell referred to the death of his eldest son William, on whom he had depended for assistance throughout most of his public career. Also, his last years were saddened by the mysterious disappearance at sea of his second son Richard. This occurred as late as 1784 or 1785, as Richard Caswell, Junior, was a member of the House of Commons in April, 1783.⁶² It was thought that he was captured by the pirates who were then at war with the United States.

Caswell was elected governor of the state seven times, a number that has never been equalled by any other chief magistrate in the history of North Carolina. During the trying years of the Revolutionary War probably no other man in the state exerted more influence for the success of the American cause. With all his practical organizing ability, he had the power to inspire others with high aims and the desire for independence, after the first ardor of enthusiasm had begun to cool. But his most long-continued and paramount influence was exerted in legislative halls as a statesman. Throughout his whole public career from 1754 till 1789 he was a member of the house of commons or of the senate, except while serving as governor, and even then most of his accomplishments depended on his success in securing the cooperation or approval of the legislature. Twice he was a member of the Continental Congress, and four times a member of the provincial congress, presiding over the last one, which drew up the first constitution of the state.

Probably Caswell was the most versatile and gifted North Carolinian of his time. He was undoubtedly a devoted patriot who sacrificed his own personal gains for the good of the state. No other man in the history of North Carolina has been rewarded with more varied and exalted honors.

⁶¹ State Records, XXI, 221, 588. 62 State Records, XX, 62.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE SOUTH IN 19121

By ARTHUR S. LINK

The momentous schism in the Republican party which occurred at Chicago in June, 1912, probably decided the outcome of the presidential campaign. When Theodore Roosevelt, defeated by William Howard Taft for the Republican presidential nomination, led his angry followers out of the convention hall, he made it clear that he would accept the presidential nomination on the condition that a new party be organized. Accordingly, a call was issued for a convention of Roosevelt's supporters to meet in early August to organize the Progressive party.²

The Progressive convention which assembled in Chicago in August, 1912, was one of the most remarkable political gatherings the country had witnessed. Social and economic reformers, disgruntled politicians, representatives of big business, idealists, and sundry others made up the motley crowd. Roosevelt was also there, feeling like a "Bull Moose."

In his "Confession of Faith," his keynote address to the Progressive convention, Roosevelt came out squarely in favor of a positive social democracy and championed practically every social and economic reform that had been proposed and had failed of accomplishment in the country. He emphasized the necessity for a central government powerful enough to regulate effectively the trusts and interstate corporations, determine fair minimum wages and hours for industrial laborers, and in every way possible exert its influences to safeguard the welfare of the people. Social justice, political reform, a sort of state socialism, and moral regeneration were the Bull Moose candidate's chief themes. "We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord," shouted Roosevelt as he concluded his keynote to a convention that resembled an old-fashioned religious revival more than a political convention.³

¹ Research on this article was made possible by a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

² The literature on the Progressive party is voluminous. Henry F. Pringle's Theodore Roosevelt (New York, 1931) and Life and Times of William Howard Taft (New York, 1939) are particularly good. The most recent and exhaustive work on the subject is George E. Mowry, Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement (Madison, Wis., 1946). There is abundant material on the presidential campaign of 1912 in the Theodore Roosevelt Papers (manuscripts in the Libary of Congress); hereinafter cited as Roosevelt Papers.

³ New York Times, August 7, 1912.

Southern editors, like their colleagues throughout the country, had always given Roosevelt priority on the front pages of their newspapers. And now this new third party constituted a threat to Southern Democratic solidarity, for from the very start Roosevelt and the Progressives emphasized the national character of their organization and extended a hearty welcome to Southerners to join with them in their fight for social justice. Roosevelt began the campaign by specifically declaring that the Progressive appeal was made "equally to the sons of the men who fought under Grant and to the sons of the men who fought under Lee, for the cause we champion is as emphatically the cause of the South as it is the cause of the North." 4 The colonel was almost pathetically anxious to break the solid South. "Really if I could carry one of the eleven ex-Confederate States," he wrote, "I should feel as though I could die happy." 5 And he expected in 1912 to capitalize upon the discontent of Southern businessmen and manufacturers with the new progressive leadership within the Democratic party. All that was necessary, he thought, was that the Progressive party should be completely disassociated from Republican traditions.6

After Roosevelt set forth his political and economic program in his "Confession of Faith" some liberal Southern editors observed that many of his proposals were eminently desirable and that he was undoubtedly sincerely interested in the welfare of the people. His proposals to establish minimum wages and hours, for example, evoked warm praise from at least two progressive newspapers. But liberal Southern editors in general declared that although Roosevelt's suggestions were commendable, they were either impossible of solution or impracticable in theory. Sincere progressives, these editors declared, should rally behind Woodrow Wilson, the only progressive candidate who could bring about the reforms the nation urgently needed.8

Most Southern editors, however, had few kind words to say for the third party and its candidate. Perhaps they were determined

⁴ Charleston News and Courier, June 24, 1912. 5 Roosevelt to John M. Parker, July 15, 1912, Roosevelt Papers. 6 Roosevelt to the members of the Progressive National Committee, undated letter in Roosevelt Papers.

⁷ Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 7, 1912; Mobile Register, August 7, 1912. 8 Dallas Morning News, August 8, 1912; Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman, September 26, 1912; Nashville Tennessean and American, August 10, 1912; Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 7, 1912; Mobile Register, August 7, 1912.

to assail the prophet of the New Nationalism on any pretext. Several editors objected to him personally: they resented his obvious egotism and political methods. For example, Roosevelt's utterances sounded to one editor like the "caterwauling of monster alley cats," 9 while other editors feared that the Progressive candidate was endeavoring to "carry out his treacherous ambition to destroy the government created by the founders," 10 or to force a wild brand of resurrected populism or unmitigated socialism upon the country. 11

Henry Watterson was guilty of the severest diatribes against the Progressive candidate. Old "Marse Henry" had quarreled with Wilson during the pre-convention Democratic campaign and had become one of his bitterest critics prior to the New Jersey governor's nomination. But since it was not exactly politic for him to continue his attacks against the Democratic presidential nominee, the old Kentuckian turned the full fury of his seething wrath against the colonel. Even before the Baltimore convention, "Marse Henry" had devoted one full editorial page of the Courier-Journal to a detailed and serious argument attempting to prove that Roosevelt was insane. How else, he asked, could one explain "The devilish streak of viciousness, the ignoble malignancy, the illogical intensity and inaccuracy of the lunatic?" 12 Roosevelt presented, Watterson later wrote, "the hideous spectacle of an ex-President, bawling like a drunken harlot from one end of the land to the other." 13 The old editor was in his happiest role as a maligner and carper and spent the summer lambasting the Progressive candidate.14

Like Watterson, other Southerners utterly threw to the winds all discretion and temperance of judgment and completely went off balance in their denunciation of Roosevelt. Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina expressed the sentiment of many Southern Democrats when he wrote, "It seems to me that the Devil has more to do with the world now-a-days than God Almighty." Otherwise he could not understand how "a crazy liar and all-

⁹ Wilmington (N. C.) Morning Star, September 10, 1912.

10 Chattanooga Daily Times, August 7, 1912.

11 Montgomery Advertiser, August 8, 1912; Louisville Times, August 7, 1912; Charlotte Daily Observer, August 7, 1912.

12 Louisville Courier-Journal, May 7, 1912.

13 Louisville Courier-Journal, May 23, 1912.

14 One of the best of these editorials is in the Louisville Courier-Journal, August 24, 1912.

round scoundrel like Roosevelt" could deceive so many people. 15 Even the responsible Nashville Banner charged that Roosevelt was without moral scruples and that he would "violate any law, overthrow any established usage, disregard his own plighted faith, or stab his nearest friend." 16 Another usually sane editor likewise wrote that the colonel was a "big, burly fellow, with the muscles of a thug, the voice of a bull of Bashan, and the assurance of a brass monkey." 17

But unreasoned personal prejudice was not the only reason Southerners objected to the Progressive movement and its leader. The lily-white movement within the new party and its relation to the South alternately frightened and amused Southern Democrats. Theodore Roosevelt meant to make a direct personal appeal to the Southern people to break away from Democratic traditions and to join with him in what he thought was his movement for social and political regeneration. Many Negroes both in the North and in the South looked to him as their deliverer and hastened to join the Progressive ranks. But, manifestly, if the Progressive party was to gain a considerable number of adherents in the South, it had first of all to divorce itself from the Negro voters who, in the deep South at least, constituted the backbone of the old Republican party. This much was clear to John M. Parker of New Orleans, Roosevelt's chief Southern political adviser, who warned the colonel that "this should be a white men's party, recognizing the superior ability of the white man and his superior civilization." The South, Parker added, "cannot and will not under any circumstances tolerate the Negro, and my firm belief is that a plank on these lines, diplomatically arranged would be productive of immense good." 18 In other words, the Progressive party had to be "lilywhite" or a "white man's party" if it was to make any progress in the South.19

15 B. R. Tillman to F. E. Barber, August Library of the University of South Carolina). August 5, 1912, Tillman Papers (manuscripts in the

Library of the University of South Carolina).

16 Nashville Banner, April 29, 1912.

17 "He is a great exaggerator," the editor added, "a great prevaricator; a great pilferer of other men's ideas; a great braggart; a great dodger; a great kicker when things don't go his way; a great baby when some bauble is given him; a great spender of other people's money; a great hand at being on both sides of every issue; a great hand at inventing facts to suit the occasion; he has a great lust for power." Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, April 25, 1912.

18 J. M. Parker to Roosevelt, July 24, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; published in A. S. Link (ed.), "Correspondence Relating to the Progressive Party's 'Lily White' Policy in 1912," Journal of Southern History, X (November, 1944), 481.

19 See also Julian Harris to Roosevelt, August 3, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; published in Journal of Southern History, X (November, 1944), 488-490.

Roosevelt, however, was at first loath to take any conspicuous stand on the issue for fear of alienating many Negro voters in the North. In the latter part of July he announced that the problem of the composition of the several state delegations to the national convention would have to be settled by the various state organizations.²⁰ This effort to side-step the issue was entirely unsuccessful because in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi rival white and Negro Progressive parties were organized and each sent a delegation to the national convention claiming to be the legitimate representatives of the party. And when these Negro delegates actually appeared in Chicago to contest the seating of the white delegations, there was nothing left for Roosevelt to do except take a definite stand on the question.21

As a consequence, before the assembling of the Progressive national convention, Roosevelt, in a letter to Julian Harris,22 set forth his position with regard to the Negro and his relation to the Progressive party. The traditional Democratic policy of setting whites against Negroes, and the Republican practice of setting Negroes against whites had led to an almost ruinous situation, Roosevelt asserted. Since the Civil War, Republican delegates from the South had been largely Negroes who were easily bought and more easily controlled; the Progressive party could not deal with these black politicians from Dixie. The colonel made it plain to the country that the Progressives would appeal "to the best white men in the South, the men of justice and vision." By placing the Progressive movement in their hands from the outset, "we shall create a situation by which the colored men of the South will get justice as it is not possible for them to get justice if we are to continue and perpetuate the present conditions." 23

In the meantime the Progressive provisional national com-

²⁰ Charlotte Daily Observer, July 28, 1912.
²¹ George E. Mowry, "The South and the Progressive Lily White Party of 1912," Journal of Southern History, VI (May, 1940), 240.
²² Editor of Uncle Remus's Home Magazine (Atlanta) and one of the few prominent Southern Roosevelt men.
²³ Roosevelt to Julian Harris, August 1, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; published in A. S. Link (ed.), "Correspondence Relating to the Progressive Party's 'Lily White' Policy in 1912," Journal of Southern History, X (November, 1944), 481-488.

mittee was endeavoring to decide the question as to whether the white or Negro delegations from the South should be seated. The contest between the rival Georgia delegations was so bitter that the state was allowed to go unrepresented. The white delegations from the other deep Southern states were seated. And when the Progressive convention assembled at Chicago a few days later, Roosevelt revealed to an astonished South that his dictum against the Negro in politics pertained only to the would-be black Bull Moosers from below the Potomac. The convention on August 6, 1912, adopted the report of the credentials committee which excluded every Negro delegate from the South; but Negro delegates from the North were cordially welcomed by the Bull Moose leader who declared in a fulsome tribute to Northern Negroes that since they "had won the respect of their communities" and were "the peers of the white men," the Progressives by admitting them were setting a high standard for the Southern states "to which we hope that our colored brethern [from the South] will come up." 24

Few Southerners believed that Roosevelt was sincere in his policy of North-South racial discrimination. They believed that it was simply a bid for Southern Democratic support on the one hand and Northern Negro votes on the other. "The great Bull Moose leader has summarily ejected the black mooses that hail from the sunny land of Dixie from his herd," one editor humorously commented.²⁵ Southern Democrats did not let Roosevelt forget, furthermore, that his convictions regarding the place of the Negro in Southern politics were of too recent an origin not to warrant suspicion. They recalled the Crum incident, the suspension of the Indianola, Mississippi, post office, and the Booker T. Washington dinner at the White House. The colonel never once intimated that he had changed his democratic views concerning Negro-white relations in general, but Southern newspapers implied that he had and when he dined with two Negro Progressives in Providence, Rhode Island, Southerners were

 ^{24 &}quot;Extract from Mr. Roosevelt's Speech at the Coliseum, August 6, 1912. On the Negro Question." Typed MS in Roosevelt Papers.
 25 Nashville Banner, August 6, 1912.

assured that Roosevelt still endorsed "social equality" for the races.26

The lily-white policy of the Progressive party was not the only basis for Southern criticism of Theodore Roosevelt. His Southern critics charged that he was a pawn in the hands of the trusts. That George W. Perkins of the harvester and steel trusts was Roosevelt's chief financial supporter was bad enough, Southerners declared. But when Senator Robert M. La Follette made known the fact of the rapid growth of trusts during the years of the Roosevelt presidency, Democratic critics could with some reason declare that the Bull Moose had been no consistent enemy of the trusts.²⁷ They insisted, moreover, that Roosevelt as President had proved unfaithful to his promise to support the Constitution when he allowed Morgan and Gary to incorporate the Tennessee Iron and Coal Company into the United States Steel Corporation. Josephus Daniels extravagantly labeled this act "The greatest crime that has ever been committed by any president of any Republic." 28 Southern editors generally ridiculed the Progressive candidate's promises that he would effectively regulate the trusts if he were elected President. They thought that instead the trusts would control Roosevelt.²⁹

The disclosures of a Senate investigating committee in the fall of 1912 furnished Southern critics with new ammunition to fire at Roosevelt. It was revealed authoritatively for the first time that the railroad magnate, Edward H. Harriman, had contributed personally \$50,000 and had collected \$200,000 for the Roosevelt campaign fund in 1904.30 To make a bad situation worse for Roosevelt, it was further revealed that John D. Archbold gave \$100,000 for Standard Oil and that George W. Perkins gave \$50,000 for the

²⁸ Providence Bulletin, August 17, 1912; Montgomery Advertiser, November 2, 1912. On the other hand, the Charleston News and Courier, August 12, 1912, and Columbia (S. C.) State, August 10, 1912, commended Roosevelt's seeming conversion to the Southern viewpoint on

August 10, 1912, commended Roosevelt's seeming conversion to the Southern viewpoint on the Negro's place in Southern politics.

Josephus Daniels' pronouncement on the issue was a plain statement of the prevailing Southern conviction regarding the Negro in politics. Out of her bitter experience, Daniels wrote, the South had evolved certain paramount convictions. The region was seeking not merely a sectional policy, but a national policy on the subject of the race question. The South would attain security, Daniels added, only by the general acceptance of a national policy embodying Southern racial ideas and practices. If Roosevelt would emancipate the South, the Tar Heel editor insisted, he should recognize the justice of the Southern claim "that the subjugation of the Negro, politically, and the separation of the Negro, socially, are paramount to all other considerations in the South, short of the preservation of the Republic itself." This, he asserted, was the "Anglo-Saxon instinct of self-preservation," more profound than reason and deeper than experience. Raleigh News and Observer, October 1, 1912.

27 Raleigh News and Observer, September 7, 1912.

28 Raleigh News and Observer, Cotober 6, 1912.

29 See the Chattanooga Daily Times, September 10, 1912; Raleigh News and Observer, July 20, 1912; Houston Post, August 18, 1912; Little Rock Arkansas Democrat, August 17, 1912.

New York Life Insurance Company. Roosevelt branded as false Harriman's statement that it was at the colonel's request that the railroad executive collected a quarter of a million dollars from Wall Street; and he declared that he knew nothing whatever about the Standard Oil contribution, but vigorous rebuttals from the men involved placed Roosevelt in a suspicious light. Southern editors, in "righteous anger," endeavored to paint his past record in the darkest colors and most sinister light. One critic was particularly harsh. Roosevelt was, he declared, a "wolf in sheep's clothing, — a decoy duck, an emissary of legalized piracy masquerading as a reformer." 31 An Arkansas editor thought Roosevelt was "not only the biggest hypocrite alive, but is entitled to all the other epithets that may be applied to an ungrateful master and subservient public servant." 32

The Progressive candidate's allegations that the Democratic and Republican parties were boss-ridden and boss-controlled puzzled Southern editors, 33 many of whom thought that Roosevelt himself was the most arrogant political boss in the country. They pointed, furthermore, to the obvious fact that William Flinn of Pennsylvania, a ring-leader in Bull Moose councils, had the reputation of a corrupt and unscrupulous politician. Southern Democrats also objected to the high degree of governmental centralization envisaged in the New Nationalism. One editor saw the struggle between the New Freedom and the New Nationalism as "a conflict between a government of delegated powers and a government of absolute powers, between Anglo-Saxon law and Roman law, between Democracy and Socialism." 34 Southern progressives and conservatives alike voiced their opposition to Roosevelt's proposals for a protective tariff, the benefits of which were to be distributed to all the people. They feared that with his proposed Tariff Commission, his Trust Commission, and his numerous other suggested commissions, Roosevelt would inaugurate a regime of government by commission for the nation.35

31 Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, July 7, 1912.

³¹ Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, July 7, 1912.
32 Little Rock Arkansas Democrat, August 22, 1912.
33 Roosevelt to Eugene Thwing, July 16, 1912, Roosevelt Papers; see also T. Roosevelt, "Platform Insincerity," Outlook, CI (July 27, 1912), 660-662.
34 Atlanta Journal, September 1, 1912.
35 Atlanta Journal, September 29, 1912; Birmingham Age-Herald, July 12, 1912; Raleigh News and Observer, August 7, 1912; Pallas Morning News, August 8, 1912; Richmond Times-Dispatch, August 7, 1912; Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, July 29, 1912; Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman, September 26, 1912.

Despite the impression of an apparent unanimity of feeling against Theodore Roosevelt and his Progressive program that one gets from the Southern newspapers, there was considerable difference of opinion at the time as to the actual strength of the new party in the South. The New York Times attempted to probe Southern political inclinations by gathering from leading Democrats in the region their opinions as to whether Roosevelt would carry any of the states below the Potomac. The Southerners replied almost unanimously that they had no fear that the Progressives would make serious inroads in their respective states.36

But in every Southern state except Oklahoma a lily white Progressive party was organized. In Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia — states in which the Republicans were normally respectable minorities — the rise of the new party only caused a division within the Republican ranks, but in Georgia, Arkansas, and Alabama thousands of enthusiastic Bull Moose supporters worked for Roosevelt's election.37 In the remainder of the Deep South the third party made little progress. It was in that section, according to one Mississippi editor, like the proverbial Panamanian army, a force with several hundred generals and but two privates. 38 At least two Southern newspapers, the Memphis News-Scimitar and the Burlington (N. C.) State-Dispatch, espoused the Progressive cause, but only two men prominent in Southern life - John M. Parker of New Orleans and Julian Harris of Atlanta — advocated Roosevelt's election.

Roosevelt himself felt that he had a great personal following in the South who would rally to his support if he could only deliver his appeal to them. 39 He determined, accordingly, to carry the fight to the heart of the enemy, to make a campaign tour in the South. Roosevelt opened his Southern campaign "swing around the circle" at Little Rock where he addressed a session of the Lakes-to-the-Gulf Deep Waterway Association on September 24, 1912. He confined himself largely to a discussion

³⁶ New York Times, August 19, 1912.
37 In Georgia Roosevelt polled 22,010 (16.14% of the total vote), and Taft polled 5,190 votes (4.27% of the total vote). Arkansas gave 21,673 (17.66% of the total vote) to Roosevelt, and 24,297 votes (19.62% of the total vote) to Taft. Roosevelt polled 22,689 (19.26% of the total vote) and Taft 9,731 votes (8.26% of the total vote) in Alabama. World Alamanc, 1916, passim.
38 New Orleans Times-Democrat, September 24, 1912, quoting Jones County (Miss.) News.
39 There can be no doubt that Roosevelt was something of a popular idol with many Southerners. The numerous letters written by Progressives in the South to their leader testify to this fact. See, for example, James M. Williamson, Jr., to Roosevelt, June 7, 1912, and M. F. Anderson to Roosevelt, May 7, 1912, both in Roosevelt Papers.

of flood-control on the Mississippi River and offered the startling suggestion that the equipment used to build the Panama Canal be transported to the Mississippi Valley once the Canal was completed, and "then we will have flood prevention, water conservation and river traffic." ⁴⁰

At Memphis on September 26 the colonel addressed a crowd of almost 5,000 persons at a meeting of the Interstate Levee Association and advocated a broad policy of flood-control which would include every phase of soil reclamation, the building of reservoirs for the storage of flood waters, reforestation, the generation of electrical power from the water power accumulated, and the completion and strengthening of the levee system. At the state fairgrounds he braved a pouring rain to shake hands with a crowd estimated by the local newspaper at 17,000.41

In his two addresses at Little Rock and Memphis, Roosevelt had carefully avoided a discussion of politics, but at New Orleans on September 27 he set forth plainly his political appeal to the South. There was popular enthusiasm a-plenty and the crowd gave the colonel a welcome that must have gladdened his heart. His Southern manager, John M. Parker, introduced Roosevelt with an impassioned plea to the Southern people to cast aside the fetters of political tradition and to join in the movement for economic and political regeneration. The colonel emphasized the necessity for Federal control of the Mississippi and its levees, advocated protection for the cane and beet sugar industries, and pleaded for the abolition of what he called "artificial political lines" in the South. "I come here not to ask you to follow me," he declared, "but to ask you to join me." 42 It was in the interest of the South, he said, that he had come into the region to make his appeal in behalf of the Progressive party. "I want you to feel free to vote as your conscience inclines you to. If we win I want you to take your share in steering the wheels of the nation. I am less engaged in pleading my cause than in pleading yours." He ended his address by appealing to Southerners who believed as he did to disregard tradition and join in the new political crusade.43

 ⁴⁰ Little Rock Arkansas Democrat, September 25, 1912.
 41 Memphis Commercial Appeal, September 27, 1912.
 42 New Orleans Times-Democrat, September 28, 1912.
 43 Louisville Courier-Journal, September 28, 1912.

Roosevelt made a similar appeal in Montgomery on the morning of September 28,44 but in Atlanta, during the evening of the same day, he launched an attack upon Woodrow Wilson before an audience numbering more than 10,000. He charged that Wilson had grossly and deliberately misrepresented his views in his campaign speeches and that the New Jersey governor was totally ignorant of present-day thought on political and economic questions.45

The Progressive candidate continued his "swing around the circle" in the South by going to Chattanooga for an address on the evening of September 30,46 and concluded his Southern tour with an address in Raleigh on October 1. At Raleigh he recalled North Carolina's history and declared, "with such a history behind you. I think I have the right to come here and appeal to you to join us in the greatest movement for regeneration that you have seen or will see, as I believe." He further declared that the South, with "its old and native goodness," had the opportunity to aid in political regeneration. "I wish to see the South," he concluded, "come back into its position of national importance which it formerly had, and which by right it should have." 47

The tumultuous reception Roosevelt received in every Southern city in which he spoke could not have failed to increase his hopes of capturing at least one Southern state, for his campaign proved one very definite thing: that, despite the onslaught of press and politicians, Roosevelt was popular with the Southern people. Woodrow Wilson himself could have received no warmer welcome.

Roosevelt found, however, that it was his misfortune that people often shout one way and vote another and he got only a small minority of the votes in the South. Why did the Progressives fail in their effort to win the support of Southern progressives and liberals? Roosevelt received little support from Southern liberals mainly because their own leader, for whom they had long been struggling, was now the Democratic presidential nominee. Southern progressives were generally convinced, furthermore, that Wilson was a true progressive leader

⁴⁴ Montgomery Advertiser, September 29, 1912.
45 Atlanta Constitution, September 29, 1912.
46 Chattanooga Daily Times, October 1, 1912.
47 Raleigh News and Observer, October 2, 1912.

whereas many of them thought that Roosevelt was an opportunist and a demagogue. These liberals stood to gain everything politically should the Democratic candidate become President of the United States, and they were naturally unwilling to desert the candidate for whom they had been fighting, to become the advocates of an obviously lost cause. Southern conservatives, on the other hand, opposed Roosevelt for different reasons. Although some of them might look with favor upon his protective tariff policy, they viewed with suspicion and distrust his program of social, political, and economic reform. Wilson was too "radical" to suit their tastes, but even he was not as "radical" in their eyes as was Roosevelt.

After the furor and name-calling of the campaign had given way to a serious consideration of Roosevelt's mission, however, progressive Southerners must have agreed with the editor of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* who wrote that the Progressive candidate was not a "vulgar charlatan, or a cheap demagogue," but that he was a spokesman for the discontent of the American people. The idealism of the Progressive movement, the editor concluded, still lived and reigned. There was no defeat at Armageddon, for Woodrow Wilson's dream of the ideal republic might yet be realized if all good men set their hearts and their hands to the great work of reconstructing the American commonwealth.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ Richmond Times-Dispatch, November 6, 1912.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN and CRAVEN COUNTY, 1700-1800 By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

PART VII NEW BERN DURING THE REVOLUTION

¶ The Sword is now drawn, and God knows when it will be sheathed.

—James Davis, May 12, 1775.

In 1771 the people of Craven County fought to uphold a government resting upon royal administration. Four short years later they shed life's blood to destroy it. What was the reason for this change of heart? Superficially, it appears arbitrary, capricious and illogical. Actually, it presents less of a contradiction than it seems. To the people of Craven County the Regulation was not entirely a test of loyalty to the British crown. They fought for Tryon and defended him from his critics partly because of personal attachment to a friend and benefactor but mostly because they abhorred the attempt of the Regulators to ride roughshod over representative government. Long before Alamance, they were becoming alienated from British rule for much the same reason. Anarchy in Hillsboro, high-handedness in London — neither was tolerable when it jeopardized the security and prosperity so hardly won from a land which little more than half a century before had been a perilous and unproductive wilderness.

The Stamp Act and its troubles in 1765-1766 brought unrest and uncertainty to the town. From arriving skippers, merchants and shipowners learned with anxiety of vessels seized in the West Indies for want of stamp papers. They read with apprehension in the local press of higher underwriters' premiums, after outbursts in New Hanover, for voyages to Cape Fear. The wheels of business slowed ominously. "Tho' the people here are peacable

¹ Dispatch from New Bern to the London Chronicle, April 1-3, 1766. Reprinted in D. L. Corbitt's "Historical Notes," The North Carolina Historical Review, II (1925), 388. ² Colonial Records, VII, 168 ff.

and quiet yet they seem very uneasy discontented and dejected," wrote the Reverend James Reed. "The Courts of Justice are in a great measure shut up and tis expected that in a few weeks there will be a total stagnation of trade." 3 Nor did the inhabitants always bear thus meekly with the impositions of their overseas government, for in November, 1765, the angry New Bernians "try'd, condemn'd, hang'd, and burn'd" in effigy the crown-appointed stamp distributor, Dr. William Houston.4 When at last the act was repealed, these rumblings of revolt gave way temporarily to genuine gratitude. A public banquet and ball were held to celebrate the occasion.⁵ Ill will and resentment were in part scored off by the beginning of the Palace and the assurance that New Bern at last was to be the undisputed permanent capital. Yet all was not serene between the people and the British government. The passage of the Townshend Acts in June, 1767, brought renewed indignation, and the town must have witnessed some heated public denunciations of this fresh instance of British misrule. An account of one has survived. The assembly which convened in October, 1769, probably in the schoolhouse, reconvened after Tryon's dissolution, which he had pronounced in order to prevent the adoption of non-importation resolutions, in the Craven courthouse and proceeded, as a convention, to boycott British-taxed goods in defiance of the governor's displeasure. By April, 1770, and perhaps prior to this date, the Sons of Liberty were active in New Bern. The full membership is not known but it is certain that Richard Cogdell, later chairman of the committee of safety, was prominent in the counsels of this organization, from which grew the seeds of revolt and separation.

On August 11, 1771, Tryon's successor, Josiah Martin, arrived in New Bern by boat from New York to the roar of a salute by the cannon at the Palace and the Union Point Battery.8 It must have been something of a surprise to him to find such a splendid building as the Palace awaiting his occupancy because he re-

3 Colonial Records, VII, 154. 4 Colonial Records, VII, ix (prefatory notes), 125.

 ⁴ Colonial Records, VII, ix (prefatory notes), 125.
 5 R. D. W. Connor, History of North Carolina: The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods (Chicago and New York, 1919), I, 330.
 6 South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, December 8, 1769. Reprinted in R. D. W. Connor, "John Harvey," The North Carolina Booklet, VIII (1908), 21-26.
 7 John Neufville, chairman of the General Committee, Charleston, "To the Sons of Liberty in Newbern," April 25, 1770; Richard Cogdell Papers, 1761-1784, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
 8 Virginia Gazette, September 12, 1771; Colonial Records, IX, 16.

marked immediately that the town "is . . . made extremely delectable by the accommodation [sic] provided at great charge to the Province according to the elegant taste of Mr Tryon." 9 Here indeed was a left-handed compliment. Martin no doubt admired the "elegant taste" of the building, but by slipping in that blistering phrase, "at great charge to the Province," he leaves no doubt as to his opinion on his predecessor's extravagance. Martin found New Bern at the height of its pre-Revolutionary prosperity:

... I see this little town or rather village of New Bern [he wrote] growing very fast into significance in spite of the great natural difficulties of the navigation leading to it and its importance will I hope become greater as the spirit of improvement that begins to dawn among the neighboring planters some of whom are going upon the culture of Rice and Indigo shall diffuse itself. The bad navigation however of the river Neuse and the bar of Ocracock, will much retard its growth and can never be effectually improved until this Province shall be in circumstances to employ £100,000 Sterling under the auspices of some such Genius as Mr Brindley¹⁰ to whom I am persuaded it would not be a very difficult task and I do think it would then soon become a City not unworthy notice in the great and flourishing Empire of my Royal Master. 11

New Bern was at this time far from being a city; not even the genius of James Brindley could have made it one, despite Martin's sanguine observation. But it was losing some of the aspects of a village. In 1773 was passed an act which provided for the first fire engine and the first town police force — yes, and even the first speed law. 12 This act empowered the town commissioners to assess a tax up to two shillings per £100 of town property to buy a water engine with ladders and buckets and to establish a fire company. It forbade children or idle and disorderly persons to fire off guns and pistols in town. It prescribed a ten-shilling fine for driving a horse and cart "immoderately." Finally, it empowered the commissioners to engage two or more watchmen to be paid out of the funds arising from the two-shilling tax, and

⁹ Colonial Records, IX, 19.

10 James Brindley (1716-1772), the illiterate Derbyshire engineering genius, who constructed near Manchester the first important English canal and began the great system of inland navigation in the midlands. In all he laid out or superintended 365 miles of canals, of which the most important was the Trent and Mersey, known as the Grand Trunk. Dictionary of National Biography, VI, 345.

11 Colonial Records, IX, 281.

12 It was introduced by Christopher Neale. Colonial Records, IX, 445, 505; State Records, XXIII, 916-918.

thus began the colonial archetype of the modern professional police force, supplanting the system of volunteer civic patrollers.

Despite this promising prospect, Martin's administration was doomed from the first to ill fortune. Typical of its tragic tenor was the death of one of his children from vellow fever before he had been in New Bern a month.¹³ In 1775 another of his children died. 14 Everything seemed to go wrong in this ill-starred administration. The school encountered difficulties. Scarcity of money and dearness of board forced Master Tomlinson to dismiss his assistant. 15 Enrollment dropped to only thirty scholars, and these of town families, because of the high cost of living for out-of-town students. A dissenting minister opened a school at Wilmington, which took away from Tomlinson six Wilmington boys. 16 To climax these troubles, the trustees — most unfairly. it seems — quarreled with Tomlinson in regard to the punishment of the children of two of the board members, for which Reed blamed "the excessive Indulgence of American parents." 17 Poor Tomlinson was forced out of his position, and the school seems for a time to have suspended operation. Tomlinson remained in New Bern, continuing as lay reader for the parish, but soon went to Rhode Island for his health. 18 Evidently he returned, for it is undoubtedly his epitaph which appears on an ancient stone in Cedar Grove Cemetery: "In memory of Thomas Tomlinson who departed this life on the 24th of September, 1802. Aged 70 years." There is nothing to tell how he spent the latter part of his life. Perhaps he farmed his brother's lands near New Bern, living quietly and in some justifiable bitterness.

Political matters fared no better than the school. The governor and assembly reached a deadlock on the court law proposed in 1773. The colonial merchants wished this law to carry a clause by which their right to continue to attach American property owned by English merchants would be assured. To this the crown had unwisely instructed Martin not to agree, and as a consequence American loyalty was put to a severe strain. Once

¹³ Colonial Records, IX, 32; Virginia Gazette, November 14, 1771.

14 Colonial Records, IX, 1117.

15 Colonial Records, IX, 239.

16 Colonial Records, IX, 239.

17 Colonial Records, IX, 238 ff. "The Rules of the School," of the Norfolk (Va.) Academy, March 26, 1787, provided for a committee of aldermen to sit on trial with the master in disciplinary cases to "prevent odium falling on the principal alone."

18 Colonial Records, IX, 305, 317, 318.

again the people of New Bern assembled to pass resolves. 19 Once again judicial proceedings were curtailed and trade began to slacken. Isaac Edwards, of New Bern, who had been Governor Tryon's secretary, wrote bitterly:

The Mother Country has not of late discovered any great desire to promote the wish of her children, much less to mitigate or relax the mandates of her Sovereign & Supreme power, & if I judge aright her children in this our dear Country have too sacred a regard to what they esteem their unbounded Birthright, tamely to surrender it to the Command of any Tribunal under Heaven.²⁰

This state of mind, long in coming and reluctantly arrived at in the conservative town of New Bern, was the tinder of revolt. By the middle of the following year the tinder had caught. "All America is in a most violent flame," wrote the Reverend James Reed, "and every good man would forbear as much as possible adding the least Fuel to the Fire." 21

But the fire would not die down. On July 21, 1774, the inhabitants of Wilmington met and passed resolutions calling for a provincial congress to be held at Johnston Courthouse for election of delegates to a general congress in Philadelphia.²² On August 9 a mass meeting for a similar purpose was held in the courthouse in New Bern. Delegates were elected - but the suggestion of the Wilmington citizens that the congress should meet in Johnston County was quietly ignored. New Bern was not to be deprived of this exciting convention. Accordingly, the notices which went out telling of the meeting proclaimed New Bern as the place for the congress and August 25 as the date.²³ The leaders in this call for the congress were James Davis, Abner Nash, Isaac Edwards, Joseph Leech, Richard Cogdell, Richard Ellis, James Coor, David Barron, and John Green. Leech and Cogdell, plus Lemuel Hatch, were chosen as the county's representatives; while Nash and Edwards were selected to represent the borough.²⁴ While Martin protested ineffectually, the congress gathered as scheduled.25 But where did it meet? Cer-

¹⁹ Colonial Records, X, 827. 20 Colonial Records, IX, 680. 21 Colonial Records, IX, 1015. 22 Colonial Records, IX, 1016-1017. 23 Colonial Records, IX, 1026-1027. 24 Colonial Records, IX, 1042. 25 Colonial Records, IX, 1029-1030.

tainly not in the Palace assembly room, for that would have been a petty and needless defiance. The governor's invitation to the council to hold themselves aloof from the congress by being his guests at the Palace seems to make it certain that the delegates met either at the courthouse or the schoolhouse.26 With Nash, the able advocate, Leech, the soldier, and Cogdell, the organizing politician and patriot, in their delegations, New Bern and Craven County were well represented in this first assembly chosen independently of royal authority. And no more fiery exponent of American rights could be found among the members of this body than Isaac Edwards, who alone of them all went so far as to urge condemnation of Martin's attempt to obstruct the gathering of the people's representatives. Of him Martin wrote that he had been "the most zealous and forward" in promoting the congress.²⁷ Unfortunately for the colonists' cause, Edwards died only five months later.28 (He "persued to the last the same undutiful conduct," said the governor.) 29 Thus did untimely death, as in the case of Perquimans's John Harvey, who outlived him only three months, prevent Edwards from seeing the fight for freedom won.

In accordance with the recommendation of the congress, a safety committee was organized for the town and county, with Cogdell as chairman. Early in 1775 it was active in soliciting supplies for the relief of blockaded Boston. The merchants John Green and John Wright Stanly were named to collect and ship stores such as corn, peas, and pork to Salem. 30 Propagandistic activities were also begun. At a meeting in March, for example, the committee passed resolves exhorting the people "to remain firm and steady in the common cause of Liberty."

Be sensible, O Americans! of your danger [the committee wrote]; let that unite you together as one Man and cease not to implore the great Disposer of all things to assist and crown with success the Councils of the General Congress [in Philadelphia].31

Governor Martin raved at these "atrocious falehoods" designed

²⁶ Colonial Records, IX, 1056. 27 Colonial Records, IX, 1056-1057. 28 Colonial Records, IX, 1196. 29 Colonial Records, IX, 1224. 30 Colonial Records, IX, 1196.

³¹ Signers of this circular were Richard Cogdell, Abner Nash, Richard Blackledge, Farnifold Green, John Fonveille, James Davis, Edmond Hatch, James Coor, Jacob Johnston, Jacob Blount, Joseph Leech, Alexander Gaston, and William Bryan. Colonial Records, IX, 1143-1144.

to "stimulate the people to revolt." 32 According to Martin, they were "the composition of a Mr Nash," whom he paid the compliment of calling "an eminent lawyer but a most unprincipled character." This "unprincipled character" was chosen, along with James Davis, to represent the borough in the second provincial congress, which over two protesting proclamations of Martin covened in New Bern on April 4.33 The day after it had begun, the governor ordered John Bryan, sheriff of Craven, to read out upon the floor still a third interdict against this meeting.34 But, he noted in wrath, "not a man obeyed it nor have I heard that any animadversion was made upon it except by a worthless fellow named James Coor [of the Craven delegation] ... who told the Sheriff that he had read the proclamation and might now carry it back to the Governor." 35

Up to this point the North Carolinians had maintained their allegiance to the mother country, however strained it was. The second provincial congress had even made a point of stressing that its intent was not seditious.36 But with the news of the battle of Lexington, which arrived in New Bern on May 6, armed revolt became inevitable.37 The formation of independent militia companies was immediately begun.³⁸ James Davis wrote in his Gazette:

It is now full Time for us to be on our Guard, and to prepare ourselves against every Contingency. The Sword is now drawn, and God knows when it will be sheathed.39

"Civil Government," moaned Martin, "becomes more and more prostrate every day." 40 In apprehension he dismounted the Palace battery, and, observing this, the committee of safety with Abner Nash as spokesman called upon him to demand the return of the guns to their carriages.41 Martin slyly gave as his excuse the need for repairs to this artillery, which had been used at Alamance, in order to fire salutes on the approaching birthday of

³² Colonial Records, IX, 1155.
33 Colonial Records, IX, 1145-1146, 1177-1179.
34 Bryan was sheriff from 1772 to 1780.
35 Colonial Records, IX, 1212-1218.
36 Colonial Records, IX, 1198.
37 Colonial Records, IX, 1287.

³⁸ Saunders says mistakenly that it was not until June 8, 1775, that this was done, though actually the militia were being organized by May 18. Colonial Records, IX, 1256; X, xxix (prefatory notes).

39 The North Carolina Gazette, May 12, 1775.

40 Colonial Records, IX, 1256.

41 Colonial Records, X, 41.

the king! The committee retired, by no means deceived, and thereafter the Palace and Martin's every movement were closely watched. 42 Meantime, the committee prepared one of its most effective revolutionary contributions. This was a lengthy circular letter which was spread far and wide over the province.43 It advocated the formation of militia companies and advised precautions against slave uprisings. It warned against the Tory "association papers" which the governor had begun to circulate in an effort to counteract the committee's activities. "Some very few Ignorant People in this Country" were won over by these papers to the British cause, the letter admitted, but these had been "convinced of their Error" and "with indignation tore off their Names, and now look with Horror on the Trap that was laid for them." This letter was literally a call to arms for all citizens:

The People of America are therefore now driven to this fatal Extremity—either they must tamely submit to Slavery . . . or they must resolve firmly and manfully to Maintain those Rights, which God gave, and the Constitution warrants.44

Seeing the collapse of British authority, Martin fled to Fort Johnston at Cape Fear, leaving in the Palace his staff of servants, who at his parting instructions spiked the Palace guns. It was from his point of view a wise precaution, for already the committee of safety was laying plans to seize this artillery and turn it to patriot uses.⁴⁵ The date set for this was June 23, election day, an occasion always heartily and seldom temperately observed. At the appointed time a crowd gathered at the Palace — "a mob . . . inflamed with liquour," writes Martin, thinking the event impromptu and alcoholically inspired - and demanded of the servants the keys, though they were orderly and did not attempt to seize them by force. 46 They did, however, take the dismounted cannon and bring them to the courthouse at Broad

⁴² Colonial Records, X, 43.
43 "Proceedings of the Committee / for the Town of Newbern, and / County of Craven, May 31, 1775." Pamphlet in the archives of the Moravian Church at Winston-Salem, N. C., listed by the WPA Historical Records Survey and privately reprinted by Douglas C. Mc-Murtrie (Chicago, 1938).

44 At least one safety committee, and doubtless many more, seem to have acted favorably on and followed the suggestions in the Craven committee's resolves. On June 10 the Pitt committee went on record as approving them. Colonial Records, X, 15.

45 Richard Cogdell to Samuel Johnston, June 18, 1775, Hayes Collection transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

46 Colonial Records, X, 45.

and Middle streets.47 "Several ship guns" were taken at about the same time from Samuel Cornell, whose Tory leanings were known to the townspeople.⁴⁸ Nor were these all of the acquisitions in arms. Three swivel guns mysteriously disappeared from his Excellency's private boat.⁴⁹ They were used only for ballast, he protested vainly. Yet somehow they ended up at Richard Ellis's wharf — and ultimately, no doubt, at the gunwales of an American privateer. However, powder and shot were sadly lacking. Cogdell wrote that there were only some 150 pounds of gunpowder in the town, whereas ten times that amount could be easily used.⁵⁰ In the fall of the year, the abandoned Palace yielded some badly needed powder, shot, and other artillery equipment. A quantity of these supplies was found buried "under a fine bed of cabbage on Palace Square and concealed in the Palace cellar, evidently by the governor's servants. 51 Needless to say, this discovery was put to good use, and patriot propaganda made the most of the possibilities of discrediting Martin over his "dark depositum" and "infernal magazine."

Behind all this early revolutionary activity was the committee of safety — that "engine of sedition," in Martin's phrase, tirelessly working for the cause of American freedom. Richard Cogdell's house on Middle Street was its headquarters, and here the members gathered to conspire grimly and courageously against an empire with their lives as the forfeit of failure. 52 The committee took strong steps to insure united support of their cause. On June 17, 1775, it was resolved that all those who failed within five days to sign "articles of association" pledging their loyalty should be deemed enemies. 53 We may well imagine the picture of sunburnt planters and worried merchants, trooping into Cogdell's house, where the articles were kept, to sign them and so commit themselves to the American cause. Even before the June 22 deadline, Cogdell reported the articles "generally

⁴⁷ Colonial Records, X, 66, 145. One of these, minus its carriage, has been set up beneath a marker on East Front Street, where it may be seen today.

48 Alexander Schaw to the Earl of Dartmouth, October 31, 1775, Dartmouth MSS transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

49 The North Carolina Gazette, July 7, 1775.

50 Richard Cogdell to Samuel Johnston, June 18, 1775, Hayes Collection transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

51 Virginia Gazette, October 21, 1775.

52 Colonial Records, X, 464. Cogdell's house was on the northern half of Lot 81 nearly opposite the church. Craven Records, Will Book A, 218-219.

53 Richard Cogdell to Samuel Johnston, June 18, 1775, Hayes Collection transcripts, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

signed in this county." To maintain popular sympathy for the cause, the committee made the governor the target of constant attacks, most of them written by the brilliant Abner Nash, whose clever messages were an ineluctable problem for Martin and his helpers. Time and again the governor's letters were intercepted and his designs held up to be cursed or ridiculed. In one of these the governor had denied inciting the slaves to revolt, saying nothing could justify such a course except — and this exception was tellingly emphasized by Nash and his associates — "the failure of all other means to maintain the King's Government." 54 Seizing upon this omnipresent fear in every planter's mind, the committee immediately passed resolves calling Martin "a soul lost to every sense of the feelings of humanity." In other letters Martin had written for "a good tent" with a royal standard and for arms and ammunition from Boston. 55 These the committee promptly published, with appropriate comment, as proof of the hostile intentions of the governor, with whom all communication by any citizen was strictly forbidden. 56 The effectiveness of this and similar propaganda brought many a private malediction from Martin upon Abner Nash, whom he commended, unintentionally, for "his skill and dexterity in misrepresentation and perversion of the truth." 57 When in September, 1775, the provincial congress set up district committees of safety in addition to the town-county ones, no fewer than four Craven men were named to this new body: Richard Cogdell, James Ellis, Dr. Alexander Gaston, and the silversmith William Tisdale.58 For Nash and James Coor were reserved the special honor of serving as members of the newly created provincial council. The new district committee continued its headquarters at Cogdell's, apparently meeting there on every occasion until in May, 1776, it was disbanded and authority centralized in a provincial council of saftey, to which James Coor again was named. 59

The activity of men like Nash, Coor, and Cogdell in behalf of the patriot cause should not obscure the fact that there were many persons of Tory leanings in the town and county, ranging

⁵⁴ Colonial Records, X, 137-138a.
55 Colonial Records, X, 16, 105-106, 152.
56 Colonial Records, X, 87, 139-140.
57 Colonial Records, X, 271-272.
58 Colonial Records, X, 214-215.
59 Colonial Records, X, 581.

from passive sympathizers like James Reed to open and ardent royalists like the witty and charming chief justice, Martin Howard. Soon after the governor's flight, the faithful Reed encountered the stern wall of patriot disapproval. Visited by three members of the committee of safety, Reed was asked, over "a dish of coffee," to preach a sermon on a fast day that had been designated by the Continental Congress as an occasion of prayer for the American cause; and this request the clergyman refused, reminding the deputation that as a missionary maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel he was forbidden to take sides in civil disputes. Furthermore, he told them,

It is established maxim in this province that parsons have no business with politicks. With your politicks I never did nor ever will intermeddle. And if you will acquaint me in whom the civil Government at present is vested, I will take special care to give them no offence. You pretend to be strenuous assertors of liberty; pray let me have a little liberty as well as yourself, at least liberty to be peaceful and quiet and do my duty. 60

The fast day, scheduled for July 20, 1775, was held as planned—but with a member of the committee reading "a very animating and spirited discourse" in lieu of Reed's sermon.⁶¹ On the day following the vestry was asked to suspend the parson and stop payment of his salary. Reed wrote a pointed letter explaining his position which James Davis published in his paper, and the committee of safety vigorously replied to it:

We think Sir that pure religion and civil liberty are inseparable companions, and that it is your particular duty as a Missionary as well as a minister of the gospel, and of this Parish, to enlighten mankind, to inculcate from the pulpit, the unerring principles of truth and justice, the main props of all civil government. The great Bishop of St. Asaph, in a sermon preached before the Society of which you are a Missionary, says, "it is the proper office of a preacher of the gospel of peace to point out the laws of justice and equity, which must ultimately regulate the happiness of states as well as individuals."... The august and venerable body that compose that society approved this discourse.... Here then, Sir, we hope you will find a full answer to your instructions as a Missionary, which were never meant to restrain your religious zeal when the fate of nations was depending, but only

⁶⁰ South Carolina and American General Gazette, August 11, 1775.
61 Colonial Records, X, 115-116.

to check those little narrow politicks, in which the clergy are sometimes found to intermeddle. 62

After his suspension, Reed confesses he "lived very retired for two or three months." 63 During that time, intimations were given that the parishioners wanted him back, so in November he returned to the pulpit — "and flatter myself," he wrote, "shall meet with no more interruptions."

Until 1777, no concerted action was taken in the county against Tory sympathizers. In the summer of 1775, it is true, the committee of safety ordered all of them disarmed and their guns turned over to the militia. 64 But they were allowed to remain on in their customary pursuits, more or less unmolested. Open Tory sympathizers, however, felt the pressure of public disapproval even before the battle of Lexington. Thomas MacKnight, of Currituck, who withdrew from the second provincial congress, complained that an attempt was made to drive him from his lodgings in New Bern. 65 However, he found himself not without partisans, for he inserted a notice in the press publicly thanking "the Inhabitants of Newbern in general, and more particularly ... his friends" for "continuing their wonted civilities." 66 As time went on, the people became less tolerant until in the summer of 1777 a drive was begun to clear the Tories from the county. At a single session of the county court, Thomas Haslen, Robert Jamison, Andrew Mack, John Owens, James Barzey, Edmund Wrenford, and John Edge Tomlinson were placed under huge bonds (in Haslen's case, £5,000) to be forfeited unless they left for Europe or the West Indies in sixty days. 67 The well-to-do Tomlinson and Rigdon Brice, a Tory agitator, were thrown summarily into jail, as were many others of their persuasion. Chief Justice Howard was summoned to appear before the court, but wrote the clerk haughtily refusing to do so "as a subject of the King of Great Britain." Not all successfully indulged in such defiance, and a stay in the jail often brought a change of heart. Robert Orme, who like Howard had refused to appear, was

62 South Carolina and American General Gazette, August 11, 1775.
63 Colonial Records, X, 428.
64 The Cape Fear Mercury (Wilmington), September 1, 1775; Colonial Records, X, 158.
65 The North Carolina Historical Review, II (1925), 506.
66 The North Carolina Gazette, April 14, 1775; Colonial Records, IX, 1227.
67 Craven Court Minutes, June, 1777.

thrown behind bars — and three months later, at the next term of court, took the oath of allegiance to the colonies. 68 Edmund Wrenford was ordered to leave town on Thursday, June 12; on Saturday, June 14, he took the oath. On Wednesday, September 10, Zebulon Rice refused either to swear allegiance or to post bond — but on the following day he recanted completely his Tory principles. Fear of Tory agitation among the slaves led the court to forbid all assemblages of blacks "in this Critical and Alarming time." 69 As the war wore on, tolerance wore thin, and in time it became possible to be haled before the justices simply for "speaking and spreading false and dispiriting News" about the Continental armies.⁷⁰ During the year 1777 Tories by the boatload left New Bern, taking with them such of their worldly possessions as they could carry. In July and October two large vessels sailed from the port laden with a number of Scottish families, and aboard one of these was Martin Howard with his wife and daughter. 71 The Gazette wrote of these human cargoes:

They are mostly Gentlemen of Considerable Property, which they have acquired in America, and have it chiefly on Board, and chuse to risk every consequence rather than acknowledge the freedom of a Country which has been so remarkably propitious to the People of their Nation. 72

As a matter of fact, the Tories were able to carry with them very little, and the plight of some who had been well to do, yet fell overnight into poverty and banishment, is extremely touching. By legislative acts the property of Tryon and Martin, Samuel Cornell, John Alexander, James Green the mariner, and Alexander McAuslin the merchant, was confiscated; and since their chief wealth consisted of real estate, they were left with little or nothing. 73 Cornell was more fortunate in this respect than most Tories. Though he had fled to New York earlier in the war, he was given permission by Governor Richard Caswell in December, 1777, to return to New Bern and take away his mov-

⁶⁸ Craven Court Minutes, June, September, 1777.
69 Craven Court Minutes, September, 1777.
70 Craven Court Minutes, September, 1780.
71 State Records, XI, 743, 790.
72 The North-Carolina Gazette, July 25, 1777; State Records, XI, 743.
73 State Records, XIX, 672; XXIV, 263-264, 424-425. This James Green is not to be confused with James Green, Jr., the patriot.

able property, his servants and family.74 The granting of this unusual privilege led a New York friend of Cornell's to write, upon his return there, that "there are some people in the world on whom fortune is never tired of lavishing her favours — and he is one of the lucky few." 75 Even so, Cornell lost heavily and, of course, could save nothing of immovable property such as his house and wharf and the distillery he owned on Lot No. 8.76 The case of Martin Howard is a good illustration of what loyalty to the British crown cost these men. During stamp act riots in 1765 in Rhode Island, his former home, Howard had lost his house and furniture, which were destroyed by the demonstrators: and when the Revolution came he was forced to abandon his plantation on Neuse River, thus a second time losing his property out of allegiance to his king.⁷⁷ The estate of more than £12,000 which John Edge Tomlinson had so frugally built up was entirely lost to him and by 1779 he was declaring himself — "Hard Money" Tomlinson - "reduced to a Very extreme Degree of want." 78 The case of James Green the mariner is an interesting one. He sold his property and bought a vessel and a cargo of corn, thinking to escape with his wealth in this fashion. However, an American law prohibiting trade other than war supplies resulted in the seizure of his cargo. Jumping his bond, he slipped away to Antigua, where a British man o' war seized his vessel under an act of Parliament prohibiting trade with the colonies!79 Thus was this Tory caught between the millstones of the war laws of two continents.

Most piteous of all was the case of poor James Reed. Tradition says the small boys of his congregation, protesting his royalist sympathies in a small-boy way, "would vehemently beat the drum at the church door, and shout, 'Off with his head!'" 80 The conflict in the heart of this faithful parson, torn between duty

p. 78.

⁷⁴ State Records, XI, 690-692, 698, 700.
75 Enclosure, John Cruden, Jr., to William Cruden, January 28, 1778, in William Cruden to Lord Dartmouth, February 21, 1778; Dartmouth MSS, transcripts in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
76 State Gazette of South Carolina (Charleston), November 24, 1785; State Records, XVI, 333; XIX, 357; XXIV, 444.
77 British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundles 96, 120; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
78 British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundle 123; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
79 British Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Bundle 119; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
80 L. C. Vass, History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C. (Richmond, 1886), p. 78.

to his king and to the people he had so long lived among, must have hastened his end. Late in 1777 he died — "weary of living." as he wrote some years before his last illness, "in this land of perpetual strife and contention." 81

With the war came profound changes in the life of the town. Gone were many of the principal merchants, and others not heretofore so prominent rose to take their place. Everywhere there was excitement, and the spirit of revolution reigned unchecked in the celebration of such public events as the new holiday, July Fourth, or the glorious victory over Burgoyne. Then did the great guns of the town's armed merchantmen roar forth in triumph as their owners "seemed to vie with each other in a contest who should do the most honor to the day." 82 Such occasions called for the convocation of the council and assembly at the Palace, the display of the Continental flag, torchlights and bonfires, and a gathering of the town's gentlemen aboard their vessels to drink toasts to "the bright morning star of this western world." 83 There was a constant coming and going of troops, and the flurry attending the brief visits of such gallant soldiers as Light Horse Harry Lee or Crazy Jack Stewart, the hero of Stony Point.84 Normal activity was uncertain; even so established an institution as the newspaper was affected, with James Davis complaining that if his son Thomas went into the army — "my chief hand in the Office," he called him — he would be forced to suspend publication.85 Prisoners of war of every rank and state filled the town, from the paroled Lord Charles Montague and General Donald McDonald to the lowliest deckswabbers.86 Besides the usual runaway slaves and ne'er-do-well debtors, the jail fairly bulged with the motley flotsam of these troubled times — drunken French adventurers, suspected spies, English and Irish captives, and seamen of many parts of the British Empire, some perhaps the savage wretches known as "man o' war's men." Feeding them and preventing their escape was quite a problem, considering the prevalent high prices and

⁸¹ Craven Court Minutes, December, 1777; Colonial Records, IX, 815.
82 State Records, XIII, 187.
83 The North-Carolina Gazette, supplement to November 7, 1777; July 10, 1778; State Records, XIII, 456.
84 Colonial Records, X, 1039; James S. Biddle, editor, Autobiography of Charles Biddle (Philadelphia, 1883), pp. 143-145.
85 State Records, XIII, 259.
86 State Records, XV, 764; XVI, 740, 743.

the limited capacity of this prison, over which a guard of as many as fifty men was sometimes necessary.87 Not all of these strangers were undesirables, however, for some were allowed to remain at liberty on parole and even "contracted a small acquaintance" in the town, which they found "most agreeable to them." 88

New Bern at this time was the most populous town in the state with some 150 dwelling houses and about 600 inhabitants. according to the best contemporary estimates. 89 Crowdedness and violence were the impressions a traveler might retain of this busy place:

On our arrival, excessively wearied [writes a Rhode Islander], and needing repose and shelter, we wandered in pursuit of quarters, from street to street, and were turned from tavern to tavern, every house being filled by French adventurers. At one of these taverns, kept by one T-[?], we were repulsed by the landlord with so much rudeness as to produce a severe quarrel in the piazza, where we stood soliciting quarters. . . .

The next morning Harwood proceeded to a barber shop to be shaved. I soon after started in pursuit of the same barber. I had not gone far before I met Harwood, his pace somewhat quickened, and with one side only of his face shaved. He soon informed me that the barber had been impertinent, that he had knocked him down, and left him sprawling on the floor, 90

To avoid further trouble, the two travelers agreed to separate and thus did they leave this tumultuous town.

The Frenchmen they encountered at the taverns had begun to fill New Bern early in the course of the war. Many were seamen, some deserters from French ships. Others were officers and soldiers, patriots of the highest type, and there was a steady coming and going of these by the middle of 1777. In June of that year, a party of officers sent from France by Benjamin Franklin and headed by the Chevalier d'Erford, a lieutenant colonel, stayed in New Bern a week before proceeding to Philadelphia with the

39-40.

⁸⁷ State Records, XIII, 336; XIV, 333; XXII, 960; Craven Court Minutes, September, 1777. This jail stood on the northwest corner of Broad and Craven streets—the site of the present-day courthouse. It is shown on Sauthier's map of 1769. See also North-Carolina Gazette, May 25, 1795.
88 State Records, XV, 154-155.
89 F. X. Martin, The History of North Carolina (New Orleans, 1829), II, 395; W. C. Watson, editor, Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson (New York, 1856), pp. 37-39.
90 W. C. Watson, Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, pp. 39-40.

assistance of Governor Caswell and Richard Ellis, the Continental agent. 91 The engineers De Cottineau and the Chevalier de Chambray also stayed in New Bern while engaged in work on coastal fortifications. 92 So sizable was the French population that a French officer of the Continental armies recruited six men among them for the troops fighting under Washington.93

Less than a year later, the state began to plan to draft these ever-increasing aliens. In April, 1778, the assembly approved the scheme of Colonel Chariol de Placer to raise a regiment at New Bern to consist of eight fifty-man companies, chiefly from among the Frenchmen who were natives of the West Indies and who had come to the port towns of the Carolinas and Virginia.94 Chariol set up headquarters in the house of a "Mrs. Edouard," then vacant. 95 With the Baron de Bonstettin, of Charleston, as lieutenant colonel, Sureau-Duvivier as major, and John Council Bryan as commissary, Chariol began recruiting in Wilmington and proposed soon to go to Williamsburg.96 The descent of these voluble, gesticulating Frenchmen upon the town resulted in both tragedy and comedy. Charles Biddle, the Philadelphia ship captain, who in his reminiscences has left such a good picture of revolutionary New Bern, relates an amusing encounter with one of them. This man, evidently of French-Irish descent, was named Alexander Louis O'Neal (O'Neill?), and Biddle met him at his lodgings in the tavern of "Mr. Rainsford, an honest seaman, who kept the best house in Newbern." 97 Because Biddle knew a little French, his acquaintance fastened himself upon him, bombarding him with a staccato account of his life and his hopes to serve the cause of American independence. To get rid of him, Biddle introduced him to Colonel Chariol and went to bed. The talkative Frenchman soon returned to wake the exasperated Biddle out of a sound sleep, telling him excitedly of his plans to become an officer.

⁹¹ State Records, XI, 486-487, 493-495.
92 State Records, XII, 620; XIII, 126-127.
93 State Records, XI, 508.
94 State Records, XII, 634, 692-693; XIII, 119, 122.
95 State Records, XIII, 130. Was this the house of the widow of Isaac Edwards? Lot No.
105 on East Front Street, when offered for sale some years after the Revolution, was described as the site of Isaac Edwards' dwelling house, so this may have been Chariol's headquarters.

96 State Records, XIII, 129, 220 ff, 231-232; XXII, 948.

97 James S. Biddle, editor, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 111-113.

The next day [writes Biddle] I saw Chariol, who was a very pleasant, good fellow. "Ah! Mr. Biddle! where you pick up Mr. O'Neal?" I found he had been as tired of him as myself. . . . Chariol soon after procured him a commission [as captain 98], and I have no doubt he was a good officer. My friends in Newbern used to say I wanted to get O'Neal appointed a general officer, that he might make me one of his aids.

So sizable a population of aliens was bound to lead to misunderstanding. Curiously enough, the trouble came just after the news of the treaty of alliance with the French arrived in New Bern on May 25, 1778.99 The treaty was posted beneath a display of French and American flags, and the usual festivity was held. The Gazette writes that "Universal joy appeared in every countenance . . . and the evening [was] concluded with great good humor and social mirth." 100 However, James Iredell, who seems to have seen the celebration, called it "poor and trifling," with only "a dry huzza to the King of France and one to the United States." 101 Iredell's account probably was the more truthful for only three days later a serious riot occurred. The cause of it was the contention of John Davis, ship captain and son of James Davis, that Chariol's recruiting sergeant had enlisted a young French servant bound to him by indenture, though Davis appears to have produced no papers to prove his claim. 102 The fierytempered young Davis then picked twenty seamen from his ship, armed them, and sent them "running about the Town" in broad daylight, seeking Chariol's sergeant, who prudently fled before the mob. At the head of this band of armed men was the equally fiery-tempered father, whose Gazette of the following day was to carry such a glowing account of the celebration of the French treaty! And he it was who threatened, when the young servant was not delivered up, "to put every Frenchman to death in town, or drive them out of it." 103 That night the seamen surrounded the schoolhouse, in which the French recruits apparently were quartered, and "beat and abused" Chariol's men with cudgels. The "indentured" servant, one Julian Laborcet, was

⁹⁸ State Records, XXII, 948. 99 State Records, XIII, 425. 100 The North-Carolina Gazette, May 29, 1778. 101 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell (New York, 1858), I, 392-393.

102 State Records, XIII, 142-143.

103 State Records, XIII, 142, 429-430.

captured and jailed to await a hearing by the county court. But the court on June 10 decided he was not legally bound and freed him. 104 So ended the controversy — and with it the plan for recruiting the French regiment. Advertisement for enlistees was carried on subsequently in a Charleston newspaper, but it seems to have met with little success. 105 The New Bern paper said it was "impossible to complete such a regiment here, where only a few stragling [sic] French sailors could be picked up." 106 In August the assembly disbanded the men, while Chariol, saying he intended to return to France, petitioned for personal reimbursement of £10,000 he claimed to have spent on the regiment. 107 He received an order for about one-third of that amount, but whether he was able to collect this compensation from a needy state at war does not appear. 108

Despite the failure of the French regiment, New Bern was said to be "a good stand" for the recruiting of American troops, and from the population of Craven County came many a soldier who served at Germantown, Brandywine, Eutaw Springs, Ninety-Six, and other battles of the Revolution. 109 Furthermore, the county gave to the cause such leaders as Brigadier General William Bryan, Captain John Daves, who distinguished himself at Stony Point, and the Continental surgeons Isaac Guion and William McClure. Yet New Bern was not the center of a great deal of military activity. As in Tryon's time, there was a magazine in the town and, in addition, a hospital, which seems to have cared for sick rather than wounded soldiers. 110 Only a small garrison was necessary, and the number of troops in the town at any one time probably never exceeded 200.111 Since attack by water rather than land was regarded as the more probable, New Bern's chief protection consisted of a small river fort and, for a time, an armed vessel which anchored near it.112 This fort, which was at Hanging Point (after the Revolution called Fort Point), was ordered to be erected late in 1775 and apparently was completed

¹⁰⁴ Craven Court Minutes, June, 1778; State Records, XIII, 144-145.
105 Gazette of the State of South Carolina (Charleston), July 29, 1778.
106 The North-Carolina Gazette, August 28, 1778.
107 State Records, XXII, 762-763.
108 State Records, XXII, 947.
109 State Records, XIII, 82. These battles are specifically mentioned in certain affidavits made before the Craven County Court in the 1820's.
110 Colonial Records, X, 415, 687.
111 Colonial Records, X, 243, 273.
112 W. C. Watson, Men and Times of the Revolution; or, Memoirs of Elkanah Watson, 39.

by the middle of the following year. 113 Named Fort Caswell in honor of the governor, it was supposed to have been garrisoned by a captain and twenty-four men, whose guns commanded the approach to the town by the Neuse. 114 The armed vessel was the Pennsylvania Farmer, a brig or brigantine which Joseph Leech, Richard Ellis, David Barron, and others had fitted out in 1776 at the request of the provincial congress. 115 With sixteen guns and a crew of 110 men to enable the manning of prizes, the Farmer was at first designed to prey on the Jamaica trade, but so many delays were encountered in procuring shot, canvas, and other supplies that she remained idle at New Bern through the year. 116 This vessel lay in the river off James Davis's plantation at Green Spring, and this irascible gentleman bitterly complained of the depredations made in his fields by the Farmer's "Crew of Banditti," who raided them, it seems, to obtain green corn for their shipboard fare. 117 James Coor referred to this small army of seamen as "healthy men all anxious to adventure." 118 But Davis, in whose cornfields they had already taken many a prize, pictured them as rowdy idlers. Their morning ration of a pint of rum, he said, "kept them continually drunk and ready for any mischief, especially as they consist of men of all nations and conditions, English, Irish, Scotch, Indians, Men of Wars men and the most abandoned sett of wretches ever collected together." 119 Firing off cannon to halt river craft and sometimes yelling quips and insults to the passengers of a passing ferry, the crew got so out of hand that their behavior probably was the cause of the decision to reduce the number of guns to eight and the complement to forty men so the Farmer might make a merchant voyage instead of a raiding cruise. 120 Subsequently the Farmer made one or two such voyages to the West Indies, bringing in a cargo of salt on one occasion, but the trouble it cost the state to maintain her seems to have outweighed her usefulness, and she was ordered to be sold to private interests. 121 As for her military or naval value, it was confined to the period in which the vessel was

¹¹³ Colonial Records, X, 351, 416, 557-558.

114 State Records, XIV, 96.
115 Colonial Records, X, 352, 629, 630, 637, 728; State Records, XV, 72.
116 Colonial Records, X, 831, 833, 836, 848, 877, 926.
117 Colonial Records, X, 836.
118 Colonial Records, X, 838.
119 Colonial Records, X, 835.
120 Colonial Records, X, 964.
121 State Records, XII, 244, 419, 623, 641, 745-746; XIII, 217; XVIII, 805; XXII, 939.

stationed at New Bern — quite in contrast to the high hopes held for her as a raider.

The real contribution of New Bern to the Revolution lay in a maritime rather than military way, for through the port were brought quantities of supplies for the Continental armies. Just before and during the Revolution, shipping expanded greatly. The increase in such trades as navigator, mariner, blockmaker. sailmaker, and shipwright testifies to this growth. 122 Revolutionary commerce was necessarily restricted in nature, but it flourished and built up some comfortable fortunes. Soon after the outbreak of fighting, the export of produce was subjected to licensing so that the importation of salt, arms, and ammunition could be required. 123 The failure of the state with the Pennsylvania Farmer only emphasizes by contrast the success of private individuals such as John Wright Stanly, Richard Ellis, David Barron, and John Green in equipping privateers and letters of marque. So active were they in this kind of sea warfare that at times "the people in Newbern" nearly outbid the army for gunpowder "for the use of their privateers." 124 Heart of Oak, Buckskin, Sturdy Beggar, and Bellona — these gallant little fighters were incredibly slight to face the stormy Atlantic, and their armament, usually ten or twelve cannon, stood no chance in a toe-to-toe encounter with a British man o' war. Speed was their only ally, and fast sailing the difference between life and death. Yet, though there were great dangers and difficulties, there were great profits, too. In May, 1776, a court of admiralty was set up in New Bern with Christopher Neale (later William Tisdale) as judge, and before it was brought many a prize to enrich both shipowner and seamen. 125 Even without reckoning on prizes there were profits enough. Two hundred per cent of the prime cost of cargoes from France and one hundred per cent for cargoes from the French West Indies were considered by the shipowner as a moderate price for a shipload of war necessities. 126 Some of these necessary imports, besides arms and ammunition, were Osnaburg cloth, medicines, and goods, facings

¹²² Mention of these begins to be frequent about this period, for the first time, in the

Craven court apprenticeship proceedings.

123 Colonial Records, X, 471, 474.

124 State Records, XXII, 604.

125 State Records, XI, 416; XV, 78; XXII, 894; The North Carolina Historical Review, II, (1925), 512; Colonial Records, X, 634.

126 State Records, XI, 358-359; XXII, 744.

and trimmings for uniforms. 127 For the ordinary cargoes of molasses, rum, and sugar, three for one was not an excessive price.128

The voyage of the armed merchant ship Cornelia, owned by Spyers Singleton and others, is perhaps a typical one of the period. An account of it has survived in the reminiscences of Charles Biddle (1745-1821), brother of the naval captain Nicholas Biddle, and himself no mean seadog. This Philadelphian, who spent some years in New Bern, tells of his troubles as captain in fitting out his ship:

Owing to many disappointments, I could not get her ready to go down the river until the month of August [1778]. I had six iron and fourteen wooden [i.e., dummy] guns, and seventy men, not more than five of whom could be called seamen. I lay three weeks down the river exercising the crew in working the ship, sending them down the yards and topmasts, and doing everything I could to make them useful and prepare them for action. I had a tally upon all the running rigging with what it was called written on it. By this means they were soon useful. As there were several cruisers off the Bar, I wanted to be prepared as well as it was possible before we left Newbern. 129

Twenty days the Cornelia waited for cargo at Ocracoke, finally sailing from there on September 22. In order to train his inexperienced crew, Biddle would lash the hand pump of the ship's casks to the main topmast, so that whenever his men wanted a drink of water they would have to go aloft to fetch the pump! "For the first five or six days, many of them would come upon deck," wrote the skipper, "look up wistfully at the pump, but rather than go aloft would go down again." 130 Under patient teaching the crew learned their way about. Once they were called to battle stations believing they were about to be engaged. "I was much pleased," wrote Biddle, "to find how readily they went to their quarters. It convinced me they would fight well if brought to action."

In a few days the Cornelia barely missed running into two British letters of marque and passed two others off St. Kitts. The Cornelia "made all the show we could with our men and

¹²⁷ Colonial Records, X, 821, 825; XIII, 373.
128 Some cargoes imported into North Carolina at this time brought seven and even twelve for one. C. C. Crittenden, The Commerce of North Carolina 1763-1789 (New Haven, 1936), p. 143.
129 James S. Biddle, editor, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 110.
130 James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 114.

wooden guns," and the bluff worked. The Britishers did not presume to fight. Later the captain of one of them, saying he thought the Cornelia was a Continental ship of twenty guns, was laughed at in port for not attacking her. Biddle and his men arrived safely at St. Eustatia, their destination, and took aboard a valuable cargo as well as a pair of six-pounder cannon to augment their armament. On the return voyage a curious incident occurred. They sighted a sloop flying British colors, so the Cornelia, too, ran up the union jack hoping to lure the vessel to close range. When the two approached, and as the Cornelia hauled down English colors to fire, the "Britisher" did likewise - and turned out to be an American privateer from Charleston. 131 In giving chase to a small British cruiser off Cape Lookout, the Cornelia sprang the head of her foremast and put into Beaufort November 16, 1778.

The very slight manner in which our small vessels were built at that time [he writes later], particularly in the Southern States, occasioned the loss of many lives. Many of the vessels that were sent to sea were not sufficiently secured to sail with safety in a river. 132

The only casualty of this profitable trip was the first mate, who was killed by the bursting of a gun as the ship saluted in entering the harbor. The voyage ended quite romantically, for Biddle thereupon married Hannah Shepard, daughter of Jacob Shepard, a retired New Bern merchant who had been living in Beaufort for his health. A year later she bore a son named Nicholas in memory of that gallant Continental captain, who had been killed in the blowing up of the frigate Randolph, but this child died in infancy. 133 Biddle made one more voyage, this in the large sloop Eclipse, 14 guns and 70 men, to St. Thomas. 134 Afterward he was elected by a large majority to represent Carteret County in the assembly, but he sat only in the May session of 1780, and returned to Philadelphia on June 1.135 He later became vice president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania.

Most famous of the Revolutionary shipowners was John Wright Stanly (1742-1789), who came to New Bern about

146.

¹³¹ James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 114-115.
132 James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 141.
133 James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 141.
134 State Records, XIV, 70. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 121-126.
135 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 142, 143 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 143, 144, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. James S. Biddle, Pp. 142, 145 State Records, XIX, 382. Jame

1773. 136 Born in Charles City County, Virginia, he had failed in business in Honduras and had been imprisoned in Philadelphia for debt. 137 Along with the good fortune which he at last met in New Bern, he acquired a reputation for unfailing generosity. Soon after arriving, for example, he made a certain contribution to the Masons of the town, which their minutes "gratefully acknowledged . . . tho' [he was] not a member of the Lodge" at the time. 138 William Attmore, who made Stanly's acquaintance after the Revolution, wrote of him:

One circumstance deserves to be recorded to his honour-Altho' brought to Philadelphia from Honduras a prisoner arbitrarily; and on his arrival sent to goal by the person who brought him by force yet upon his gettin into affluent circumstances, he generously relieved the pecuniary distresses of that very person afterwards; the more meritorious, as upon a settlement of Accounts with that Man, it was found that he owed him nothing, but on the contrary that person was in his Debt. 139

In 1773 Stanly married Ann, the daughter of Richard and Lydia Cogdell; and six years later he purchased from the merchant Thomas Ogden the four lots at Middle and New streets on which he erected, at a cost of \$20,000, the home which still stands today. 140 As a result of the war trade, he acquired much valuable property, including a large wharf and distillery on the Neuse waterfront and a plantation with some sixty slaves. He held interest as part or sole owner, at various times, in eleven Pennsylvania letters of marque, and he was probably the principal owner of the North Carolina sloops Lydia and Success, the brigantine William, and the privateers Nancy and General Nash. 141 The last-named vessel was perhaps the most successful of the New Bern commerce raiders. Captained by Stanly's brother, Wright Stanly, the General Nash, a twenty-gun ship of war, took two brigs in 1780 which were said to be the most valuable prizes ever carried into a North Carolina port. 142

¹⁸⁶ Earliest mention of him as a property owner is in Craven Deed Records, XX, 375-376.

187 Stanly family prayer book, presented to the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, by Mrs. W. T. Delamar, of Raleigh.

188 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 5, 1773, Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

189 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII (1922), 17.

140 Craven Deed Records, XXIV, 32. Lida Tunstall Rodman, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," p. 16; Craven Records, Will Book A, 198-199.

141 C. H. Lincoln, compiler, Naval Records of the American Revolution 1775-1788 (Washington, 1906), pp. 237, 246, 253, 276, 319, 321, 325, 348, 359, 452, 453, 476; Colonial Records, X, 832; State Records, XI, 778, 813; XIII, 364.

142 State Records, XIV, 645, 650, 748; XV, 68-69, 71-72, 150.

Stanly sold an immense quantity of war necessities to the Continental armies, but toward the end of the war he wrote that the approaching peace "has inclined me to devote my whole attention to the winding up of my concerns in Trade and preparing for a more general and extensive Feild." 143 Did he mean by this that he was devoting more attention to public affairs? For in the year following he was made a trustee of the New Bern Academy and in the year after that he was unsuccessfully nominated, for the first of several times, to the Council of State. 144 He was named to several other important positions by act of assembly, but on June 1, 1789, at the age of only forty-seven he died. 145 His wife outlived him barely a month. 146 The Masonic Lodge committed his remains to the earth, and the press described him as having been "a warm and steady patriot," with "the most tender sympathy for the indigent and distressed." 147 To his credit Stanly never forgot that he too once was poor.

The trade of Stanly and his fellow-merchants did not go unmolested by the British. In September, 1777, two Tory brigs and a sloop — one of the brigs a quite formidable vessel, the other mounting ten or twelve guns - slipped inside Ocracoke Bar and played havoc with the commerce there. 148 The Sturdy Beggar, 14 carriage guns and 100 men, the Pennsylvania Farmer, 16 guns and 80 men, and the Heart of Oak, 10 guns and 50 men, were said by the Gazette to be ready to sail in quest of the raiders. 149 The Sturdy Beggar had only just been fitted out, as witness this proud little newspaper advertisement:

NEW BERN August 4, 1777.

Wanted immediately for the celebrated and well known Brig of War, Sturdy Beggar, under command of James Campbell, Esq; now fitting out at this place for a short Cruize against the Enemies of the Thirteen United States, a few good Seamen and Marines. The Sturdy Beggar is allowed to be the handsomest Vessel ever built in America, is completely furnished with all kinds of war-like Stores, Ammunition &c. is remarkable for fast sailing, having never chased a Vessel but she soon came up with. 150

¹⁴³ J. W. Stanly to _____ [unknown], February 20, 1783, Miscellaneous Papers, series I, vol. I, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

144 State Records, XVII, 311; XVIII, 114; XIX, 466; XXIV, 607.

145 State Records, XXIV, 720, 821.

146 The State Gazette of North-Carolina (Edenton), July 23, 1789.

147 The State Gazette of North-Carolina, June 18, 1789.

148 State Records, XI, 624-625.

149 The North-Carolina Gazette, September 19, 1777; State Records, XI, 774.

150 The North-Carolina Gazette, August 8, 1777; State Records, XI, 747.

It appears, however, that all three of these vessels were not at the time available. The Pennsylvania Farmer narrowly missed running alone into the Tory cruisers, in which case she would have been sunk or taken; and the Beggar was delayed when one of her lighters sank in Adam's Creek. 151 Joseph Leech recommended the sending of one of Edenton's armed vessels to reinforce New Bern's. Were it not for these ships, he wrote, "we might look for the enemy up to the Town every hour." 152 Fortunately the Tories seem to have stayed near the inlet. "for." said the Gazette, "tis supposed the fat Mutton on the Banks has been the chief temptation to this desperate Manoeuvre." A company of militia was dispatched to the banks in an effort to prevent the livestock which grazed there from falling into the hands of the enemy. 153 This company, under command of Captain Enoch Ward of Carteret County, boarded at night and captured, while she lay in Cape Lookout Bay, a thirty-ton schooner bound from the West Indies to New York "with Fruit and Turtle for Lord Howe." 154 A year later Ward and some of his men, having finished their service with the militia, repeated this feat while serving as marines on Biddle's ship Cornelia. The victim of this second night surprise was a privateer of eight guns and fifty men. 155 When brought to Beaufort, the privateer captain said that if they had not been taken unawares, a hundred men could not have captured his vessel. And Ward had only fifteen!

Such a quantity of supplies was passing through Ocracoke that the British became quite concerned. Returning to New York from his flag of truce visit to New Bern in December, 1777, Samuel Cornell reported on the matter to Josiah Martin, who promptly wrote British authorities in London that

... the contemptible port of Ocracock ... has become a great channel of supply to the rebels, while the more considerable ports have been watched by the King's ships. They have received through it . . . very considerable importations. 156

Another correspondent wrote from New York as follows:

¹⁵¹ State Records, XI, 623-625.

¹⁵² State Records, XI, 625. 153 State Records, XI, 775. 154 State Records, XI, 787.

¹⁵⁵ James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 113. 156 State Records, XIII, iii-iv (prefatory notes), 367-368.

Mr Cornell informs us that there is an amazing quantity of goods brought into No Carolina, and that Virga & Maryland are supplied from that quarter—

. . . the Rebell Army have received every necessary in that round about way, and the insignificance of the place (Oacrecock) prevented Lord Howe from sending Vessels to Cruize there—Whatever it might be formerly all the Tobba [tobacco] of James River in Virginia is shipped from it now.157

Much of this trade was between North Carolina and continental France or the French West Indies. Some of it was carried in North Carolina vessels — the 200-ton Harmony Hall, of New Bern, for example, made regular voyages overseas and sold passenger fares to French ports. 158 But most of it seems to have been borne by vessels of the French merchant marine, without which the supplies could not have been kept coming in quantity. Large vessels, some of them snow-rigged, arrived in late 1777 and 1778 from such ports as Nantes and Bordeaux, and from the Indies, bringing (besides arms) dry goods, sailcloth, cordage, glass, hardware, shoes, drugs, salt, needles, buttons - in short, many of those items which Great Britain formerly had supplied. 159 So busy was this "contemptible port" that early in 1778 as many as six vessels dropped anchor in one day at New Bern alone, as witness this item from the Gazette:

Yesterday arrived here the sloop Heart of Oak, Capt. Denison, from Martinico, Schooner Sam, Capt. Davis, from St. Eustatius, a schooner from Bermuda with Salt, a French schooner from Hispaniola, two Schooners from the Northern States, and a French Snow is arrived at the Bar from Cape François. 160

As appears from the foregoing, salt was a most important commodity in this trade. The revolutionary government made every attempt to encourage its manufacture on the coast from sea water. Richard Blackledge, the New Bern merchant, was subsidized in 1776 to erect kettles, furnaces, and evaporation pans at the mouth of Core Creek on Newport River in Carteret

¹⁵⁷ Enclosure, John Cruden, Jr., to William Cruden, January 28, 1778, in William Cruden to Lord Dartmouth, February 21, 1778; Dartmouth MSS, transcripts in State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

158 The North-Carolina Gazette, July 18, 1777; July 24, 1778; State Records, XIII, 461, 462.
159 The North-Carolina Gazette, November 21, 1777; January 9, February 20, 1778; State Records, XIII, 149, 354, 362-363.

160 The North-Carolina Gazette, January 2, 1778; State Records, XIII, 354.

County. 161 Late in 1777 Blackledge drowned while crossing from Beaufort to the salt works, but had supplied before his sudden death "great quantities of that useful article," though not enough, apparently, to make the state independent of outside sources. 162 Yet no doubt many a ham or side of beef cured with the brine of Core Sound found its way to the hard-pressed soldiers of Washington.

Thanks to this brisk trade, there were, early in 1778, considerable quantities of tanned leather, deerskins, shoes, and clothing at New Bern and Governor Caswell was doing all in his power to rush them to the Continental troops, then in the depths of want and suffering at Valley Forge. 163 As much clothing as could be obtained was purchased from the French vessels that had been arriving, but Washington's urgent appeals led the governor to take the extraordinary step of impounding and seizing certain privately owned goods - blankets, stockings, and Osnaburg cloth — to be sent without delay to the north. 164 The actual seizure was done by the justices of the county court. 165 Without such supplies and such determination to get them to their destination, the ill-clad army of Washington might well have perished in that darkest of all winters. It is no wonder that the British redoubled their efforts to stop the Ocracoke trade. By May, 1778, a sixteen-gun Tory brig and two ten-gun Tory sloops were prowling off the inlet with devastating effect. And the Gazette was expressing the well-founded fear that "the trade of this State will be entirely stopped." 166

Yet it was not stopped, thanks to the efforts of the privateer owners, who struck back at the Tory raiders with a vengeance. In July of 1778 the Gazette announced that the Tory cruisers "are yet very troublesome," but that Richard Ellis was "engaged in fitting out a Privateer in order to retaliate if possible for the many losses we have met with." 167 Ellis's sloop Heart of Oak already had rendered stout service to the cause; and now he put into action the letters of marque Chatham and Bellona, the latter

¹⁶¹ Colonial Records, X, 986-988 and passim.
162 The North-Carolina Gazette, September 26, 1777. A number of vessels a from Bermuda with salt. State Records, XIII, 380.
163 State Records, XIII, 25.
164 State Records, XIII, 29-30.
165 State Records, XIII, 47-48.
166 The North-Carolina Gazette, May 15, 1778; State Records, XIII, 418.
167 The North-Carolina Gazette, July 17, 1778; State Records, XIII, 459-460. 1777. A number of vessels arrived in 1778

a sixteen-gun brig whose command he offered, unsuccessfully, to Charles Biddle. 168 By early in the following year Ellis had three vessels cruising and another being fitted out. 169 Of these the Bellona was perhaps the most successful, for on one of her first cruises she captured a brig from St. Augustine, a New York sloop and schooner, and a six-gun privateersman, also from New York.¹⁷⁰ Like Ellis, John Wright Stanly was especially active at this time, and in the spring of 1779 he was fitting out a ship and "several small vessels." 171 These, all of which made successful voyages, probably were among the five vessels which arrived about this time in New Bern with valuable cargoes of warstuffs for the armies. 172 That they could get through was due to the courage and daring of the men who manned them. Sometimes it seemed that even the elements conspired to help them in their cause — as witness the fate of one Tory raider, which learned to her doom the perils of cruising in the hurricane season off the graveyard of the Atlantic:

The sloop was last seen [writes the Gazette] off Hatteras by the pilots the day before the late gale of wind, and the day after there came ashore the roundhouse of a vessel, several gun-carriages, swabbs and other things belonging to guns, a square sail bomb, and other spars.173

An element of recklessness, even sport, crept into the grim game of keeping open this channel of supply. Biddle, for example, tells how at a dinner with Governor Nash the report came of a Tory privateer "within the Bar, and doing a good deal of mischief." 174 Several of those at the table volunteered to help destroy the raider, and Nash directed Biddle to fit out a sloop and a schooner to chase her down. Most of the hot-headed volunteers later "made excuses," says Biddle, but Richard Dobbs Spaight and Richard Blackledge, Jr., accompanied him on the cruise downriver. The sloop sailed heavy and so was sent back. And learning that the raider was but a small sloop manned by

¹⁶⁸ State Records, XIII, 175, 182. Biddle says Ellis proposed that they should send the brig to a place near where he formerly lived in Ireland and smuggle out linen from the bleaching yards—a proposal which Biddle indignantly rejected. James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 120.

harles Biddle, p. 120.
169 State Records, XIV, 252.
170 State Records, XIII, 482.
171 James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 120.
172 State Records, XIV, 93.
173 The North-Carolina Gazette, August 21, 1778.
174 James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, p. 135.

only twenty-five men, Blackledge and Spaight sportingly suggested that they likewise take only twenty-five in the schooner. How this duel would have ended only Neptune himself knows, for though the New Bernians sighted their quarry, one of those sudden squalls for which Hatteras is famous prevented an engagement — and the privateer was seen no more. 175

During the later days of the war, as Greene's gallant but battered army fought Cornwallis over the Carolinas, John Wright Stanly and his fellow shipowners were indeed indispensable in supplying the needy Continental troops. But there was another resident of the town who was equally active in this allimportant work, though in a somewhat different way. This was the Marquis de Bretigney, a native of France, who had come to America in September, 1777, with officers and armament for a regiment of cavalry he intended to equip to fight in the cause of independence. 176 Bretigney had held high military rank in France as a lieutenant colonel in the Body-Guards of Monsieur, the regiment nominally commanded by the king's brother. 177 His plan to form a regiment in America fell through when he and his vessel were captured off Charleston on their way north by two British frigates. Imprisoned at St. Augustine for six months, Bretigney escaped to Philadelphia where for several more months he petitioned the Continental Congress in vain for the rank of a brigadier general in the Continental forces. Leaving Philadelphia in disgust early in 1779, he went to Martinique to act as agent for South Carolina in purchasing supplies there from the French, but with the fall of Charleston in May, 1780, he turned his services to her sister state. He seems to have arrived first in New Bern in September, 1780.178 In June, 1781, at Abner Nash's recommendation he was appointed agent to the French West Indies for North Carolina, but for some time prior to that he was active in purchasing arms for the state.¹⁷⁹ Until his agency was discontinued in May, 1782, Bretigney sent into North Carolina an immense amount of sup-

¹⁷⁵ James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 137-138. 176 Ernest M. Green, "The Marquis de Bretigney," MS article in possession of the author,

Raleigh, N. C.

177 He refers to himself in a petition to the Continental Congress as "Exempt of the Body-Guards of Monsieur," which according to French cavalry rank would mean that he was second only to the actual commander of the regiment.

178 State Records, XIV, 592.

179 State Records, XVII, 799-800, 882.

plies, and so great was his attachment to the American cause that, like an old war horse, he fought with the North Carolina cavalry at Guilford Courthouse. 180 By August, 1782, he had returned to New Bern, there to spend the rest of his life. 181 In the following year he was chosen to the Council of State, and was profusely thanked by the governor and assembly for his efforts in behalf of American independence "and his zeal to serve this State in particular, in the hour of danger." 182 Bretigney seems to have got little or nothing besides this honor from the impoverished government, and he died in 1793, poor and in debt. 183

In these latter days of the Revolution, the town and county were beset by fears and inflation, alarms of rumored attack, and incursions of refugees. With mounting apprehension, the people watched the fall of, first, Charleston, then Wilmington. They lived under a perpetual Damocles' sword, which fell at length as the war dragged to a close.

Crowdedness became worse, and prices soared to ridiculous heights. When Charleston fell, many Cape Fear families and perhaps some South Carolinians fled northward to New Bern and other coastal towns. One Wilmington resident, William Hooper, engaged "half a dozen houses . . . for himself and friends" in readiness for their expected flight. 184 The construction of new dwellings was handicapped by war conditions. James Iredell, writing from New Bern in 1780 about a friend's house being destroyed by fire, speaks of "the present difficulty of building." 185 A few years later there was "not a room to be had in town," and even the wings of the Palace were being rented out by the state. 186 This once-proud building had fallen into disrepair, and, said William Hooper, "has more the appearance of a neglected jail than anything else." 187 Iredell, who frequently stayed in New Bern, wrote that his expenses there were "monstrous," amounting to £160 a day for board and lodging alone!188

¹⁸⁰ State Records, XVI, 232-233, 327, 475, 494-495; XVII, 1038; XIX, 253, 345, 646, 879-880.
181 State Records, XVI, 394-395.
182 State Records, XVI, 778-779; XIX, 99-100, 188, 210.
183 State Records, XIX, 224; Craven Court Minutes, September, December, 1793.
184 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 451; II, 5.
185 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 445.
186 State Records, XIX, 667; Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 445.

II, 76. 187 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, II, 76. 188 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 472.

This was the effect of the failing currency, which by 1780 had fallen to the ratio of 100 or 150 to 1 on the specie of 1775. Corn was £100 per barrel, meal £20 per bushel, beef £48 per pound, and mutton £4 per pound. "A String of Fish which used to cost 12 d.," wrote Richard Cogdell, "is now 1920 d., or 20 Dollars. What a horrible prospect this exhibits." 189 Ferry rates soared as high as \$16 for a wagon, and the New Bernian at whose home the county court sometimes met received as much as £2,500 for the firewood he supplied. 190 An administrator's bond might amount to the colossal sum of £1,000,000!191 Charles Biddle wrote after the assembly of 1780 had emitted a new supply of bills:

A good old Tory, that lived near Newbern, and whom I frequently jested about his attachment to England, a country he had never seen, and knew very little about, told me, when we adjourned, that this was the best time he ever knew, for he could get a dollar for an English half-penny, 192

To add to these worries there were repeated rumors of impending attack. When the British took Norfolk and Portsmouth in May, 1779, New Bern became truly concerned for its safety. Fort Caswell was reinforced in expectation of an enemy foray, and when soon afterward a privateer schooner slipped past the bar at Ocracoke and daringly chased her quarry all the way to the Pamlico River, it was feared that a bombardment of the town was imminent. 193 A letter signed by several of the inhabitants urged the governor to raise the militia of neighboring counties to protect New Bern and the public stores in it. "The Town," they wrote, "was never in a more defenceless condition, as we have no cannon, and a very few men." 194 By early in 1781 the threat had become much more acute, and the town seemed to be menaced from two directions. Reports persisted of plans for an attack from Norfolk through Albemarle Sound. 195 It was also possible for the British to move from Wilmington, which they had occupied in January. "As this place may shortly be an

¹⁸⁹ State Records, XXII, 522.
190 Craven Court Minutes, September, 1779, December, 1781.
191 Craven Court Minutes, March, 1781.
192 James S. Biddle, Autobiography of Charles Biddle, pp. 142-143.
193 State Records, XIV, 96-97, 125, 127-128, 138.
194 State Records, XIV, 85-86.
195 State Records, XVII, 985.

object," wrote Abner Nash, "I think it prudent to move away." 196 Only a year before, the governor and his wife had moved into the Palace, but with the threat of a British attack. their occupation of the building — the only time, apparently, it ever served as the residence of a state governor - came to a speedy end. 197 In April and May there were reports of British troop movements from Wilmington in the direction of New Bern and at the same time a great deal of agitation by the Tories of the county, who were emboldened by the nearness of the King's forces. 198 Some of these were put under guard, and nine were summarily executed. 199 Efforts were made to strengthen the town's fortifications. Powder and shot owned by merchants were seized.200 Row gallies with twelve- and twenty-four-pound cannon were stationed in the river, and a hulk was prepared for a floating battery. Even the six cannon from the Palace, unspiked and augmented by forty swivel guns, were pressed into use, mounted and manned by New England sailors, of whom there happened to be "an uncommon Number . . . in Town who are well acquainted with and trained to the Artillery." 201

These preparations were needless, however, for when the British moved northward no serious attempt was made to prevent them from entering the town. Perhaps it was felt that the enemy could not spare the men to garrison and hold it permanently, and that a bloody defence of it would not be worth the cost. On Sunday, August 19, 1781, at two o'clock in the afternoon, a column of about 400 troops under Major James H. Craig entered New Bern, trailed by between 400 and 500 Tory sympathizers who had joined them during the march. 202 According to a Charleston newspaper, there was only the "exchange of a few shot." 203 Craig turned his particular attention to the waterfront, where he destroyed the rigging of vessels tied up there, along with a large quantity of rum and more than 3,000 bushels

¹⁹⁶ Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 507n.
197 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 446, 451.
198 State Records, XV, 444.
199 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 517.
200 Waightstill Avery to General Lillington, August 17, 1781; North Carolina Letters from the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
201 Waightstill Avery to General Lillington, August 17, 1781; North Carolina Letters from the Emmet Collection, New York Public Library; transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
202 State Records, XV, 623-624; XXII, 565, 568.
203 The Royal Gazette (Charleston), September 8, 1781.

of salt. "A few hours" before the British arrived, local patriots removed as much of the lead from the Palace — its gutters. downspouts, etc. - as could be taken off "without hurting the Building," and so this useful article did not fall into the hands of the enemy. 204 Several of the most prominent inhabitants remained in town, among them John Green, Richard Cogdell, Titus Ogden, and Thomas Haslen.²⁰⁵ Judging from the fate of Alexander Gaston, who also stayed behind, these men must have secreted themselves while the troops were there. While eating breakfast. Gaston was informed that a Tory troop riding ahead of the regulars had unexpectedly entered the town. Gaston tried to flee to his plantation across the Trent, but Captain John Cox, commander of the Tory detachment, calmly shot him down before his wife's eyes as he rowed frantically to reach the opposite shore.206

On Tuesday night, August 21, the British marched out again and began a series of cruel depredations against the farms of the countryside. They proceeded seventeen miles above New Bern to Bryan's Mills on Neuse River where they fought a slight skirmish with a militia detachment. They then burned the plantation houses of William and Nathan Bryan, William and Longfield Coxe, and William Herritage, "and much distressed and abused their families." 207 Colonel Nathan Bryan, who lost sixty slaves, said the British "took off all my negroes and horses and robbed my house of our clothing." 208 William Caswell wrote that it was impossible to begin to tell "the ruin, ravage and Distress committed on the Inhabitants of this Country." 209 General Caswell, with about 150 horse, and General Alexander Lillington, with about 600 militia, among them some Craven County troops, skirmished with Craig's men at Webber's Bridge on the upper Trent as they turned southward again toward Wilmington, but made no serious effort to oppose them, having been instructed by Governor Thomas Burke not to risk an action.²¹⁰ As a result the indignant planters took matters into

²⁰⁴ State Records, XV, 624.
205 "Mr. Nash, it is said, was confined there by sickness." Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 536.
206 J. H. Schauinger, "William Gaston: Southern Statesman," The North Carolina Historical Review, XVIII (1941), 100.
207 State Records, XV, 626-627.
208 State Records, XV, 634-635.
209 State Records, XXII, 568-569.
210 State Records, XXII, 564-566.

their own hands. The Coxes, William Herritage, and the old general, William Bryan, raised an angry band of men who "burnt up all the Houses of the Tories near them." ²¹¹ Caswell perceived the damage this form of vengeance might do to the American cause in the minds of the lukewarm patriots who had not fully embraced it. He gave orders for the burning to stop, though he feared he could not put an end to it. "I am exceedingly sorry for the event," he wrote, "& dread the consequences."

Leniency rather than reprisals — this was Caswell's policy, and it was a wise one in view of the inevitable postwar readjustment between patriots and Tory sympathizers. He was not alone in the possession of this generous spirit. How difficult it was to achieve can be imagined; nor can one blame those men who, with their homes in ruins, applied the torch to the homes of those whom they conceived to be their enemies. Yet patriots can be generous, too, and when in 1782 six women petitioned the county court saying their husbands had attached themselves to Craig's force and thus left the property of their children subject to confiscation, the court unhesitatingly ordered this property applied to the relief of these children.²¹² One may safely assume that these young ones grew up with no grievance that would have caused them to be other than good Americans.

²¹¹ State Records, XV, 626-627.
212 Craven Court Minutes, September, 1782.

PARDONING NORTH CAROLINIANS¹

By Jonathan Truman Dorris

During the Civil War Congress enacted several laws providing punishment for treason and rebellion against the United States. The penalty might be confiscation of property, loss of civil rights and political privileges, fine and imprisonment, or even death. On December 8, 1863, President Lincoln proclaimed a general pardon and amnesty, on certain conditions and with six exceptions, to persons who had participated in the "rebellion." A seventh exception was added on March 26, 1864.2 Thousands of offenders took advantage of this offer before the end of the war and thereby had their offenses placed in oblivion.

The big problem of clemency, however, came after the war, for every unpardoned "rebel" was liable to be apprehended and convicted for supporting the Confederacy. Believing Lincoln's amnesty to be only a war measure and not applicable thereafter, Attorney-General Joseph Speed advised President Johnson to proclaim another amnesty. Lincoln's proclamation, he said, had served to help suppress the "rebellion," but now one was needed to restore order and reorganize society in the South.3 Consequently, on May 29, 1865, President Johnson proclaimed a general amnesty, clemency being denied to seven classes in addition to Lincoln's exceptions. These persons, however, might make special application for pardon, which the President would likely grant, if the governors of their respective states approved the petitions.4 On the same day Johnson announced a plan of restoration for North Carolina, which was later extended to the other six states not yet regarded by the Chief Executive as being restored to the Union. All recipients of such clemency and all participants in reconstruction were required to take the amnesty oath that they would defend the United States and abide by and support the laws of the government.5

¹ This article is from a forthcoming book by the writer on "Pardon and Amnesty during the Civil War and Reconstruction."

2 U. S. Statutes at Large, XII, 284, 317, 502, 589; III, 65, 820; J. C. Richardson (ed.), Messages and Papers of the Presidents, VI, 213, 218.

3 Opinions of the Attorneys-General, XI, 5-11.

4 Richardson, Messages and Papers, VI, 310-14. The governor's approval was a later provision, which was not always required.

5 Richardson, Messages and Papers, VI, 326 et seq. Lincoln had recognized Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Virginia as restored to the Union.

The granting of special pardons to those in the excepted classes of the proclamations of amnesty has never been given the consideration by historians that it has deserved. Other phases of reconstruction have been adequately treated. It is the purpose of this article, therefore, to give a fair account of some aspects of that subject in a particular state.6

Perhaps North Carolina offers the best opportunity for an account of the administration of Johnson's plan of amnesty in a given state, especially with regard to individual pardons. There are several conditions which invite special attention to the Old North State in this particular. The people differed greatly in their enthusiasm for the Confederacy and later in their attitude toward peace. For example, William W. Holden, editor of the Raleigh Daily Standard and an early ardent secessionist, came to advocate peace and the Union, while Governor Zebulon B. Vance, an opponent of secession, insisted on vigorous military resistance until independence was achieved. Naturally such differences produced bitter rivalries for leadership and office during reconstruction. Consequently politics appear to have affected the granting of special pardons in North Carolina more than in any other state. Obtaining permission from the War Department in 1929 to photocopy its Amnesty Papers, the commonwealth made available important information not accessible for other states.8 And finally, considerable manuscript and printed material pertaining to the subject has been collected and deposited in various places in North Carolina, especially in the archives of the State Department of Archives and History in Raleigh.

The special consideration that President Johnson gave North Carolina in his program of reconstruction deserves notice. He was doubtless influenced by the manifestations there of loyalty to the Union during the war, and by the fact that he had many acquaintances and old associates in his native state. Having been instrumental in restoring Tennessee, he was in a position to help North Carolina regain her former status in the Union. The proximity of his native to his adopted state, therefore, may have

⁶ Many other phases of pardon and amnesty, of course, will be treated in the author's

TJ. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, Ch. I. (This will hereafter be referred to as Hamilton, Reconstruction.)

8 Doubtless, when all the Amnesty Papers are accessible, this subject in other states will be

influenced the President to begin his plan of restoration in the former.9 Other conditions, however, were ripe for such an undertaking.

Having introduced his program in North Carolina, the President was especially generous in a material way to that state. At the close of hostilities he allowed Governor Holden to retain war property worth \$150,000. He also paid all legislative and court expenses incurred during the provisional governor's term. Johnson did this for no other state. He also allowed Holden \$7,000 from the Treasury to cover the expenses of his office. 10 Indeed, Johnson seemed "very desirous that his native [state] should be the model . . . , and outstrip all her contemporaries in the race for reconstruction and reunion." 11

Apparently the Chief Executive consulted a number of North Carolinians before announcing his amnesty and plan of reconstruction. He summoned Holden to Washington as early as May 9, and by the latter part of that month the editor and a number of other prominent Carolinians had gone to the Capital for conferences. Responding to their plea for "forbearance and kindness toward the Southern States," the President promised that he would be as generous as possible, especially when entreated by those excepted in his proclamation of amnesty. Though he would pardon them when he could, Holden quotes him as declaring, "treason must be made odious, and coming generations ought to know it and profit by it." 12

Johnson allowed some of his visitors to press Holden upon him as provisional governor, despite the unfavorable reaction of ex-governor David L. Swain and others. The editor himself states that Swain tried to persuade him not to accept, preferring instead that Vance remain in the office in compliance with the Sherman-Johnston convention. 13 Between the President and Holden, however, "there was the bond of like social origin and like political opinions in the past, and this fact, coupled with

tember 15, 1865.)

⁹ Johnson was military governor of Tennessee from March 4, 1862, until late in 1864.

10 Memoirs of W. W. Holden, pp. 55-56.

11 J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton (ed.), The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, VI, 28-29. (David L. Swain to Judge Thomas Ruffin, September 15, 1865.)

12 Holden's Memoirs, pp. 55-56. The names of the following men appear in accounts of these interviews: William W. Holden, Tod R. Caldwell, Robert P. Dick, Willie Jones, W. R. Richardson, John G. Williams, J. H. P. Russ, David L. Swain, W. S. Mason, Thomas Skirmer, William Eaton, Benjamin F. Moore, Dr. Robert J. Powell, and John H. Wheeler. Memoirs of W. W. Holden, pp. 45-56; Hamilton, Reconstruction, pp. 106-107.

18 Hamilton, Papers of Ruffin, VI, 28-29. (David L. Swain to Judge Thomas Ruffin, September 15, 1865.)

their old friendship and communications during the war" probably made Holden the President's choice. 14 Consequently he accepted the appointment, though he could not meet the required "iron-clad" requirement, since he had, "more or less, aided the rebellion." 15 In fact, he had been a strong secessionist before the war and had voted for separation in the North Carolina convention. As provisional governor he swore allegiance in August, as provided in the amnesty proclamation. 16 This is worth noting, since all other provisional governors were also required to take the test oath.17

Soon retiring from the Standard, Holden entered upon the duties of his office. 18 The President's proclamations of amnesty and reconstruction and Seward's rules pertaining thereto would now be complied with. In a presidentially approved proclamation of June 12 and August 2 explaining the plan of reconstruction, he invited the people to resume their accustomed pursuits with cheerfulness and confidence in the future. He also urged those who had left the state during the war or immediately thereafter to return, assuring all that they would "be protected in their persons and property, and encouraged in their exertion to improve their condition. . . . " 19 On August 8 Holden announced that delegates were to be elected to a convention to be held on October 2 for the purpose of making certain prescribed changes in the state's constitution and providing for the election of a legislature, governor, and other state officials under that constitution.

Among Holden's first acts was the appointment of justices of the peace to administer the amnesty oath, and other officers necessary to register voters and otherwise set in motion the plan of restoration. After taking the amnesty oath and also the customary oath required by North Carolina, 20 these officials received pledges of loyalty from those who were pardoned outright on taking the amnesty oath, and from those who were required

¹⁴ Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 108.
15 Holden's Memoirs, p. 49.
16 Holden's Memoirs, p. 49.
17 Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 110.
18 Thereafter the paper carried, for a time at least, the names of Joseph S. Carman as editor and Joseph W. Holden as assistant editor. The latter was the provisional governor's

⁸⁰n.
19 Standard, August 2, 1865.
20 It appears that justices were also required to take a third oath. At least the Governor's Papers, July 1-15, 1865 (in archives of State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh), indicate that the justices of Carteret County took a third oath.

to make special application for individual pardon. The great majority regained their civil rights and political privileges under the general plan. The selection of reliable justices and registering officials was no easy task. Many whom the governor selected were not permitted to administer the oath. Holden explained to the President that inasmuch as "there are weak men among them. . . . persons would be qualified to vote who ought not to be," if all justices were authorized to administer the oath.21

On June 23 Johnson instructed Holden, through the Attorney-General's office, to use precaution in administering the amnesty proclamation. The communication pointed out that an "indiscriminate exercise of Executive clemency" was inadvisable, because both the state government and the general government needed to be protected from certain persons in the excepted classes. Johnson became very generous in granting pardons before the end of the summer, but at first he appeared determined to move slowly in exercising clemency. The applicant was required to show that he would be a peaceful and useful citizen in the future, what confiscation proceedings had been instituted against his property, and whether the government held any realty belonging to him as "abandoned property." The President assured Holden that, when cases were referred to the governor for careful consideration, all information pertaining thereto would be sent to him for "prompt and careful attention." 22 The instructions closed with a detailed explanation of the reason why the President wanted doubtful cases submitted to the governor. First, it seemed desirable to avoid, if possible, any risk of granting pardons to disloyal persons, or to such, as from previous conduct and character, could not be trusted with the control of the freedmen. Second, Johnson desired to strengthen Holden's hands in the reorganization of the state by all constitutional means. A United States district attorney would soon be appointed to assist the governor, who was reminded that the President looked to him to uphold law and order in the state.23

In considering the two classes of oath takers, the justices and

²¹ Johnson Papers, Vol. LXXI, No. 5666, Library of Congress (Holden to Johnson, July

<sup>24, 1865).

22</sup> Governor's Papers (I. Hubley Ashton to Holden, June 23, 1865), in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

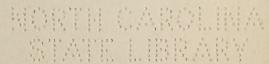
23 Governor's Papers, 1865 (I. Hubley Ashton to Holden, June 23, 1865), in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

registering officials gave special attention to those who had to make application to the President. Persons in the other class, of course, were pardoned when they renewed their allegiance and received certificates to that effect, while excepted persons had to enclose copies of their oaths with their applications for clemency. This meant delay in registering because petitioners could not be registered as voters until they presented their pardon certificates. Inasmuch as carelessness in preparing petitions delayed consideration, specific instructions were published for the preparation of applications.²⁴ The applicant was directed to address himself to the President, giving his name, age, and residence, describing any conduct during the war rendering "his property liable to confiscation," stating the clause in the Amnesty Proclamation under which he came, and asserting that he had "taken the oath of Amnesty" and intended to observe the same. He was instructed regarding the selection and folding of paper, and was reminded to sign the petition and attach thereto a copy of his Amnesty Oath properly attested. By observing these directions, applicants would gain prompt consideration. Though these instructions were not always followed in detail, the pardons were often granted just the same.

Governor Holden appointed Dr. Robert J. Powell state agent in Washington to facilitate the granting of pardons.²⁵ The advantage resulting therefrom may be appreciated when it is understood that petitions the governor approved went to the Attorney-General of the United States and then to the President. Powell's functions during Holden's incumbency were very important, because he was the medium of communication between Raleigh and Washington and often even between the offices of the President and the Attorney-General. Consequently he was in a position to promote Holden's political ambitions, which appear to have depended largely on granting some applications and denying or delaying action on others.

Holden apparently was not certain whether paroled soldiers should be allowed to vote upon taking the oath, or whether they should be required also to secure the President's special pardon. On asking Seward for instructions, he was told (what he ought

²⁴ Raleigh Daily Standard, August 3, 1865. 25 Powell was a native of North Carolina, holding a position in the patent office at the time of his appointment.



to have known already) that a special pardon was not necessary for military men below the rank of brigadier-general.26 Of course, if such soldiers came within any of the other fourteen excepted classes, the governor was required to consider them individually. Veterans below the rank specified and in prison might be released and allowed to seek clemency. For example, when General Charles G. Dyer applied directly to Washington for a pardon for Colonel Kenneth M. Murchison, who was confined at Johnson's Island. Powell informed him that the President was not then "discharging any prisoners above the grade of Captain in the Rebel Army." If Dyer's applicant, however, would apply through Governor Holden and obtain his approval, the President would grant the petition. Evidently this was done, for ten days later the governor recommended the colonel's release, together with that of several other prisoners.²⁷ It appears, however, that Murchison was not pardoned until nearly six months later.28

As one might expect, Holden was kept busy during his term as provisional governor receiving petitioners and their friends and examining applications. To his office came supporters of the late Confederacy in every capacity - governors, legislators (state and Confederate), generals, judges, county and city officials, professional and business men, and planters — to secure endorsement of their petitions. "For the first five months," he stated, "I had not less than seventy-five visitors every day, which engaged my attention for hours. . . . I also received every day a large number of applications for pardon which I read carefully. I was the medium through which these applications went to the

²⁶ William W. Holden Letter Book, 1865, in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. (Holden to Seward, June 19, and Hunter to Holden, June 24.) Speed also wrote Holden on June 19, in answer to an inquiry about persons in the twelfth exception, that paroled soldiers "who are not excluded because of some other exception . . ., should be allowed to take the benefit of amnesty and vote." William W. Holden Letter Book, 1865 (Speed to Holden, June 19).

27 Governor's Papers, May-June, 1865. (R. D. Russell to General Dyer, and General Dyer to Holden, June 20, 1865; also Holden to Johnson, June 30, 1865). The others were Colonel James W. Hinton, from Fort Delaware, and Colonel R. F. Webb, Judge Edward Cantwell, Major Lucius J. Johnson, Major A. C. Avery, and a lieutenant named Garrett, from Johnson Island. On June 23, Major Avery wrote R. C. Badger complaining of being excepted from Johnson's amnesty simply because "of having by accident obtained a greater rank than that of captain." On the same day he told the President, in his application for a special pardon, that he was debarred from amnesty because he was a prisoner of war, that he had lost three brothers in the war, that his father had also died, and that he was willing to acquiesce in the results of the war. He desired his liberty so that he might support his father's estate, Governor's Papers, May-June, 1865.

28 Applications for pardons (North Carolinians), photocopies in archives State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Originals in The National Archives, Washington (hereafter cited as Applications for Pardons).

President, and my duty was to mark them Granted, Postponed. or Rejected. . . . During my time of seven months as governor about twelve hundred pardons (1,200), as well as I recollect, were thus obtained. . . ."

Furthermore, as already indicated, Holden "had to provide books with the amnesty oaths for all the counties, to appoint persons in various counties to administer those oaths," and to perform various other duties necessary in the reconstruction program then in operation. So closely did he apply himself to his duties that his health was impaired, and at one time during his incumbency he went to a resort called Kittrell Springs to recuperate.²⁹ On June 21 the New York Herald described activities in the North Carolina capital in these words: "Since the promulgation of the Amnesty proclamation . . . , there has been a great rush of the secessionists to Raleigh to solicit pardon. . . . They come from the east and from the west, from the north and from the south . . . ; and all at once they have discovered that Governor Holden is a remarkably proper man — the right man in the right place. . . . " 30

Some applicants for pardon stated that they had accepted civil offices to avoid service in the Confederate army. One man became tithing agent; another, postmaster; a third, assessor and depot agent. Tod R. Caldwell, who later became lieutenant governor and governor of the state, said that he avoided service by accepting the office of solicitor for Rutherford County. Sundry other petty offices were also filled by persons to avoid military service, but most petitioners of this class seem to have been postmasters. These men usually stated their opposition to secession and their satisfaction with the outcome of the war.31 Consequently their petitions were often granted with little delay.

The Quakers found themselves in an awkward position when expected to take the amnesty oath. Perhaps the inquiry of Joseph Newlin, of New Market, illustrates their predicament. He told Holden that he thought "it would be requiring too much

²⁹ Holden's Memoirs, pp. 57-65.
30 New York Herald, June 21, 1865.
31 Applications for Pardons. Caldwell gave only one offense against the United States. He also stated further in his petition that he was so active in opposing the "Davis Usurpation" that the rebel leaders threatened to destroy his property and do him personal violence. He applied for pardon on July 25, Holden recommended pardon at once, and Johnson pardoned him on August 12, 1865. Applications for Pardons. He, being lieutenant governor, became governor when Holden was removed by impeachment early in 1871. He was elected governor in 1872, but died before the end of his term. Hamilton, Reconstruction, passim.

of them" to swear "allegiance to the United States" since they had "never broken their allegiance thereto voluntarily," and could not, therefore, "consistently make the affirmation." 32 Newlin's contention, however, was better expressed in a formal petition to Holden by the Quakers at one of their annual "Sufferings." After giving their religious scruples against rebellion and stating that not one of them had favored the rupture of the government, they related the hardships inflicted upon them for opposing the war. They had been imprisoned, whipped, suspended by the thumb, and had suffered other penal indignities and abuses. Consequently they believed that they should not be required to swear allegiance to the United States. The Quakers also feared that taking the oath might be construed to mean defending the Constitution by the use of arms, a practice in direct violation of a primary principle which had always characterized their society. If they might not be released entirely from the amnesty oath they desired "it to be so modified as not to violate" their conscientious scruples.33

Holden asked Johnson to excuse the Quakers from swearing at all. If this might not be done, he requested that they be allowed to take the North Carolina oath, which did not contain some parts that the complainants found objectionable in the amnesty proclamation. If neither of these requests could be granted, Holden asked that it might "be stated by authority in the newspapers that when Quakers take the oath of amnesty it is not expected that they bind themselves to defend the Government with arms." 34 But the President did not grant the governor's request, for the Quakers were obliged to take the amnesty oath. Perhaps he took the position that Lincoln maintained when Loyal Tennesseeans objected to taking the oath provided in the amnesty proclamation of December 8, 1863. Such persons had protested vigorously but vainly against taking it and being thus classified with rebels. Having insisted in 1864 on applying a more rigid test of loyalty in Tennessee than Lincoln required, Johnson at this time was not likely to except any one merely on account of religious scruples.

³² Governor's Papers, 1865 (Newlin to Holden, June 13, 1865).
33 Governor's Papers, 1865.
34 Johnson Papers, LXVIII; Governor's Papers, 1865 (Holden to Johnson, June 27, 1865).
Holden sent Johnson a copy of the Quaker's petition.

Johnson would have liked to revoke the pardons of two wealthy men, George W. Mordecai and William T. Hawkins, who had applied for clemency rather early.35 Holden had marked their petitions suspended, so they might not participate in reconstruction. During the second week in August the men went to Washington to hasten action on their applications, and through the assistance of friends gained an interview with the President. Johnson believed their stories and, after requiring each to take the amnesty oath again and write a brief application, pardoned them at once. When Powell and Holden learned of this they complained to the President, who stated that the men had told him that they had not supported the rebellion, that Holden had approved their petitions, which "had been lost or mislaid in the Attorney-General's office," and that they had come to Washington to apply in person for pardon. Johnson felt, therefore, that, under the circumstances, he might be excused for granting the pardons, though he was greatly displeased with the manner in which they had been obtained. Yet he telegraphed Holden to assess each man ten thousand dollars as punishment for obtaining pardons through deception. This Holden declined to do, and warned Johnson not to pardon North Carolinians without positive knowledge of his approval. Mordecai and Hawkins denied having misrepresented their condition and questioned Powell's veracity in his account of the affair. At any rate, the men obtained clemency without Holden's approval by appealing directly to the President through the intercession of others.36

The records show that Holden carefully scrutinized the lists forwarded to Washington and indicated thereon those whose pardons he desired deferred and those whom he desired relieved at once.³⁷ Evidently he withheld his recommendation when he regarded the applicants as likely to oppose his administration as provisional governor and later his candidacy for governor. Such persons, of course, could neither sit in the convention soon to

³⁵ Mordecai was a lawyer and bank president, and Hawkins had been president of a railroad company and quartermaster for the Confederacy. The men came within the thirteenth exception.

exception.

36 Governor's Papers, 1865 (Powell to Holden, August 15, September 6, 1865); Applications for Pardons (applications of Mordecai and Hawkins, of August 11, 1865); Hamilton, Papers of Ruffin, IV, 23; Raleigh Daily Standard, September 25, October 7, 8, 11, 1865; Raleigh Daily Sentinel, August 12, October 18, 18, 1865; Holden's Memoirs, p. 61; also Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 114. Powell claimed a lawyer, named Speed, a relative of the Attorney-General, had helped to obtain the pardons.

37 Applications for Pardons.

assemble nor vote in the forthcoming election, unless they previously obtained pardons. Furthermore, he also appeared to favor petitioners who had been ardent secessionists in 1860 and 1861, and to oppose (for a time at least) those, like Zebulon B. Vance, John A. Gilmer, Josiah Turner, Jr., William A. Graham, and John M. Morehead, who had been for the Union until influenced by the first seceders to cast their lot with the Confederacy. Original secessionists, therefore, like A. H. Arrington, Burton Craige, John L. Bridges, William Lander, and Abram Venable were recommended for pardon.

Those discriminated against accused Holden of seeking to promote his own political fortune by such partiality. Jonathan Worth wrote two years later that all Holden's "actions were shaped to bring about his election by the people as governor. He never failed to recommend for pardon anyone . . . who gave him satisfactory assurance of support. He recommended for suspension or rejection every one, regardless of his political antecedents, who would not assure him of support." 38 Even Lewis Hanes, who was for a time Holden's private secretary, stated that "in everything that he did, he kept constantly in view no object but his own political advancement." 39

It should be noted, however, that Holden did favor pardoning some prominent persons who had opposed secession and had later supported the Confederacy; and Jonathan Worth was one of these. In fact, Worth said of himself: "As to getting into the war or getting out of it, I have a better record than any [other] man in the State." ⁴⁰ He had been pardoned early so that Holden might appoint him provisional treasurer of the state. Ex-Governor David L. Swain, Dr. James G. Ramsey, and Judge Thomas Ruffin were three other men in this class whose pardons Holden favored. Swain, whose petition contained an account of his Union sentiment during the war, was needed as president of the University of North Carolina. Holden recommended his pardon on September 24, and Johnson granted it two weeks later. Ramsey supported his long petition so well with newspaper comments on his opposition to secession that Holden recom-

³⁸ J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, II, 977 (Worth to Colonel W. G. Moore, June 9, 1867).
39 Quoted by Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 133.
40 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 420 (letter to Jesse Walker, September 14, 1865).

mended his pardon on June 30, and Johnson pardoned him a few days later.41

Judge Ruffin's petition was a model of form and logic. He told the President that he had been associated with the movement for conciliation in 1860-61, but that he did believe in the right of revolution. He had not acceded to the doctrine of nullification, however, since he admitted the authority of the federal government over the states as well as the citizens. Yet he believed in the "right of a whole people to change their form of government by annuling one Constitution and forming another for themselves. . . . " Consequently, as a member of the state's convention, he supported the ordinance of secession and "such military and financial measures as were deemed fit and proper for maintaining the Confederacy." He expressed the opinion, however, that more could be accomplished in conciliating the South and restoring its prosperity by a universal amnesty than by a "Judicial decision before a Judge and Jury." Ruffin believed his financial losses due to the war had reduced the value of his estate from \$250,000 to \$20,000. He came, of course, under the thirteenth exception of the President's amnesty. His advanced age (nearly seventy-eight), long service as chief justice of the state's supreme court, and popularity caused Holden to recommend his pardon (September 14), which Johnson granted two weeks later. 42

Holden stated in his Memoirs that he refused to recommend for pardon only four persons, but the records show that he marked many applications to be suspended, or deferred. 43 Furthermore, as related more fully later, he left some 300 petitions unattended to at all on file in his office at the close of his term as provisional governor. He said nothing about these papers or the 500 pardons which he advertised as granted on the eve of

⁴¹ Applications for Pardon. Swain had declined a seat in the Confederate States Senate, had never been a real secessionist, and believed Buchanan could have prevented the organization of the Confederacy and have prevented the war. Ramsey had served in the Confederate Congress in spite of his early sympathy with the Union cause. Apparently he did not help the Confederacy much in any capacity, and certainly rejoiced in its downfall.

42 Ruffin's petition for pardon is published in Hamilton's Papers of Thomas Ruffin, IV, 16-21. Swain claimed to have succeeded in obtaining pardons for Judge Ruffin, Paul C. Cameron and himself, and desired to bear a petition from the convention in October, 1865, to the President for Vance's pardon. Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Swain to Vance, October 18, 1865). In the archives of State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

43 For example, on August 18, 1865, Holden's agent, at Washington, Dr. Powell, submitted a list of some 290 persons who had applied for pardon. Six were marked for immediate action, 232 for pardon without any time indicated, and forty others were to be suspended. Seven more were to take effect on January 1, 1866. John A. Gilmer was among those to be pardoned, but James R. McLean's petition was marked "rejected," and that of Landon C. Haynes, of Iredell County (formerly of Tennessee), was sent to the President without recommendation at all. Applications for Pardons.

the election in November, 1865, which will be discussed later. Certainly he should have explained why these petitions were not forwarded to Washington and why the larger number, advertised as having been granted, were not delivered as expected. The avalanche of criticism heaped upon him because of these omissions and commissions should have caused him to make some explanation in his own account of pardoning North Carolinians. Perhaps the thought of the subject was so unpleasant that he concluded not to mention it. His own story, therefore, puts him in a more favorable light than the actual facts justify.

Holden was eventually prevailed on to recommend the pardon of John A. Gilmer, who, after serving in the United States Congress, had been tendered the place as Secretary of the Treasury in Lincoln's cabinet. Gilmer was a strong Union man, who exerted himself to keep North Carolina from seceding. In seeking pardon, he wrote ex-Governor Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, whose influence with the President he sought, claiming that he helped defeat an effort to call a convention to consider secession in his state in February, 1861, by printing and distributing over 100,000 copies of "speeches and documents, fully one-third of which were by Andrew Johnson." Gilmer also told Corwin that he worked faithfully for the Union until Lincoln called for troops after the attack on Fort Sumter; then he could "do nothing more with the people." It was only when "the whole South declared for independence" that he was obliged to support the Confederacy by serving in its Congress. In his depressed condition and the confusion of the times, he also said that if he sustained any other losses besides that of his slaves, he would "feel that an innocent man has suffered." But if he could be released from his existing distress and difficulty, he would endeavor to sell what he had left and take his wife and children to some free state, where even at his advanced age (sixty) he would begin life again.44

In all probability Corwin asked the President to pardon Gilmer, but there were others of prominence who also interceded for him. Ex-Confederate Congressman E. M. Brown wrote Attorney-General Speed that there was no other man who could do

⁴⁴ Applications for Pardons (Gilmer to Corwin, June 4, 1865). Corwin had been United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury, and minister to Mexico. He was practicing law in Washington in 1865, and died in December of that year.

so much as Gilmer to bring order out of chaos in North Carolina. since he approved Johnson's plan of reconstruction and would heartily cooperate with Governor Holden. The writer further emphasized Gilmer's virtues by saying he could "do more to organize the free labor system than any other man in the state," and then reminded Speed of Gilmer's service in the United States Congress and the offer of a position in Lincoln's cabinet, saying that, "Above all men he should be pardoned on public consideration—state and national. . . . "45

Governor Holden's administrative staff, including his private secretary, Lewis Hanes, also requested Gilmer's pardon. Even a dozen or more army officers, among whom were Generals Jacob Dolson Cox, of Ohio, and Thomas Jefferson Henderson, of Illinois, petitioned the President in behalf of the popular North Carolinian. 46 Finally sentiment in both the North and South became so strong for Gilmer that Holden recommended clemency, telling the President that the man appeared "sincerely repentant and much depressed," and that he was "so 'good a fellow' personally" that many "old line Whigs" were inclined to believe that he [Holden] refused to recommend his "pardon on account of past political differences." Consequently Holden advised leniency, but he desired that the pardon not be issued until January 1, 1866. This would be too late for the recipient to participate in the October convention and the election that followed. In the meantime, however, Holden hoped that Gilmer's estate would not be libelled.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, it appears that Gilmer was pardoned much earlier, for, on October 14, he told Vance that Dr. Powell had informed him that the President had pardoned him. He also assured Vance that he could now work much more efficiently for his pardon, which he was certain would also be granted.48

Another person, as stated above, whose pardon Holden wanted deferred was Josiah Turner, Jr. The governor recommended that the man's father, who was very old and in the thirteenth excep-

⁴⁵ Applications for Pardons (Brown to Speed, July 5, 1865).
46 Applications for Pardons, for sundry letters. General Cox later became Governor of Ohio and General Henderson, a member of Congress.
47 Applications for Pardons (Holden to Johnson, August 9, 1865). Gilmer wrote several letters to Johnson and his subordinates in seeking pardon. Applications for Pardons.
48 Z. B. Vance Papers, III (Gilmer to Vance, October 14, 1865). Cf. Hamilton, Reconstruction in 115. struction, p. 115.

tion, be pardoned at once;49 but the son's petition, seemingly "a bill of indictment against" the Democratic party, he thought should be suspended.⁵⁰ Indeed, the ex-Confederate Congressman charged both Southern and Northern Democrats with erroneous interpretations of the Constitution in advocating the principles of states' rights and nullification. His four-thousand-word application for pardon, therefore, deserves some consideration. since it contains an unusual presentation of the Confederate cause by a pardon seeker.

Turner pointed out the "error of the Jeffersonian school" in constantly interpreting the Constitution in the light of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, which South Carolina later developed into the right of peaceful secession. Yet he stated that Hamilton agreed that armed coercion could not "be executed upon the states collectively." Then he asserted that Buchanan merely followed the precepts of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and other framers of the Constitution when he refused to coerce South Carolina. Turner also declared that these Fathers had erred by their actions in the Convention, and that Buchanan had likewise acted unwisely in following the debates in the Convention instead of the Constitution itself and his oath of office. Furthermore, he asserted that the Democrats had endorsed the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in their platform of 1848 and in later campaigns; and thus, he reasoned, "the Northern as well as the Southern democracy was committed to secession."

But Turner did not stop here. He went on to analyze Buchanan's policies to show his mistakes, which, however, he declared to be in conformity with the faulty teachings of the Democratic party from 1798 to 1860. He quoted Jefferson freely and then affirmed that both North and South had "laid down platforms and inculcated principles calculated to weaken the Government and bring it into contempt." The people, he said, had been taught

⁴⁹ The elder Turner told the President in his petition that he would have "thrown" his "strength on the side of the South" if it had not been for his advanced age (eighty-six) and physical condition. Holder reminded Johnson that the father was not the Turner who was a "member of the so called Confederate Congress." Applications for Pardons (Turner to Johnson and Holden to Johnson, August 1, 5, 1865, respectively).

⁵⁰ On September 20, 1865, Holden wrote on Josiah Turner Junior's petition: "I respectively recommend that action in this case be suspended. It seems to be a bill of indictment against the Democracy." Applications for Pardons. In seeking a pardon for Turner in July, 1866, Governor Worth, of North Carolina, told Seward that if the form of his (Turner's) petition was objectionable he would "endeavor to get him to withdraw it, if this be allowable. . . ." Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 662.

"that the Federal Government was only an agency or a co-partnership to be dissolved by secession when the states wished." They had been "taught the impotency of the Federal Government. It could not create a bank, improve a river, make a railroad, or a turnpike. It was reserved for sovereign states to do these things." Then he pointed out the fact that Calhoun had remained in favor with Northern Democrats long after he drafted the nullifying ordinance of 1832.

Finally, Turner considered the visit of Secretary of the Interior Jacob Thompson to North Carolina late in 1860, "The most astonishing instance of intrepid political affrontery on record," except that of Secretary Floyd's "sending arms south to destroy the government" he had sworn to defend and was pretending to administer.⁵¹ Indeed, Thompson said nothing to shock a Democrat; he inculcated instead and enlarged upon Jefferson's doctrine "that each state must decide for herself both the mode and measure of redress for present and for prospective evils and grievances." Consequently, Southern Democrats expected peaceful secession.

Turner wrote all this and much more of similar import in presenting his plea for clemency. As a captain in the Confederate Army and later as a member of the Confederate Congress he had only acquiesced in a long-standing but fallacious party leadership that had finally precipitated a national catastrophe. Nevertheless he expected his exposure to anger a host of its followers rather than cause them to be "thankful for the occasion of correcting them." As an opponent of secession and castigator of the party responsible for his mistake, he expected his petition to be freely granted.⁵² But his facile pen and ready tongue seemed to hinder favorable action, for Holden stated that "under all these circumstances it was not to be reasonably expected that I would . . . write the President to forward" his pardon.53

Former Governor William A. Graham's failure to qualify for office in 1865 was a great disappointment to his friends. He had

⁵¹ A committee of the House exonerated Floyd in January, 1861, of every charge of criminal neglect of duty for which an indictment had been returned against him.
52 Turner's twenty-three page petition may be found among the Applications for Pardons.
He should have improved its form before forwarding it to Raleigh and Washington for

to should have improve its form before forwarding to be lateral and washington for consideration.

53 Holden's Memoirs, p. 60. See also North Carolina Standard for October 20, 26, 1865. Turner had severely criticised Holden's policies.

been United States Senator, governor of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy, candidate for Vice-President, and Confederate States Senator. Naturally his services were desired in the program of reconstruction; and in due time he applied for pardon. In his well prepared petition of some 3,000 words he told of his early strong attachment to the Union and opposition to secession, until North Carolina found herself "completely insulated among the seceded states with no loyal members of the Union nearer to her than Pennsylvania and Ohio. . . ."

As a member of the state legislature during the first years of the war, Graham had "uniformly opposed all propositions to abridge the freedom of speech . . . or otherwise impair the common rights of the citizen. He was mainly instrumental," he told the President, "in defeating an ordinance proposing to disfranchise and banish every citizen of the State who should not submit to a test oath to uphold and defend the Confederate Government with arms, and abjure his allegiance to the United States." Likewise he succeeded in defeating a measure intended to penalize severely persons advocating the restoration of the Union. Though he came sincerely to desire the success of Confederate arms, he sternly refused "to make public addresses in which he was expected to give assurance" of the final success of the movement for independence. For all this, as might be expected, he was censured by the press throughout the contest.

Later, as a member of the Confederate Congress, Graham advocated the mild policy which had characterized his efforts in the state legislature. Believing his counsels were in some degree responsible for the Hampton Roads peace conference, he had urged another effort at conciliation after the failure of that meeting. Yet he had advised North Carolina "to forbear premature attempts at peace through the instrumentality of a separate convention of the State . . . until the refusal of the Confederate authorities to treat according to the necessities of the situation should be definitely ascertained." But when he became satisfied that the Confederate government would not treat for peace, except on the basis of independence, he counseled the authorities of his state "to interpose promptly for the termination of the war." Graham also stated that he had a large dependent family. Nevertheless he trusted that his five sons, who

had fought for the Confederacy, had "performed their parts" creditably. Having cheerfully resumed his obligations to the government he prayed that, in consideration of the premises, pardon and amnesty might be extended to him for having opposed "the authority of the United States." 54 Graham could not represent Orange County in the state convention, because the governor had recommended the deferment of his pardon; but, as in Gilmer's case, proceedings against his property were discouraged. 55 Hesitating to believe that Holden had blocked Graham's plea, the Raleigh Sentinel was confident that, if Johnson "could know the truth" about Graham, "he would at once sign his pardon."56

In November the state legislature petitioned for Graham's pardon, and then a little later elected the man United States Senator.⁵⁷ Holden, however, still withheld his recommendation; and apparently he encouraged Powell to return to Raleigh to work against Graham's election. In reporting the result of the campaign to Vance, Swain stated significantly that Dr. Powell was still in Raleigh, and that he had "left no stone unturned to thwart Graham," whose victory had left his opponents deeply mortified.⁵⁸ Nevertheless, the day Graham was elected, the President signed his pardon, but it was not delivered until 1867. Nor was Graham or any other ex-Confederate admitted to a seat in the United States Senate during the sessions of the Thirty-Ninth Congress (1865-67). In fact, both houses denied representation to all the states lately "in rebellion" until they had conformed to the congressional plan of reconstruction. 59

Perhaps the most important pardon case in North Carolina concerned Zebulon Baird Vance, who had been governor of the state from 1862 to the close of hostilities. He declined an invitation to participate in the Sherman-Johnston surrender negotiations near Durham. He might also have tried to escape with Jefferson Davis, but he chose to remain with his people to do

⁵⁴ Graham's petition, in Applications for Pardons, is dated July 25, 1865.
55 Raleigh Sentinel, September 1, 21, 1865. Graham was elected to the state senate, but did not take his seat, because he had not been pardoned.
56 Raleigh Sentinel, September 1, 1865.
57 Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (F. E. Shiber to Vance, November 30, 1865).
58 Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Swain to Vance, December 4, 1865).
59 Tennessee's representatives were admitted to their seats after ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment in 1866, but the other states did not conform so readily and remained unrepresented until later.

what he could to prevent the destruction of state property and archives and otherwise help adjust the affairs of the state to the new order. When it appeared that he could do nothing more, he offered to surrender to General Schofield, who declined to receive him as a prisoner and advised him to go to his home at Statesville. This he did, but not until he had made a futile effort to send a commission to Washington and had urged the people in a public address to abstain from excesses, assuring them that he would do all he could to restore normal conditions in the state.⁶⁰

On May 13 Vance was arrested by order of the President, taken to Washington, and placed in a cell at the Old Capitol Prison with Governor John Letcher of Virginia. Clement Dowd gives the best reason for the arrest and imprisonment of Vance, as well as the other civil leaders of the Confederacy. After discrediting any desire on the part of Johnson "to settle some old grudge he may have had against Vance," he expresses the belief that the assassination of Lincoln not only "excited and exasperated" the authorities at Washington, but also left them in doubt as to the "temper and purposes" of the Confederate leaders. Dowd concludes, therefore, "that it was thought the public peace and safety would be better secured by imprisoning the Governors of the several States for a time, and thus effectually prevent the further prosecution of the war by guerilla parties or otherwise."61 Indeed, Davis himself admitted that his attempt to escape from Richmond was to join the forces of Kirby Smith and others in the South and West and to continue the struggle. 62

But such was not Vance's desire. Seeming to recognize the utter futility of further resistance, he set about at once to restore his state to its former place in the Union. Kemp P. Battle stated that in a commencement address on "The Duties of Defeat" at the University of North Carolina during these days: "His Counsels, like those of General Lee on the same subject, were eminently wise and timely, a sincere acceptance of the decisions of the war, loyalty to our governments, national and state, [and] faithful labor for the reconstruction of society. . . ."63

It is easily seen, therefore, that Vance was a man whose

⁶⁰ Clement Dowd, Life of Zebulon B. Vance, pp. 95-101; Hamilton, Reconstruction, pp. 95-101.

<sup>G1 Dowd, Life of Vance, p. 97.
62 Jefferson Davis, The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, II, 696-697.
63 Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina, I, 753.</sup>

clemency would be widely sought. Influenced also by Mrs. Vance's illness in Statesville, Holden yielded to pressure and recommended his parole from prison. So, on July 6, Vance was allowed to proceed to his home, where "he was to remain subject to the order of the President." This privilege was later extended so that he could "remain with his wife during her illness without regard to location." In fact, the President finally (September, 1866) allowed him "to visit such places in the United States" as he might desire, subject to the conditions of his parole. This action was taken in answer to a request from Winchester, Virginia, that he be permitted to participate in the dedication of a cemetery there to the memory of Stonewall Jackson. 64

Paroles and their extension, however, did not remove the most serious disability from Vance. He needed to be pardoned so that he might earn a livelihood for himself and his family. Moreover, his many friends wanted him to become eligible to serve the state in some useful capacity. Petitions for the restoration of his rights, therefore, began to be made shortly after his imprisonment and continued until far into 1867. The President probably received more requests to pardon Vance than for any other ex-Confederate, except Jefferson Davis. As early as January, 1866, Johnson told William A. Graham and David L. Swain that he supposed fifty persons had spoken to him of Vance's case. 65

Vance prepared his petition for pardon on June 3, 1865, while confined in the Old Capitol Prison. Its 1,200 words contain a simple statement of his devotion to the Federal Union and the individuality of the states, until the beginning of the war. He reminded Johnson that, as a member of Congress, he had the honor, during the session of 1860-61, of cooperating with him in trying to save the Union. On returning home after March 4, 1861, he had become "a candidate for reelection on the Union ticket, amid such persecutions and threats of personal violence as it was customary to heap upon union men in that day." It was during this canvass, he stated, that actual hostilities began and that Lincoln called on North Carolina for troops to put down the "rebellion."

The President's action produced an instantaneous and over-

⁶⁴ Numerous papers pertaining to the parole of Vance may be found in the Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII, IX.
65 Z. B. Vance Papers, IX (Graham to Vance and Swain to Vance, January 20, 1866).

whelming revolution of public sentiment in that state, and caused the people to clamor for disunion, "declaring if they must fight, it should be for and not against their Southern neighbors and kindred." Consequently, in less than three weeks a convention assembled and unanimously passed an ordinance of secession. Under these circumstances, Vance told Johnson, there were only two choices open to him, namely, to leave North Carolina and "levy domestic war at the head of such persons as would follow him, or to abide by the action of his State. He chose the latter alternative," serving the Confederacy in military and civil capacities until the end of the conflict.

The prisoner reviewed his futile efforts to cooperate with Generals Sherman and Schofield in an effort to place the state in its former position in the Union. Then he told the President that he did not desire to secure a pardon "by any false or mean pretenses, or to mitigate the offence of abandoning one government by showing that he was likewise false to another." Vance also thought that he should truthfully state that, though he yielded reluctantly "to circumstances in the beginning, his feelings became in time thoroughly and earnestly enlisted in behalf of the cause his state had espoused." Naturally the threatened abolition of slavery and the horrors of war affected him, and caused him to labor "zealously in every honorable way to repel an invasion of his state, . . . and to avoid results, which seemed to him equivalent to the absolute subjugation of his people." Now he fully appreciated "the actual condition of affairs," and contemplated "no further resistance whatever to the authority of the United States." Furthermore he accepted the restoration of the Union and the abolition of slavery, and was willing "to take and faithfully observe the oath prescribed" in the President's proclamation of amnesty. He desired, of course, to be permitted to return home, so that he might "assist an almost ruined people in the restoration of law, and assume all the duties of a quiet and law abiding American citizen." Humbly concluding his petition, Vance asserted that he had very little property, that his wife and four small children were "totally dependent upon his personal exertions," and that they were then "living upon the charity of personal friends."66

⁶⁶ Applications for Pardons, Vance's petition for pardon.

Of course there was considerable effort on the part of many to persuade the President to pardon Vance. The petitions from individuals and groups were numerous. As already stated, the first efforts resulted in his parole from prison, but full suffrage was desired. Naturally his leadership was needed. Ex-Governor Letcher of Virginia wrote Vance that he would out-distance all competitors in political influence were he free to act. 67 Holden, however, remained adamant in refusing to endorse his application. In recommending deferred action on Gilmer's and Graham's petitions he expressed the opinion that they could make no disturbance even if disposed to do so as long as Vance remained unpardoned.68

A little earlier Holden had said in recommending the pardon of Governor Vance's brother General Robert B. Vance: "He is a very different man from Z. B. Vance. He is honest, has no political ambitions, and is very poor."69 Holden also opposed clemency for ex-Governor Clark and Ed. W. Manning on the ground that he could not afford to recommend Vance. 70 Manning reported the governor as having said that, if he recommended him without Vance, Holden would expose himself to the assault of Vance's friends, which shows, Manning further asserted, "that Holden was taking care of himself without any consideration of the merits of the case or the effect on the public welfare."71

To understand why Holden refused to recommend Vance's pardon a brief review of the political activities and relations of the men prior to the summer of 1865 appears desirable. During the 1850's the editor of the Standard had been one of the strongest advocates of secession in the state, and through the columns of his paper, which he had edited since 1843, he was one of the most ardent supporters of the doctrine of states' rights in the South.⁷² Politically ambitious, he vainly attempted to secure Democratic support for governor in 1858, but John W. Ellis was

⁶⁷ Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Letcher to Vance, October 16, 1865).
68 Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Holden to Johnson, August 9, 1865).
69 Z. B. Vance Papers, VIII (Holden to Johnson, August 1, 1865).
70 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I. 103-5.
71 Applications for Pardons (Manning to Johnson, July 20, 1865). On August 8, 1865, tolden recommended that Manning's pardon be suspended, and it was not granted until June

Holden recommended that Manning's paroon be suspended, and it was not granted until June 15, 1867.

72 Holden's life as a journalist, from 1843 to 1865, has been well told by Edgar E. Folk in a doctoral dissertation (two bound volumes) at George Peabody College. See also Dr. Folk's "W. W. Holden and the North Carolina Standard, 1843-1848: A Study in Political Journalism," The North Carolina Historical Review, XIX (January, 1942), No. 1, and "W. W. Holden and the Election of 1858," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXI (October, 1944), No. 4.

nominated and elected. In 1860, however, Holden appeared rather uncertain for a time in his attitude toward secession, addressing the Democratic national convention at Charleston on its dangers, and announcing a little later "that he was 'for the Constitution and the Union, and against all who would trample on the one or dissolve the other." "73

Nevertheless, on June 2, Holden declared again for secession, asserting, in anticipation of the autumn election, that, "If the people of the South are true to themselves they will never be troubled by the decisions of Black Republican judges." But in these trying times constancy was not one of Holden's virtues, for he was loath to support secession after Lincoln's election, until the call to arms. Then as a member of the secession convention of his state he "is reported to have held up the pen with which he signed the ordinance and said that he would hand it down to his children as their proudest heritage." ⁷⁵

But Holden did not support the war policies of Governor Ellis, who died in July, 1861, nor those of Henry T. Clark, who, being speaker of the state senate, succeeded Ellis as governor. In fact he became the main leader of the opposition to President Davis's administration, which developed early in North Carolina. Moreover, as the gubernatorial election of 1862 approached, he sought a candidate who, if elected, would be anti-Davis and pro-Union; for by the second year of the war Holden was denouncing the policies of the Confederate government and again advocating the Union cause. His candidate was Zebulon B. Vance, formerly an ardent Union supporter and now the most popular man in the state.

Vance said little or nothing about peace during the campaign, and was elected by a large majority; but he soon disappointed Holden. In his inaugural address the new governor declared that he would support the Confederacy. "Speaking of secession, he said, 'It was not a whim or sudden freak, but the deliberate judgment of our people. Any other course would have involved the deepest degradation, the vilest dishonor, and the direct calamity'" Then, in an exhortation for unanimity of action, he con-

⁷³ Hamilton, Reconstruction, pp. 10-12.
74 Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 12, n 2 (from editorial in the North Carolina Standard).
75 Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 32. On October 19, 1865, the North Carolina Standard declared vehemently that Holden had never been a secessionist. "Would Johnson," the editor asked, "have appointed him Provisional Governor if he had been a secessionist?"

tinued: "To prosecute this war with success is quite as much for our people as for our soldiers to do. One of the vital elements of our success is harmony. On this great issue of existence itself let there. I pray you, be no dissentive voice in our borders."76

The governor's new position was a great departure from his policy two years earlier. Then, according to Burton Jesse Hendrick, "he engaged in a kind of campaign resembling a religious revival, . . . He appeared in churches, even at street corners, shouting always: 'Keep North Carolina in the Union! Let it not follow the example of other Southern States!" "77 But a great change of heart and purpose came over him after Lincoln's call for troops to put down the "rebellion"; and his energy and prowess in the Confederate army soon made him a hero. Now he gave assurance of his continued loyalty to the Confederacy. His former declarations for the Union, however, were not forgotten in the North, or in Richmond, where his policies as governor were not always understood or appreciated.78

Vance's vigorous and able support of the state war party, therefore, was a keen disappointment to Holden. By the summer of 1863 the editor of the Standard was urging peace and the Union, fearing, as he said, "that a prolongation of the war" would "obliterate the last vestige" of slavery. 79 This fear was doubtless due to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and to the probability of further action to liberate the slaves.

Holden's strong advocacy of peace and the return of North Carolina to the Union greatly exasperated Vance. This annoyance became a serious aggravation as the year 1863 passed and the peace movement increased. At first Vance tried to get along with Holden, but finally concluded to oppose him cautiously. He prepared, therefore, a long article for publication attacking the editor's policies, but he was considerate enough to allow Holden to see the paper before publishing it. Since Graham also advised against publication, he never allowed it to go to press. This was in August, but by September Vance firmly determined to counteract the peace movement and published a proclamation to discourage dissension and division among the people. His position, how-

 ⁷⁶ Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 43, quoting from Holden's inaugural address.
 77 Burton Jesse Hendrick, Statesmen of the Lost Cause, p. 346.
 78 Hendrick, The Lost Cause, pp. 342-349.
 79 Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 50.

ever, was not satisfactory to the war party, since he did not clearly define the line existing between himself and Holden, whose printing house was molested by infuriated Georgia soldiers on the night of September 9. The sequel to this mob attack on the *Standard*, whose editor sought protection in the governor's home during the night, was the destruction of the equipment of the war-sympathizing *Raleigh State Journal* the next morning by some of Holden's friends.⁸⁰

Affairs by this time were so serious that fighting between the two factions seemed imminent. Vance implored President Davis to assist in pacifying the people by causing troops passing through the state to avoid Raleigh. Nevertheless the governor was so alarmed over the situation that he told Davis that, unless the outrages ceased, he would be obliged to recall North Carolina troops from the Confederate service to defend the state. In a week, however, quiet was restored, and by October 4 the Standard had resumed publication and its demands for peace. Vance soon countered with a declaration "that an honorable peace could be obtained only on the battlefield." Moreover, much to his satisfaction and through the influence of Graham, the lower house of the legislature, meeting early in 1864, failed to act upon a resolution asking Davis to open negotiations for peace with Washington: nor was there further demonstration for peace during this session.

As yet there had been no open break between Holden and Vance. The rupture came, however, when the *Standard* began advocating a state convention to consider peace, stating on January 19, 1864, that unless Vance favored such action he could not be reelected. Peace meetings followed in several counties, and the situation became so serious that President Davis suspended the writ of habeas corpus in the state. Highly displeased, Vance began an angry and profitless correspondence with Davis. Nevertheless the Carolinian remained firm in his support of the Confederacy, declaring on January 1 to his close friend, Graham, that he would see the peace party blown into atoms "and Holden and his under-strappers in hell" before he would consent to a course that "would bring dishonor and ruin upon both state and

⁸⁰ Richard E. Yates, "Governor Vance and The Peace Movement," Part I, North Carolina Historical Review, XVII (January, 1940), No. 1, gives the facts in this and the following paragraph.

Confederacy." Consequently, on Washington's birthday, he delivered a carefully prepared and widely published speech announcing his stand against peace and also his candidacy for reelection.81

Vance's address was a pungent challenge to Holden, who, on March 3, announced his candidacy for governor through the columns of the Standard. An acrimonious campaign was soon in full swing, but Holden was no match for his resourceful and able opponent, who stumped the state in a rather dramatic and winning manner, often ridiculing the editor unmercifully. Holden campaigned mostly through his paper, in which he rather vaguely favored a state convention to encourage the authorities at Richmond to obtain an "honorable peace" with the United States. Vance countered by influencing the May session of the legislature to pass resolutions urging the same authorities to negotiate for peace on the basis of independence. He also let it be known that the state's delegation in the Confederate Congress were to work to have the writ of habeas corpus restored. The popular governor won a great victory, but his defeated opponent became his implacable enemy. The two men, therefore, were utterly irreconcilable when the Confederacy fell and Holden became provisional governor.82

During Holden's incumbency Vance could hardly expect to be pardoned, unless Johnson ignored the governor's desire, which he was not likely to do. Yet Vance was treated no worse in this respect than Graham, Turner, and other North Carolinians, as well as prominent citizens of other states. Johnson himself had reasons for deferring pardons and acted accordingly. Vance naturally resented the governor's refusal to recommend him to the President. At one time, in complaining to his friend, David L. Swain,83 he accused Holden of being ungrateful for protection "from . . . infuriated soldiers, and still oftener from incarceration in Castle Thunder. . . . "84

⁸¹ Yates, "Governor Vance and the Peace Movement," The North Carolina Historical Review, XVII (April, 1940) No. 2, for this and the following paragraph. The quotations were taken from direct quotations by Dr. Yates.

82 Richard E. Yates, "Governor Vance and the End of the War in North Carolina," The North Carolina Review, XVIII (October, 1941), No. 4.

83 A relationship somewhat like that of father and son had existed between Swain and Vance ever since the latter's student days in the University of North Carolina, where the former was president

Former was president.

84 Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Vance to Swain, January 8, 1866). See also Hamilton, Reconstruction, pp. 54-55. This reference was to threats on Holden's life during the excitement in the autumn of 1863.

Inasmuch as the convention which met to comply with the President's plan of reconstruction did not convene until October 2, 1865, there was plenty of time for many persons to obtain pardons and to participate in the election of delegates. Early in August Governor Holden issued specific instructions for the election. Every voter had to exhibit a copy of his amnesty oath, "signed by himself and witnessed and certified by at least two Justices of the Peace." He called the attention of justices appointed to administer the amnesty oath to the President's fourteen exceptions, which were given in full, the first, seventh, and thirteenth, being explained. "No certificate," he stated, "will be granted . . . to any person who is included within the fourteen excluded classes, unless on exhibition by the party of his pardon. . . ." All election officials were enjoined to perform their duties faithfully, and persons taking the oath were expected to keep it. Lastly, the newspapers of the state were to publish the proclamation twice a week until the day of the election.85

Nevertheless eleven candidates who had not been pardoned were elected as delegates. 86 Since a pardon was necessary before one could sit in the convention, Holden immediately asked the President to forward certificates for these men.⁸⁷ Having promised clemency to candidates who were elected. Johnson complied with Holden's request. Declining the virtual assurance of a seat from Orange County because of his ineligibility, ex-Governor Graham, as a result, had to wait nearly two years for the full restoration of his rights.

The convention met as arranged and passed ordinances rescinding the act of secession, abolishing slavery, repudiating the state's war debt, and otherwise paving the way for final restoration to the Union. The act of repudiation was urged by both the President and the provisional governor, but it aroused bitter op-

⁸⁵ North Carolina Daily Standard, August 10, 1865.
86 Holden was very anxious about the granting of pardons to certain persons at this time.
On September 13 he sent Powell a list of "some fifty or sixty, many of whom" were can didates for seats in the convention, and could not "take their seats... unless their pardons" were sent forward at once. He urged immediate action, saying in conclusion: "We are losing from the fact that pardons are granted on personal application at Washington while the cases of special friends for whom appeals are made are not finally acted upon." Governor's

cases of special friends for whom appeals are made are not finally acted upon." Governor's Papers, 1865.

87 They were John Pool, Daniel R. Russell, Sr., Montfort McGehee, M. E. Manley, D. G. McRae, A. B. Baines, John B. Odom, C. Perkins, Alfred Dockery, C. L. Harris, and C. J. Cowles. Holden's Executive Papers, Holden to Johnson September 23, 1865. Two days later Holden asked Johnson to add A. A. McKay's name to the list. This prominent lawyer's application had been marked "suspended," but Holden said "he is now thoroughly saved" and worthy of Pardon. Governor's Papers, 1865 (Holden to Johnson, September 23, 1865); Hamilton, Reconstruction, pp. 119-120.

position in the convention. Nevertheless the delegates passed a resolution thanking the two executives for their efforts in behalf of the state and adjourned to meet again the following May. Political rivals were active during the session and Holden and Jonathan Worth were virtually placed in nomination for governor at the forthcoming election. In reporting the work of the assemblage to the President, Holden referred to his political opponents by saying: "The Worth faction is working hard, but will be defeated by a large majority. Turner and other contumaceous leaders ought to be handled at the proper time. Please pardon no leading man unless you hear from me."88

Now that the convention had done its work the next important step in reconstruction was the election of state officials on November 9, 1865. Apparently Holden desired to succeed himself, and, on being petitioned by some fifty-three of the one hundred and twenty members of the convention, he became a candidate. Jonathan Worth, the popular state treasurer, was persuaded to oppose him, and actually announced his candidacy first. 89 In Raleigh the Standard supported Holden and the Sentinel, Worth. The President was regarded as desiring the election of his provisional governor and the candidates whom the latter favored. Holden's supporters, therefore, declared that the election of Worth and his opposition ticket would certainly delay the restoration of the state to the Union. Even the unpardoned Josiah Turner had the temerity to run for Congress and to support Worth. So the issue, according to the Standard, was: "W. W. Holden . . . and live again under Washington's Government, or Jonathan Worth and perish."90 Such declarations gave Worth so much uneasiness that "he appealed to friends in Washington to try to find means to efface the impression which was being created by the friends of Holden that the President preferred the latter's election."91 A telegram from Johnson to Holden after the election, however, indicates the

⁸⁸ Quoted by Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 132. See also Hamilton, pp. 121-132. On the third day of the convention Holden also advised Johnson not to proclaim another amnesty until all popular elections in the state had been held. He stated further that the "most rebellious" citizens were "Vance Secessionists," who ought not to be pardoned. Johnson Papers, Vol. 77, No. 7240.

89 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 436-440.
90 North Carolina Standard, October 25, November 7, 1865; Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 136. Turner had led the faction nominating Worth.
91 Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 136.

President's satisfaction with Holden's administration and his keen disappointment with the outcome of the election.92

Evidently Holden expected those whom he had befriended to support his administration and doubtless his candidacy. Early in October the Standard told some 1.000 applicants for pardon. 700 or 800 of whose petitions had already been endorsed and forwarded to Washington, that they should "congratulate themselves on their success"; but warned them that the governor had the "power, if he chooses to exercise it, to assess their estates ... for the support of the State government, ... and that the exercise of this power" would depend upon the manner in which they and their friends conducted themselves until the provisional government ended.93 Moreover, there were hundreds of persons whose petitions had not yet been forwarded to the President and many others who had not yet applied for pardon. This was a condition that might be utilized to Holden's advantage. In fact. his paper suggested late in October, 1865, that a universal amnesty might be declared in North Carolina if certain candidates were elected in November.94

Two days later the Standard announced that voters would be required to present only their oath certificates, meaning, of course, that some persons would be allowed to vote whose pardons had not yet been granted.95 This privilege complied with an act of the convention providing that those "whose pardons should be announced by the Governor, although the pardon should not have been received, should be entitled to vote in the" forthcoming election. 96 A little while before the election. therefore, the press published the names of some 500 or 600 such persons who might vote. Thus the citizens of North Carolina were to be convinced that Holden had been a friend of "his

⁹² Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 141, for the entire communication.
93 North Carolina Standard, October 7, 1865.
94 North Carolina Standard, October 25, 1865. Some candidates mentioned were Judge Edwin G. Read, Richard S. Donnell, B. F. Moore, William P. Bynum, John Pool and Montfort McGehee. Apparently, Holden desired to appeal to wealthy pardon seekers on the eve of the election. On October 21 Powell wrote Johnson: "In view of the opposition organized against Gov. Holden he has directed me to respectfully request that all pardons for our state, some 140 or 150—now in the Attorney General's office be issued—I mean those coming within the 13th class of exceptions." Three days later Johnson's secretary, Wright Rives, instructed Speed as follows: "The President directs me to say that he wishes all the North Carolina pardons that have been signed and are in your office or the Secretary of State to be immediately forwarded to Gov. Holden at Raleigh." On October 21, Rives had noted that these pardons were to be sent to the President for his signature. Applications for Pardons.
95 North Carolina Standard, October 27, 1865.
96 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 505, 631 (Worth to Hedrick, March 3, and Worth to Seward, June 18, 1866).

native state and his people," who would surely "not desert him and Andrew Johnson."97

Worth won the gubernatorial election of 1865 by a good majority. Most of the voters also expressed their preference for the anti-Holden candidates for Congress, all of whom had been pardoned except Josiah Turner, whose election, in the minds of many, made it still less likely that any of seven men elected would be admitted to their seats. In fact, only one of all the aspirants could take the "iron clad" test oath. Disappointed over the results of the election, Johnson feared the prospects of the state's restoration were greatly injured. "Should the action and spirit of the legislature be in the same direction," he said, "it will greatly increase the mischief already done and might be fatal."98

The Standard saw in its candidate's defeat the "unmistakable work of unpardoned traitors." The President refused Holden's request to set aside the election, but directed the provisional governor to remain in office until relieved. Worth assumed the office of governor on December 27 and assured Johnson of his cooperation.99

Alarmed by the President's telegram to Holden the legislature passed a resolution, on December 8, declaring the loyalty of North Carolina to the Union and expressing confidence in Andrew Johnson. 100 Moreover, Holden's defeat caused some who had supported Worth to expect the President to be inclined to vindictiveness. Though Vance had not opposed Holden openly he had "earnestly desired his defeat." 101 His name, however, had "been used more or less in the campaign" and he feared reincarceration in the Old Capitol Prison, unless he could see the President personally, a privilege that had already been denied him several times. 102 Others, like Graham and Turner, also had reason to expect deferment of clemency, for the new governor

⁹⁷ North Carolina Standard, October 20 (or 30), 21, 1865. This number of the Standard published a list of 244 pardons and the issue for October 31 another list of four or five hundred. The photocopies of the North Carolina Amnesty Papers indicate that Holden recommended a list of 408 persons for pardon on November 7, 1865. This was rather late for the election two days later.

98 Hamilton, Reconstruction, pp. 137-42; North Carolina Standard, November 29, 1865.

99 B. S. Hedrick in a letter to Worth, July 8, 1866, referred to Holden as having tried the previous December to move "Heaven and Earth to have the election set aside and himself retained as Governor." Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 675; Hamilton, Reconstruction, pp. 145.441

<sup>145-461.

100</sup> Applications for Pardons.
101 Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Vance to Swain, January 8, 1866).
102 Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. VIII (Vance to Swain, November 14, 1865).

was not likely to influence Johnson in their behalf. Yet the President soon instructed Worth to approve or disapprove all petitions forwarded by him, saying, "Your knowledge of the parties is of great worth to us here in issuing pardons."103 Nevertheless, the governor complained just five months after his election that "not a single pardon" had been granted on his recommendation. 104

But what of the 500 or more pardons that had been advertised to influence the November election? The persons concerned were greatly disappointed when the certificates did not come, subjecting Worth to much effort in explaining why they had not been delivered. 105

The pardons had actually never been granted. Apparently the certificates had gone through the Attorney-General's office, but for some reason were sent to the "garret of the State Department instead of going to the Executive Mansion" for the President's signature, and in the garret they remained. 106 Even though Worth sent Johnson a copy of the Standard containing the names, there was no immediate action. The exasperated governor repeatedly tried to get the papers signed and delivered. On April 9, 1866, he wrote Benjamin S. Hedrick, Dr. Powell's successor, as follows: "If the publication was true," why were not the certificates delivered? "If the publication was untrue. how is it that the prospects of the State are damaged by the non-election of one who officially publishes a falsehood? These pardons ought to come or Holden [ought to] be exposed."107

¹⁰³ Governor's Papers (Johnson to Worth, December 29, 1865).

104 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 537 (Worth to Hedrick, April 9, 1866). Yet the photocopies of the North Carolina Amnesty Papers show that Worth made the following recommendations for pardon early in January, 1866, and that the pardons were granted early in February, 1866: Miles P. Owen, Chas. M. Oglesby, Samuel W. Vick, Alfred M. Veazey, A. J. Orr, Spencer Walker, and Van Eaton. Evidently, the men were among those whose petitions Worth found in the Governor's office, for they had applied for pardon while Holden was

Worth found in the Governor's office, for they had applied for pardon while Holden was Governor.

105 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 628 (Worth to Hedrick, June 16, 1866).

106 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 624 (Hedrick to Worth, June 14, 1866).

107 Apparently Worth had no state agent in the official manner that Dr. Powell represented Holden at Washington. The state's legislature failed to create such an office, though Dr. Powell's friends introduced a bill providing "for the appointment of such an agent for a term of years," with a salary of two thousand or three thousand dollars and necessary equipment. Powell hoped to be appointed to the position, if it were created. Governor Worth had "no authority to draw on the Treasurer to pay" an agent, and was in an awkward position in the matter when the bill failed to pass. Hedrick acted, therefore, as Worth's personal agent in Washington without compensation, though it appears that Worth offered on November 20, 1866, to reward him in a pecuniary way to make "a proper acknowledgement that the State" appreciated his "services in procuring pardons, etc." Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 515, 537; II, 841. It appears that Hedrick disliked Holden for forcing him to leave a professorship in the University of North Carolina when he supported the candidacy of Fremont for President in 1856, Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 186, n. 3. Hedrick was employed in the patent office at Washington while assisting Worth in getting pardons.

A little later Worth declared the "publication of the 500 to 600 pardons just before the election" to be "an incredible instance of official villainy. . . . "108

Why did President Johnson hold the papers of those whom Holden had caused to be advertised as having been pardoned? Perhaps because it was not his policy to grant clemency in such wholesale fashion, especially to citizens of one state. Furthermore, in all probability, the advertisement had been made only on Holden's authority. Under the circumstances, therefore, Johnson "could not issue them without prejudice to him[self]," even though Worth urged him to act. 109

Hedrick probably threw some light on the business late in January, 1866. In relating his futile attempt to see the Attorney-General, he expressed the opinion that the President was reluctant to act just then because of the demands on his time. Congress was in session and it was well to wait until that body had given "some expression of opinion in regard to what had been done." Hedrick advised supplicants to be patient. "There is no disposition to put them on trial or hang them," he said, "and the President has so clearly indicated his policy in regard to the South, that . . . no one can doubt his desire to restore peace and harmony with as little harshness as possible."110 Dr. Powell also told Worth that Johnson thought "it was a bad time to be issuing pardons."111 So these North Carolinians had to wait a while longer.

But this was not all, for there were some 300 applications for pardon in the governor's office when Worth entered. 112 Of course the change of executives caused the petitioners, many of whom had been petty officials, to renew their efforts. Some had interviews with Governor Worth, while others wrote him earnest entreaties. One man, coming under the thirteenth exception, sought clemency in order to transact some business "in the North."113 Another complained impatiently that it had been

¹⁰⁸ Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 550 (Worth to Hedrick, April 20, 1866).
109 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 550 (Worth to Hedrick, April 20, 1866).
110 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 479 (Hedrick to Worth, January, 1866).
111 Governor's Papers (Powell to Worth, January 15, 1866).
112 Governor's Papers (Worth to W. S. Mason, January 8, 1866). In this letter Worth told Mason that if he and Hedrick could "get some 500 pardons which were advertized as having been granted some time ago, as well as upwards of three hundred" which he found when he became Governor he [Mason] would entitle himself "to the thanks of 800 of" his fellow citizens. citizens.
113 Governor's Papers (Donald Mac Rae to Worth, February 22, 1866).

almost six months since his first petition, that others "offending in like manner" had been pardoned, and that he feared the confiscation of his property.¹¹⁴ Ralph Gomel, complaining of making several futile efforts to learn of his application, stated that he understood that a long list of petitions had never been forwarded. "Some say a bushel, some a bushel and a half." If Worth did not think him "too great a traitor," he desired his application sent on to "Washington with the strongest recommendation" that could conscientiously be made.¹¹⁵

On January 15, 1866, at the President's request, Worth forwarded the petitions with the recommendation that they be acted on at once. 116 So there were probably 1,000 persons in North Carolina, early in 1866, impatiently seeking clemency. Those whose pardons had been falsely advertised naturally deserved first consideration. Worth was more successful, however, with the 300 petitions that he himself had sent to Washington in January. Though some attention was given them in the Attorney-General's office soon after they were received, final action was delayed. On February 3 Hedrick reported a list of 321 persons, a few being ex-members of the Confederate Congress and graduates of West Point, in Seward's office. Worth wanted to receive the pardons in time to distribute them through the members of the assembly, which was then in session, 117 but he was disappointed.

A month later Hedrick wrote that Johnson had before him "some five hundred . . . North Carolina papers all ready for the official signature." The President was willing, however, to favor at one time only petty officials, those in the thirteenth exception, and such other cases that appeared urgent. The agent then made the ominous statement that, from proceedings in Congress, it appeared that the President was likely to be impeached on

some delay in delivering the pardon.

115 Governor's Papers (Gomel to Worth, January 17, 1866).

116 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 585-593. (Worth to C. C. Henderson; Worth to Biggs, May 21, 1866). Worth had asked Johnson what he should do with the petitions that Holden had failed to forward

¹¹⁴ Governor's Papers (Du Brutz Cutlar to Worth, February 17, 1866). On December 29 Cutlar, in writing to Worth, said in part: "I made a similar application to Gov. Holden in August last, but have never heard from it since. The character of that gentleman makes it useless to guess his motives." The Amnesty Papers indicate that Worth recommended Cutlar's pardon on January 11, 1866, and that he was pardoned one month later. Evidently there was some delay in delivering the pardon.

May 21, 1866). Worth had asked Johnson what he should do with the petitions that Holden had failed to forward.

117 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 483, 497 (Hedrick to Worth, January 27, 1866, Worth to Hedrick, February 7, 1866); Worth's Executive Papers (Hedrick to Worth, January 3, 1866).

account of his many pardons. 118 In fact, threats to impeach him, because of his leniency, had been made many months earlier, and conditions in that respect had not improved.

Thus it is seen that the President did not then dare to grant so large a number of pardons at once. Inquiries and complaints, of course, continued to come to the governor's office. 119 It was about this time that Worth sent the President, through Hedrick, a "list of 500 names as published in the Standard" just before the previous November election, saying that he supposed Holden did not submit the other 300 petitions to Washington because "he was not willing to trust" them to vote for him. 120 But the authorities continued to procrastinate and the pardon seekers waited.

It should be noted in passing that Holden continued his interest in pardons after Worth became governor. Early in February, for example, he asked the President to pardon General Thomas L. Clingman, William T. Dortch, and Henry K. Burgwyn, saying, "Their estates are much embarassed . . . , and I believe they will hereafter conduct themselves as good citizens." These requests, however, were not then granted. Evidently Holden was also concerned about many other petitions on which action had been delayed. In April and May, 1866, Dr. Powell sent the President the names of nearly a hundred persons whom Holden, Worth "and other old friends" desired pardoned. Fifteen of these whose petitions Holden had marked suspended were soon granted.121

Apparently many petitioners continued to engage Dr. Powell's services. Hedrick also appreciated his assistance, saying that the doctor "is now in the agency business and out of these cases [can] make an honest penny and hurt nobody."122 Even Worth,

¹¹⁸ Governor's Papers (Hedrick to Worth, March 3, 1866, and Mason to Worth, March 8, 1866); Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 562, 564 (Worth to Johnson, April 26, 1866, and Worth to T. X. Kenan, May 5, 1866).

119 A. S. Merriman, probably a pardon agent, wrote that he had sent Holden many applications, some of which had been granted. Now he inquired about sixteen particular petitions. Governor's Papers (Merriman to Worth, March 14, 1866).

120 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 543 (Worth to Hedrick, April 18, 1866). Eight days later (April 26) Worth sent Johnson the names of those in the first and thirteenth exceptions from the list of three hundred he had forwarded in January, with the instructions to have Hedrick forward their pardons to him, Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 562.

121 Applications for Pardons (Holden to Johnson, February 1, 7, 1866; Powell to Johnson, April 19, May 5, 1866).

122 Governor's Papers (Hedrick to Worth, May 2, 1866). Hedrick expressed the opinion that three-fourths of the 800 applicants whose petitions were in Washington, really had "very little need of a special pardon," and that a great many would never accept the pardons when they were sent to them.

having Powell in mind, told an applicant "that every one who . . . makes application through a special agent gets his pardon."123

Finally Hedrick informed Worth that about 300 certificates were being prepared for early delivery. Soon the agent received them in three batches expressing them all in separate shipments to Raleigh for delivery.¹²⁴ Thus by the middle of May, 1866, pardons were issued to the 300 persons whose petitions were found in the governor's office when Worth succeeded Holden.

Efforts continued to be made, of course, to cause the delivery of the large number of advertised pardons. Worth seems to have been less interested in these and other applications which Holden had forwarded than in those he himself had submitted. When the case of Judge Asa Biggs was presented, the governor stated that he did not feel like appealing to the President for any one whose petition had been forwarded by Holden, "especially while the pardons of such men" as Graham and Turner were withheld. Biggs had been more prominent in the secession movement than the other two; Worth felt justified therefore, in assisting those whom he regarded as having been "always anti-secessionists." In all probability, however, the governor did not know that Holden had recommended that favorable action on Bigg's petition be deferred, for the paper had been on file in Washington since early in October, 1865.125 At any rate, he thought more deserving men should receive first consideration.

Worth, Hedrick, and others continued to press the matter of delivering the pardons which Holden had advertised; and at last their efforts were rewarded. Near the middle of June, Hedrick, realizing that it was "impossible to get the whole [lot] issued at once," selected about fifty certificates at random and presented them for final attention. 126 Worth urged Seward to act immediately, complaining again of being grievously annoyed with in-

June 14, 1866).

¹²³ Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 553 (Worth to T. L. Vail, April 23, 1866).

124 Governors' Papers (Hedrick to Worth, May 12, 14, 16, 1866). A careful persual of the correspondence suggests that Dr. Powell probably received some pardons for delivery at this time. These lists contained "some new names" and a few others on the suspended list published in the North Carolina Standard before the election in November, 1865.

125 Applications for Pardons; Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 593 (Worth to Biggs, May 21, 1866). Also Hamilton, Reconstruction, p. 26. Biggs, who had been United States Senator and Federal and Confederate judge, had two sons in the Confederate service, one being killed the day before Lee's surrender. He came under the first, second and thirteenth exceptions. He pledged loyalty to the Union in his petition of more than a thousand words.

126 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 602, 624 (Hedrick to Worth, June 7, Hedrick to Worth, June 14, 1866).

quiries relating to these pardons. 127 Consequently the Secretary of State sent the governor 121 pardons on June 29 and 335 others about a month later. 128 With the few already forwarded these deliveries practically equalled the number of names published. The pardons, therefore, that had been falsely advertised to influence voters in the election of a governor were finally delivered. 129 It had taken about nine months of persistent effort, however, to dislodge the certificates from the "garret" of the State Department, to secure the President's signature, and to cause their delivery.

But the story of clemency in North Carolina does not end here, for there were many still under the ban. Ex-Governors Graham, Clark, and Vance, together with Joseph Turner, William Dortch, and A. W. Venable were perhaps the most prominent.¹³⁰ Venable was soon pardoned, on the recommendation of Holden and the new Attorney General, Henry Stanberry. 131 Worth was eager to have three of the other five eligible to participate in political affairs more freely. Indeed he repeatedly complained of the status of Graham, Turner, and Dortch, regarding their continued disability as a serious "political blunder" on the part of the President. In his opinion, Johnson should pardon these men "without a moment's hesitation after pardoning Bridgers, Arrington, Lander and Venable," whom he called "original Secessionists." Such action, during the existing crisis, he believed,

¹²⁷ Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 631 (Worth to Seward, June 18, 1866).

128 Governors' Papers (Seward to Worth, June 29, July 25, 1866). On July 23 Hedrick wrote Worth that, "The big list of about 400 old pardons will be ready to be forwarded to you in a few days." Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 690.

129 Yet one L. H. Sanders, whose perdon had been advertised, told Worth later that he had never received his pardon. The records showed that his petition had been approved in July, 1865, and forwarded to Washington. Worth wrote Hedrick on October 11, 1866, that he (Worth) had never received the pardon, and that, since Sanders was "a truly worthy man—never a secessionist," he should try "to get his pardon." Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 822. See also the last part of note 124 above.

130 Holden marked former Governor Thomas Bragg's petition "to be continued," as he had marked others, but, to his surprise, Bragg's pardon was soon delivered at his office, where it remained until the President told Powell to have it delivered. Holden withheld it, however, with the assurance that he himself would deliver it if Bragg would come for it on the day he retired from office. In that manner the pardon was delivered on December 29, 1865. Holden's Memoirs, p. 61. Bragg was also attorney-general of the Confederacy.

Former Governor John M. Morehead, who died on August 28, 1866, had been pardoned on Holden's recommendation and "by special order of the President" on October 9, 1865. Seven others were pardoned at the same time on Holden's request. Holden's Memoirs, p. 62. Former Governor Swain's pardon has already been mentioned. Former Governor Charles Manley was pardoned March 8, 1866. He had petitioned in July, 1865. Another former governor, David S. Reid, who served in the Confederate Congress, retired to his farm in Rockingham County after the war, where he remained unmolested.

131 Applications for Pardons. Venable had voted for secession and Served in the Confederate Congress. Holden recommended his pardon on January 29, and S

would make the President "more popular in the state than anybody else had "been since the days of General Washington." 132

It is interesting to note that Worth failed to mention Vance at this time or on other occasions in 1866 when urging action in the cases of the favored trio. 133 Evidently the governor was less enthusiastic over Vance's political future than over Graham's. Probably thinking Johnson would delay passing on the popular war governor to the last, he believed it useless to ask for his pardon. Besides, Holden had never appeared to want Vance pardoned, and that was something to be considered in approaching Johnson.

Indeed, Worth thought Holden influenced the President to defer granting the pardons he most desired, accusing his immediate predecessor with prejudicing Johnson against "Graham, Turner and all other true Union men of the State." Furthermore. according to Hedrick, Seward "always stood up for Holden," 134 who made a futile attempt to defeat Worth for reelection late in 1866, when General Alfred Dockery was the defeated candidate. 135 Worth remained governor, therefore, until some time after Congress took over the task of reconstruction.

Apparently the heated political contest between Johnson and the Radicals in Congress during the late summer and the autumn of 1866 did not materially affect clemency to North Carolinians. For example, the petitions of Judge D. F. Caldwell and John J. Armond were granted in July. The former desired favorable action so that he might "sell a portion of his lands" to prospective purchasers who were hesitating to buy. 136 The latter had renewed his application in May, stating that he had failed to enclose his oath of allegiance with his petition a year earlier because the justices refused to administer it until he was par-

Worth to his correspondents, R. R. Bridgers was pardoned in June, 1865. Holden said in recommending his pardon: "... he was what we know as a true Confederate. He uniformly voted in Congress to restrain Davis's despotism." Amnesty Papers, N. C. Photostats. A. H. Arrington and William Lander had also served in the Confederate Congress.

133 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 661, 665, 752, 841, for five such letters.

134 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 666, 675 (Worth to Hedrick, July 4, Hedrick to Worth, July 8, 1866)

July 8, 1866).

185 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, 11, 666, 675 (Worth to Hedrick, July 4, Hedrick to Worth, July 8, 1866).

185 Holden himself was elected governor in 1868, under the congressional plan of reconstruction; but, largely because of his extreme efforts to suppress activities of the Klu Klux Klan, he was impeached late in 1870 and removed from office early in 1871. He later edited the National Republican in Washington, D. C., but afterwards was postmaster at Raleigh. He died in 1892; Worth, in 1869.

136 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, I, 618; Applications for Pardons. Ann McNesly, N. W. Boddie, and D. Froneburger were pardoned by the same presidential order. Another paper indicates that Caldwell was pardoned in August, 1866.

doned. On the advice of Worth, therefore, he took the oath on May 23, 1866, the governor soon approved his petition, and Johnson acted early in July. 137 Even ex-Confederate Senator Dortch was pardoned early in September, 138 and on October 1 Hedrick sent in a list of nine persons, whose pardons were issued the next day.139

There seems to have been a lull in the pardoning business after the national election in November, 1866, due perhaps to Johnson's repudiation at the poles and the censorious activities of Congress. Nevertheless clemency was extended to persons of importance in North Carolina during the spring of 1867, despite the unfavorable report in Congress on presidential clemency, the repeal of the amnesty section of the Confiscation Act, and the beginning of extreme Congressional Reconstruction. Worth continued to urge the President to lift the ban from Graham and Turner, and repeatedly asked for the pardons of Colonel Owen Kenan and Burton S. Gaither. 140 Early in 1867 he also recommended Vance, whose relief many prominent persons had been earnestly seeking ever since his imprisonment and later parole.¹⁴¹

For a long time after being paroled from prison, Vance remained quietly "at home as retired and silent as it was possible for a man to be." He also told Johnson's son-in-law that his numerous requests for an interview with the President, whose policies he earnestly supported, had not received any attention, notwithstanding the fact that this "favor [had been] granted to both Governors Letcher and Brown," war governors of Virginia

¹³⁷ Applications for Pardons. Armond stated in his petition that he had been postmaster during the war, but not to aid the rebellion, and that he had not "enlisted in the rebel army until forced to do so by the conscript law." In May and June, 1866, on Worth's recommendation, Johnson pardoned James Brown and Jacob and David Wagner, former citizens of Johnson County, Tennessee. These men had been driven into North Carolina during the war and desired pardons to regain possession of their farms in Tennessee. They professed not to have abandoned their property and not to come under any of the exceptions. Applications for Pardons.

have abandoned their property and not to come under any of the exceptions. Applications for Pardons.

138 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 771 (Dortch to Worth, September 8, 1866). William Dortch was an able lawyer, who had been a prominent member of the lower house of the state legislature before the war.

139 The men were in the first and thirteenth exceptions. Applications for Pardons.

140 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 752, 841, 926. Kenan served in the Confederate Congress two years, but refused to be elected for a second term. His pardon was recommended by the state legislature in January, 1867, and by David L. Swain. Holden had marked his petition to be suspended, and it was not granted until June 14, 1867. Amnesty Papers, N. C. Photostats, Gaither also served in the Confederate Congress. He had applied for pardon rather early and supposed that his petition had been forwarded to Washington. Worth found it in his office, however, on January 12, 1866, and sent it immediately to Washington with his recommendation that pardon be granted.

141 Applications for Pardons. Holden forwarded to Washington without comment a resolution by the state legislature recommending clemency for Vance. Such men as Gilmer and Swain also sought his pardon, as did 108 women of Chapel Hill.

and Georgia respectively.¹⁴² He naturally sought a reason for Johnson's discrimination, and believed Holden to be at the root of the matter, charging the editor with influencing the President to refuse seeing him in Washington. Vance also blamed Secretary Stanton for the unfavorable situation, declaring him to be "the worst of the whole batch." At that writing he seemingly despaired of ever receiving a pardon, saying that Johnson had begun his policy of clemency so late that his opponents had discouraged his proclaiming another general amnesty or even granting special pardons. He expected no more pardons for men of prominence, except for those who might resort to methods to influence the President which he would feel ashamed to use.143 Yet it appears that Johnson had already extended Vance's parole to permit him to go anywhere and to engage in any business. 144

The movement was accelerated late in 1866 and early in 1867 by the irrepressible missionary, Paul Bagley, who also tried hard to obtain a pardon for Jefferson Davis¹⁴⁵ Bagley wrote the President extolling Vance's virtues and urging his pardon. 46 At Frankfort, Kentucky, he obtained Governor Bramlette's recommendation, which was later endorsed by John T. Hoffman, mayor of New York City (later Governor of New York), Horace Greeley, Hugh M. McCullough, and forty other prominent citizens. About the same time Bagley wrote Johnson that Senators John Sherman, Lewis W. Ross, and Waitman T. Willey also recommended clemency.147

In this manner the President was soon influenced to act, and

¹⁴² Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX, contain the letter to Patterson.

143 Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Vance to Swain, January 8, 1866). In this letter Vance bitterly denounced Holden and his followers, saying in part: "The suddence of my submission [at the end of hostilities] was deemed more offensive by my enemies here than was my adherence to their war had been. I proposed that in submitting we should preserve our self respect and manhood; they proposed that we should gravel in the dust, eat dirt with a nail grab, acknowledge ourselves double traitors and liars to both the United States and the Confederacy. I contended for Universal amnesty . . .; they clamored for the blood of our own people, and prayed to make the Government . . . an engine not of public justice—but of revenge upon private enemies." He then entered on a tirade against the North Carolina Daily Standard and Holden, whose defeat for governor, he declared, should have caused Johnson to refuse longer to listen to his counsels.

144 Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX (Swain to Vance, January 20, 1866). Vance had asked, on November 29, 1865, for permission to engage in some business to support his family.

145 Bagley had returned from missionary work in China and Japan. He told the President that Vance had caused the railroads to allow him to ride over the state without charge while he preached the gospel, an act which he believed should have some weight with the President in considering Vance's petition for pardon.

146 Applications for Pardons (letters from Montgomery, Alabama, December, 1866, and Frankfort, Kentucky, February, 1867).

147 Applications for Pardonss. Governor James L. Orr, of South Carolina, wrote Attorney-General Stanberry, December 23, 1866, urging Vance's pardon, which Stanberry recommended on March 11.

on March 11.

on March 11 he granted the long desired pardon. The document was carefully prepared and signed (not stamped) by the Secretary of State and the President. Vance was further honored by having the names of many prominent persons who had recommended his pardon carefully written on the upper margin of the certificate, a unique consideration that was probably not given anyone else. The thoughtful and appreciative Paul Bagley, who claimed the honor of having finally obtained the pardon, probably had this done. The clerk in the Attorney-General's office did not send the certificate to Worth for delivery until April 10. The records show that Vance did not receive it until May 2, which is the day Graham wrote the President thanking him for sending his pardon. 149

Perhaps ex-Governor H. T. Clark was the most prominent person whose petition Holden had failed to send on to Washington. Clark had applied for pardon on July 17, 1865, stating in substance what many others had said in justification of their support of the Confederacy. "If I have mistaken the character of our government," said he, "that mistake was taught me by the greatest and purest statesmen of the country." In a letter to Worth in September, 1866, he stated that Holden had promised to give his petition immediate attention. Since the provisional governor had left the application with many others which Worth found on becoming governor, Clark's case had been in an unfavorable light before the President, for it appeared that the former governor had not applied for pardon. Consequently, when Swain and others presented his case to Johnson, their efforts were in vain, for they were told that Clark "had asked for nothing."150

Clark needed clemency for business advantage. The Confederacy had sequestered a trust fund of \$14,000 which he held for citizens of Rhode Island. After the war he paid the obligation in full from his own means. Fearing that his unpardoned con-

¹⁴⁸ This pardon certificate and the papers pertaining to its transfer to Vance and his receipt therefor are in the Z. B. Vance Papers, Vol. IX. Worth also claimed, in a letter to Vance on April 20, that he had "put the ball in motion which brought about" his pardon. On March 29, apparently not knowing that the pardon had been granted, he had reminded Johnson of having asked for Vance's pardon during his recent trip to Washington. It appears that, when Worth saw that Vance's pardon was coming, he endeavored to receive some credit for obtaining it. See Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 927, 935. Vance later became governor of North Carolina and United States Senator, and is generally regarded today as having been the state's most prominent citizen.

149 Applications for Pardons (Graham to Johnson, May 2, 1867).

150 Applications for Pardons; Governors' Papers.

dition might cause him to lose what property he still possessed, especially if power should somehow fall into radical hands, he desired his case attended to without further delay. Worth wrote Johnson on September 21, 1866, recommending that the petition be granted, but it was not until June 10, 1867, that the pardon was issued. Naturally Clark was greatly provoked at the delay, since so many others of his class had been relieved. Therefore, when Worth invited him to join in welcoming the President to Raleigh in June, 1867, he ironically declined the invitation.¹⁵¹

Josiah Turner still remained disabled, but he was soon relieved. Worth desired to reappoint him director of the North Carolina Railroad but feared that if he did so Holden and his followers would cause General Sickles to object, on the pretext that he had appointed an unpardoned rebel. Sickles had become military governor of the Carolina district, and this condition made Worth cautious in his appointments. Consequently he asked Hedrick, on June 14, for Turner's "pardon as a personal favor," believing that it would be entirely "gratifying to every friend of the President in North Carolina." One week later the necessary warrant was forwarded to Turner, who was told that its immediate issuance was "due to the efforts of Col. W. G. Moore, the President's Private Secretary, who had made prompt efforts in the matter at the request of Gov. Worth."152

With Turner's relief the account of pardoning North Carolinians may well be concluded. The number remaining disabled by the mid-summer of 1867 is uncertain. Of those who had applied for clemency there were not many whose petitions had not been granted and the certificates delivered. 153 Johnson's general amnesties of September 7, 1867, and July 4, 1868, left only a few disabled. Yet Worth, who was no longer governor, wrote the President's secretary, Colonel Moore, on July 16, 1868, that he earnestly desired the petitions of certain persons attended to. If there were any citizens of the state still unre-

¹⁵¹ Governors' Papers. The pardon clerk had sent Clark's certificate to Johnson on January 23, 1867, so it appeared that sheer indifference on the President's part was responsible for the delay. Of course, Holden was also blamed. Johnson penciled his instructions for the pardon on the envelope inclosing Clark's caustic letter, which Worth forwarded to Washington.

152 Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 981, 984, 985. Turner had been free to engage in business for some time and Worth had appointed him railroad director a year earlier.

153 Late in June, 1867, Worth asked Hedrick to "get a duplicate" of a pardon for J. S. Means, of Mecklenburg County, and forward it to him for delivery. Means, who came under the thirteenth exception, had refused paying a pretending Philadelphia friend, named Wallace, who had obtained the pardon and asked first \$350, and later \$100, for his services. Hamilton, Jonathan Worth, II, 985.

lieved late that year, they were pardoned by the President's universal amnesty, of Christmas Day, 1868. This last act of presidential clemency, however, did not remove the disability from North Carolinians who were affected by the third section of the Fourteenth Amendment, which had become a part of the Constitution in July, 1868, and which Congress had made operative in 1867. Henceforth no person could fill any civil or military office in the United States who had ever taken an oath to support the Constitution and had subsequently engaged in a "rebellion" against the United States. Only Congress by a two-thirds vote of each house could remove this disability. Many North Carolinians, of course, were affected by the disabling clause of the Amendment, but their relief came during the next thirty years.

ADDITIONAL MORDECAI LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY FROM MEXICO¹

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

INTRODUCTION

To the main collection of the papers of Alfred Mordecai procured by the Library of Congress in 1941 from his granddaughter, Mrs. John D. Miley, have been added 111 pieces which were also acquired from her. This 1945 supplement extends over the entire period of his mature life from 1822 to 1885, and contains additional historical information on some of the leading events of his time. Two of these letters were written in 1822 and 1823 while he was a student at West Point. The other twenty-eight of his letters in the collection were written when he was in Mexico in 1853 investigating the Gardiner claims; during 1865-1866 while he was assistant engineer to Colonel Andrew Talcott. the construction engineer on the Mexican Imperial Railway; and while he was temporarily separated from his family on account of official business, requiring a few days' absence from his home. Among the letters are seventeen from Mrs. Alfred Mordecai; nine from Mrs. R. Hays, mother of Mrs. Mordecai; seventeen by Fanny Stone; several by his son, daughters, and sisters; and a letter or two from each of a number of men including Alfred Conkling, Charles F. Stone, William L. Marcy, Hamilton Fish, Franklin Chase, and Jefferson Davis.

In addition to ten passports, the official documents found in the collection consist of his diploma from West Point, July 4, 1823; his commission as second lieutenant in the army, signed by President Monroe and Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, July 1, 1823; his commission as brevet major, issued March 3, 1849, and signed by President Polk and Secretary of War William L. Marcy, his commission as a member of the committee to go to Mexico to investigate the Gardiner claims, signed by William Marcy, May 21, 1853; and his commission of February 22, 1855, as ordnance major preparatory to assignment on a

¹ These letters should have been published along with the "Letters of Alfred Mordecai to His Family," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (Oct., 1945), No. 4, but they were not procured by the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress, until a few weeks ago, and therefore they were not available at the time the others were edited.

committee to investigate modern warfare and accounterments of war on the battlefront in the Crimea. This document was signed by President Pierce and Secretary of War Jefferson Davis.

These manuscripts are in an excellent state of preservation and his own letters show signs of careful planning and meticulous writing. The entire collection is of value for a study of the life of Alfred Mordecai, for a better understanding of military affairs, for social and political conditions in Mexico, for the colonization scheme for the Confederates who went to Mexico at the close of the American Civil War, and for conditions in the United States.

Philadelphia May 10/65

My dear Sister

I was distressed to hear by a letter from Edmund last evening that his latest intelligence from Raleigh (no date,) represented our dear brother Sam, to be extremely ill—Several letters, tho' of old dates have come to me lately; one from him of March 11th saying that he was better than for several years—I hoped so much that I might see him once more; for I wait only to hear that I can get to Raleigh, to make a journey there—My last from you was of March 21st—Since that Mr M. has sent me a note of Febry 13th which accompanied your letter for Mrs Edgeworth, which was forwarded. I have also sent your letter of condolence to Mrs Butler—She very promptly & feelingly acknowledged mine, sends me copies of her mother's photograph, for you, George & me—She tells me that Mrs Fox's youngest daughter is engaged to Mr Cooke, a clergyman living near them in King's County—most satisfactory in all respects—

Edmund & Catherine Myers (the latter in answer to a letter from me,) tell me that all are well there; Rosina's sons at home, & all living quietly, apparently suffering for nothing— I saw Mrs McMullen here, as you requested— She was much pleased to hear of you— She was to go about this time to visit Rob^t Donaldson—

I am going to send this letter open to a friend in Washington in hopes that he may contrive to send it to some one in Raleigh who can put you in the way of sending me an answer— I have been much in hopes that you would manage before this to get a letter to me; though I can understand the repugnance, you may feel to take the necessary means to do so.— This remark, by the bye, may not be very agreeable to any one who may take the trouble to read my open letter; but let it go.—

We are all as usual, except that I have a touch of my old enemy:

inflamatory rheumatism, in my hands; but it is going off, under the influence of the same remedy I used in Birmingham in 1840-My best love to all with you, & let me hear, if possible-

Ever Yr affte brother

A. Mordecai

Miss Ellen Mordecai

5 Hanover st 11 P. M. June 17

I had almost forgotten the principal thing: your photograph, which I now enclose— It was sent to me at the last moment, my sickness having prevented me from sitting as early as I intended— I never sat for a carte de visite before, & the man, who has great custom, did not take much trouble in arranging my position &c; so that he has not only taken an unnecessarily sad picture, but I think a distorted one— I was inclined to throw them a way, but Sara thot they were rather good & so I send one to you—

I sail at 3 P. M.

God bless you & grant that we may meet again-

Yr affte Alfred

New York June 17/65

My dear Sister

I wrote to you from Phila. which I left yesterday morning at 6—When it came to the actual leave taking with my family I could not help repeating to myself what my wife said to me the other day, in her despair: "I don't know how you could think of such a thing!"—But it is all arranged now & I must see it out—I put my baggage on board ship yesterday & after spending the greater part of the day with my good friend Dr Viele,2 who came down from West Troy to see me, I came to Mr Maury's where I am now writing—Miss Maury is still absent & they had the first letter from her, since Petersbg, yesterday. She will not be back for some weeks yet—

I was not very well in Phila, in consequence of having eaten something that disagreed with me; but I feel almost quite relieved now, & the preparation may be a good one for my voyage— My steamer is the Liberty for Havanna— a new line has just commenced running direct from here to V. Cruz which will give mail facilities 1st & 15th of every month— I shall let you know how to direct to me, but the best plan will be to send your letters under cover to R. Maury here, who will have my address— the foreign postage is 10 cents—

I forgot to mention to you that one of the gentlemen whom I met between Danville & Richd told me that Thos. Mordecai, our cousin of

² The first of the American Viele family was Arnaud Cornelius Viele, who was born in the Netherlands about 1620, and died in New York City about 1700. His kinsman, John Ludoricus Viele (1788-1832), was a distinguished lawyer in New York. Another kinsman, Eghert Ludoricus, was born in 1825. He became an outstanding engineer, politician, and Representative in Congress. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VI, 291.

Charleston, who married M. Cohen's daughter, & has been living in Columbia, is dead— He was in auctioneer business there & doing well—Please let Emma know—

Mr McClintie & his wife, who wrote to enquire about brother, came to see me, as I was not well enough to take time to call on them—They are plain, respectable people; he a clerk in the Qm Master's office: had lived in Balt. (among other places) & met brother there last—When I saw the name, I guessed Mr Mc C. might be connected with a man of that name whom I once employed to make some machines for the arsenals, & it proved to be the son of that one—If you see any reference to the name, in looking over brother's papers, let me know—

Whilst I am writing came your two letters to M^r Maury, with enclosures for brother Sol. & M^{rs} Butler— I wrote to the latter from Phil^a, to tell her of my departure & my visit to you, &c— I have recd your letter to M^r M. altho' he had not time to do so before going down town— Thank you always for your affte & touching mention of me—

Since my leave taking at home, I have often thought of the wickedness of the feelings which I expressed to you, & I trust the impression will be permanent, in banishing such feelings hereafter—I have a letter already this morning from my wife, telling me of some things that happened yesterday—She has heard that Alfred is assigned to duty as Instructor³ of ordnance at West Pt, which altho' he likes the place, will not suit him, I fear—I have no answer to my letter to brother Sol. which I fear did not reach him; I shall depend on you, to hear of him—

With my best love to George & his wife Ellen & all

Yr ever affte brother

A. Mordecai

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Nº. 8.

Mexico Septr 22nd 1865.

My dear Laura

Although I write on official paper I am not writing at the office, where my business occupies me pretty fully just now, but in my own room, which is rather solitary now— Our little mess broke up yesterday; it had been reduced to three, & Maury has moved to a house which he has taken in the same building. The other half of the same story or flat, as it is called in Edinbro'— It is a very nice apartment, or suite, just left by the Soulés who have gone away for the present—Maury expects his son with a family very soon; his own family are going or gone to Europe, for the education of the younger children— I

³ Alfred Mordecai, Jr., was twice instructor of ordnance and gunnery at West Point, serving in all eleven years in this capacity. *National Eyclopaedia of American Biography*, X. 443.

have just returned from a visit to his new quarters, & he showed me an appointment, which he received to-day, of Astronomer Imperial, with a handsome salary. The duties of the office, I fancy, will be merely nominal, his real duties being those of Commissioner of Immigration to which he has also been appointed, tho' he has not yet received the Diploma- Many of our inmates of the Hotel San Carlos have gone in different directions, under commissions from the Govt to examine the lands suitable for colonization & to report on them; this breaks up our pleasant little society almost suddenly. Wilcox & I are experimenting on places to get our meals of which there are plenty, of different orders- Yesterday I breakfasted again (from 1 to 3) at the best of them, which I have mentioned before, The Tivoli del Eliséo, where one fares sumptuously; but it is too expensive for me, except on invitation.

Early yesterday morning the presidential "etxraordinary" brought me your dear mother's letter of the 28th Augt & one from my dear Rosa of the same date- I hope they will both concede your claim to have this next letter. I am delighted to have such good account of you all, & that Rosa & Miriam were enjoying a visit to Alfred & to West Pt- She gives a sad account of my acquaintances there- I hope you had a pleasant visit to the Bénêts⁴ & that you remembered me kindly to them- I was disappointed in not getting other & later leters by the last steamer; but I suppose you, as we, had no notice of the change of day- Yours makes no illusion to Mrs Charles Talcott, so I am afraid she brings me nothing; she will not be here for some days yet, as she is travelling leisurely- I wish you could only partake of some of the Talcott's kindness in sending me tickets for their box at the opera, which would be so much better bestowed on some of you; I am now a sort of regular escort for them- Miss Nannie was well enough to come in again last night to Belisario, in spite of a pouring rain; but if people minded that at this season the house would be often empty- I hope you will have the means, in which I send your mother, to allow yourselves some indulgences of this kind next winter, & that you will use them- by you I include your mother too- I wish I could recommend to you, my dear girls, to give up your school; but if it should be worth keeping up it will be prudent perhaps to continue it; unless indeed it should be possible to make some arrangement for your mother & one or two of you to make me a visit, as I have suggested-

Your mother & Rosa both ask after Mr Davison; I shall write to him soon & let him know, in the wild region of the Cumbres, of the interest

⁴ Stephen Vincent Benet was born in Florida on January 22, 1827. After his graduation from West Point in 1849 he became an officer in the ordnance branch of the army, serving at the arsenals at Watervliet, at Washington, at Frankford, at Washington again, and at St. Louis. In 1859 he became assistant professor of geography, history, and ethics at West Point, and was instructor in ordnance and the science of gunnery there from 1861 to 1864. After this he went to Frankford to take charge of the arsenal, became assistant chief of ordnance in 1869, and was raised to chief with the rank of brigadier-general in 1874. He was also a writer on military subjects. Appletons' Cyclopaedia, I, 234.

⁵ Belisario is an opera by Domizetti in three acts. It was first produced in Venice on February 7, 1836; in London on April 1, 1837; and in Paris on October 24, 1843. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 140.

felt for him; He has not been up here, nor Mr Wimmer either, but I have heard from both of them. Mr D. says that it was your own fancy to imagine that he was leaving my special attraction at home; caused by a careless remark of his which had no particular meaning- I was quite pleased with him & he is doing well, & much interested in his very difficult part of the work- Rosa wishes for some of our fruits & vegetables; they are certainly very numerous; in a walk through the market, with Judge Perkins,6 the day before he went on his exploring trip, we counted 27 fruits & 33 vegetables; but as I remember saying when before in the tropics, I would not exchange the productions of the temperate zone with these, by any means-

Tell your mother that I think she has been misinformed about the postage to this city- There is no postal treaty between your country & ours, & I think her 24 cts stamp was thrown away; certainly it was in this case, as her letter was directed to Mr Oropesa & enclosed by him in Col. T's envelope- You have only to pay as much as will ensure its being put on board the steamer at N. York. I would not trouble Mr O. at all, but otherwise my letters would not come up by the extraordinary- When any one writes again send me a few stamps for letters & newspapers that may be sent to N. Y. by private hand- & when you meet with an opportunity please send me half a dozen Brintzinhoffer's tooth brushes, of his own make- those which I have fill my mouth constantly with the bristles- Now I must bid you good night my dear child, or I shall have no room for the remainding fortnight before my letter is to go-

Monday, Septr 25th. Before I went over to Tacubaya yesterday morning, (after morning mass at the Cathedral,) the clerk brought me a bundle of newspapers which one of Col. T's friends has sent him from N. York- almost uselessly, for their contents excite nothing but pain & disgust, & they are scarcely looked at- You cannot think how odd it seems, here among the Aztecs, to dig up the fossil remains of defunct politicians- Peter Cagger, 7 John Van Buren! 8 &c- In glancing at one

⁶ Jonathan Cogswell Perkins was born in Massachusetts on November 21, 1809, and died in the same state on December 12, 1877. He studied law under Rufus Choate and at Harvard; he was admitted to the bar in 1835; and after practicing in Salem for thirteen years he became a judge in the court of common pleas of Massachusetts. He was an able and voluminous commentator and writer on legal subjects. Appletons' Cyclopaedia, IV, 729.

7 Peter Cagger was born in Albany, New York, on July 6, 1812, and died in New York City on July 6, 1868. He was of Irish parents; was educated at Fordham College and at Montreal, Canada; studied law and became a member of the firm of Hill, Cagger, and Porter; and became a member of what was called the "Albany Regency." For many years he really dictated the policy of the Democratic party in New York. Although he never sought or held a political office he was a real dictator. He freely used his great wealth for charitable purposes. He was thrown from his carriage and fatally injured in Central Park, New York. Appletons' Cyclopaedia, I, 494.

8 John Van Buren, the son of Martin Van Buren, was born in New York or February 18, 1810 and died at see on October 13, 1858. He graduated from Value at 1811.

Van Buren, the son of Martin Van Buren, was born in New 8 John Van Buren, the son of Martin Van Buren, was born in New York on February 18, 1810, and died at sea on October 13, 1866. He graduated from Yale; studied law under Benjamin F. Butler; and was admitted to the bar in 1830, but he went to London the next year with his father as attaché to the legation there. He was attorney general of New York from February, 1845, to December 31, 1846; took an active part in the political canvass of 1848 on the side of exclusion of slavery from the territories; but he soon left the Freesoil party. He took part in many important legal battles; was an eloquent pleader and effective political speaker; was called Prince John on account of his tall and handsome body, elegant manners, and striking appearance; and died on a voyage from Liverpool to New York. Appletons' Cyclopaedia, VI, 234.

of the papers I noticed the death of old Mrs Thornton who was born in the palmy days of Frederick the Great, the Empress Catherine 10 & the "King," Maria Theresa; 11 & who was four years old when Napoleon Bonaparte was born! What a period to have lived thro!' I also see the death of Jasper Harding. 12 If as Burns 13 says . . . he gets his fairin', Such -ill they'll roast him like a herrin'."

I did not observe the prices of marketing, but from that of gold & of "York Mills" cotton, I am afraid there has not been much abatement in beef & mutton since I left Phil.

I was sorry to find yesterday that Miss Nannie was not well enough to make her appearance; probably anxiety & agitation have as much to do with her sickness as anything else: She is to be married on the 3d Octr, at the Palace Chapel, I cannot send you an account of the ceremony this steamer, even by the "Extraordinary"- I wish your mother were here to choose some little present that I could afford to give her- They are to live at her father's, for the present- Next week, when the boys all come, there will be twelve grown persons & nine children in the family. Wilcox proposed to Mrs T. that he & Maury & I should come out & stay with her, for company-

Thursday Septr 28th— By an engineer who leaves this morning for the U.S. I send a note for Rosa & a small parcel of stamps; The letter to R. Maury, 14 for a private opportunity, as they are not worth the postage- Dr Massey I find missed the steamer he went for & will go by this; so you will get several letters together- There has been nothing

usurped the throne, July, 1762; participated in the three partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, 1795; and was an enlightened despot and a patron of art and education. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 224.

11 Maria Theresa (May 13, 1717-November 29, 1780) was the daughter of Charles VI of Austria, archduchess of Austria, and queen of Hungary and Bohemia. She married Francis of Lorrainé in 1736. Legally she could not become ruler of Austria, but the Pragmatic Sanction of her father, agreed to by the leading rulers of Europe, sanctioned her being ruler. The war of the Austrian Succession broke out in 1740 in which she lost Silesia, and her attempt to take it back led to the Seven Years War, 1756-1763. But she failed to regain her lost territory. She procured the election of her husband as Emperor Francis I in 1745, and made her son co-regent as Joseph II in 1765. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 655.

12 Jesper Harding was born in Philadelphia on November 5, 1799, and died there on August 21, 1865. He learned printing under Enos Bronson, and began business for himself at the age of eighteen. In 1829 he purchased the recently established Pennsylvania Inquirer, and about the same time he began to print Bibles. He tried to play neutral in the bank controversy, but when the deposits were withdrawn he took the side of the opposition to Jackson and supported Harrison in the election, and finally found himself in the Whig party. He was a manufacturer of paper at Trenton, New Jersey, and was interested in other enterprises. He retired as editor in 1859, when his son William W. took his place, and at the time of his death he was collector of internal revenue. Appletons' Cyclopaedia, II, 79.

13 He here refers to Robert Burns (January 25, 1759-July 21, 1796), the famous Scottish poet. Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia, IX, 196.

14 Doubtlessly he refers to the son of Matthew Fontaine Maury. This outstanding scientist of his era (January 14, 1806-February 1, 1873) resigned from the United States Navy and enlisted i

⁹ Prussia and Brandenburg rose to prominence under four great rulers, viz: Frederick William, the Great Elector (February 16, 1620-April 29, 1688); his son, Frederick I (July 11, 1657-February 25, 1713); his son, Frederick William I (August 14, 1688-May 31, 1740); and Frederick II or Great (January 24, 1712-August 17, 1786). The last was an enlightened despot who used the nations of Europe like pawns on a chess board. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 410.

10 Catherine II or Great (May 2, 1729-November 17, 1796) was empress of Russia from 1762 to 1796. She helped overthrow her husband, Peter III, and then planned his murder. She usurped the throne, July, 1762; participated in the three partitions of Poland, 1772, 1793, 1795; and was an enlightened despot and a patron of art and education. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia. IX. 224.

to interest you since my last date- I feel the loss of our little circle here at the Hotel, & find it hard to get through some of the hours- I rise pretty early, & either sit down to write a letter, as now, or take a walk; then a solitary cup of coffee or chocolate & a roll which brings me to about 9 o'clk, when I go to the office & stay there till 5, the easiest part of the 24 hours, except when I am asleep- at 5 I go to a solitary dinner at a cheap "fonda," or restaurant, & spend the evening mostly alone in my room, reading until I get sleepy, which is pretty early- You would be amused to see me at the places where I have been going to get my dinner, although they are frequented by respectable people.- However I think I shall make an arrangement to take my meals at a more gay looking place, tho', they will be still solitary-This evening is the last of the first subscription to the opera, & I shall not have a box for the next- Three mornings in the week, people assemble on the Alameda¹⁵ to hear very good music from the French band; our breakfast, when we had a mess, came just in the way of it, but I shall get my coffee & walk this morning. The rains have sensibly abated & I have laid aside my waterproof fixings except boots, & only wear a light overcoat, & an umbrella which I seldom have to use.

Friday evening, Sept. 29th- This has been an anomalous day, as regards the weather, & it seems I was imagining too soon that the rains had abated; for when I first looked out this morning there was the unusual sight of a drizzling rain which continued all day & increased to a pour by the time I came out from dinner. I am afraid your mother will be concerned at the account of my eating arrangements; if so, she will be glad to hear that I am going hereafter to get my dinners at a very good French Restaurant which I tried to-day; where the meals are good & nicely served & where I shall meet acquaintances. & live at a modest expense too. On my way there to-day I stopped at a very civil English Watchmaker's who has been regulating your watch for me, & I find, by comparing it with his clock that it is keeping very good time.

Saturday. To-day I must mail this for the ordinary- Although the rain still continued, a grand "Funecion" came off early this morning: It is the 100th anniversary of the birth day of the Soldier-Priest, Morelos, 16 one of the great characters of our War of Independence, & the occasion was made use of to inaugurate a marble statue of him just erected in a little open space near my office- The Emperor & Empress, the Mily authorities, &c were all out, but few except those admitted on the stands could see or hear any thing; so I did not go-I send you an invitation to the wedding which you can hardly accept, &

¹⁵ Alameda means a grove of poplar trees, and is often used in reference to a large pleasure ground or park. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 27.

16 José Maria Morelos y Pavon (September 30, 1765-December 22, 1815) was an outstanding figure in Mexico. He joined the forces of Hidalgo in 1810, but he fought most of the time independently. At first he was very successful, but after 1813 he began to lose. He was captured on November 5, 1815, and was taken to Mexico City and shot. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX 706 Cyclopaedia, IX, 706.

your mother a French newspaper, which you can read for her-Maury showed me this morning the notice of his appointment as "Commissioner of Colonization," which was expected: he is also "Honorary Counsellor of the Empire"-

Love to all from Yr affte father

A. M.

I have carelessly taken paper intended for *half sheet* letters. Sept 30- It is nearly 5 o'clk & I have kept my letter open expecting to tell you of the arrival of Chas Talcott's family; but the dilligence is not yet in.

Mexico, Septr 26/65

My dear Rose

I am very much obliged to you for your nice & satisfactory letter from W. Point: I hope your visit there was as beneficial as I am sure it was agreeable, & that you have returned in improved strength to your winter campaign—I am sorry that it should be a campaign, as I say in a letter (my semi-monthly despatch) which I write to Laura by this steamer—I hope you said some kind things for me to my old friend Mr Kemble, 17 & also to Mrs & Mr Parrott; 18 the latter is one of the few, engaged in the war on the south, from whom I am unwilling to withdraw my friendship—

The departure of one of the Asst. Engrs for the U. S. gives me an opportunity of sending you the stamps which I have collected for you—They are not very numerous, as our correspondence is not *immense*; but being of new kinds they may amuse you a little—As they are not worth the postage I shall send them in a separate package to Mr Maury & ask him to send them to you by a private opportunity—The gentleman is of N. York & does not go to Phila: he leaves here tomorrow, but the steamer does not sail till the 6th, so I can keep my mail letter until the 1st— The steamers leave V. Cruz 6th & 21st of each month, & N. York 8th & 23d; The advantage of this arrangement is

17 Gouverneur Kemble was born in New York City on January 25, 1786, and died in Cold Spring, New York, on September 16, 1875. He served as consul at Cadiz under President Monroe; was employed to help supply the American squadron in the Mediterranean during the Algerian war in 1815; and then returned to the United States. He set up at Cold Spring, opposite West Point, the first foundry in the United States to make any thing like perfect cannons. He served in Congress from 1837 to 1841; was a member of the New York constitutional convention in 1846; was a lover and patron of art, collecting many valuable paintings; and was said to be the most perfect gentleman in the United States. Appletons' Cyclopaedia, III. 511.

and was said to be the most perfect gentleman in the United States. Appletons' Cyclopaeana, III, 511.

18 Robert Parker Parrot was born in New Hampshire on October 5, 1804, and died in Cold Spring, New York, on December 24, 1877. He graduated from West Point in 1824; was assistant professor of natural and experimental philosophy at that institution from 1824 to 1826; was professor of mathematics for the next two years; and then again became principal assistant in the former subject. On January 26, 1836, he was made captain after former promotions, but resigned from the ordnance branch and aimy on October 31, 1836, to be superintendent of the West Point Iron and Cannon Foundry at Cold Spring, New York. He designed and perfected a system of rifled cannon and projectiles. His guns were extensively used in the Civil War and since. He remained president of the foundry until 1867, but continued president and director of several industrial enterprises. He sold his guns to the government during the Civil War for a very small margin of profit. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, IV, 660-661.

that, if necessary, answers to letters from N. Y. may be sent, by way of Havanna, a week earlier, tho there are frequent steamers from Hav. to N. Y. & there the gentlemen engaged in Foreign business do not get their mails so close together—

Tell Miriam that I am looking for a letter from her one of these days, & I should be glad to hear from the boys too; Augustus must have something to tell me about his engineering experience, & Gratz can tell me about his new school & his studies, or anything he pleases—I will not repeat to you what I may have said, or may have to say, to Laura about myself, or about Mexico, as it would be useless—

With best love
Yr affectionate father
A. Mordecai

Miss Rose Mordecai 1825 Delancey Place Philadelphia Pa-

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Decr 14 I need hardly take this space to send my love & best wishes to all relatives in Richd & elsewhere who will kindly take them always for granted.

Ever Y^r affte brother A. Mordecai

Mexico Decr 10th 1865-Sunday.

My dear Sister

I have returned early this afternoon from my usual visit to Tacubaya & will devote the remainder of a quiet day at the office to commence my letter to you, lest something should interfere with my doing it in office hours—Writing all day here, I have given up doing it in the evening at my lodgings—I mentioned to you that Col & Mrs McClean & I were making arrangements to change our quarters, as a measure of economy, as well as of comfort on their part—I left my pleasant room at the San Carlos with some reluctance, but I have no reason at all to regret the change—We have taken a 1st (not the lowest) floor of a house in a very good situation, of which I enclose you a plan—19 It

¹⁹ The plan was very accurately drawn, giving the plan of the entire floor, sizes of the rooms, location and width of windows and doors, halls and stairways. The location of the building, directions from the various rooms, location of flower pots, and many other details relative to the building and surroundings.

contains just the accommodation we require for ourselves & a gentleman who came with the McC's & has been always with them in the army; he is now absent, but expected home every day, & both the gentlemen will be employed in this office- The house had some furniture which the McC's purchased—I bought some things for my room & hired others, which I shall replace by my own next month, & I shall be, indeed am, very comfortable- We have a woman who takes care of our rooms & cooks for the Mc's; a room on the ground floor is occupied by an aquador, (water carrier) who sweeps the patio & the street in front, supplies us with water & takes care of the plants in large pots which are set in rings attached to the ceiling of our gallery, outside-I take my meals still at a café & restaurant but when Mrs Mc. gets all arranged to her liking, I shall probably join their mess- My room costs me \$12 a month; so that I live at the rate of about \$85 a month, all told- Not very extravagant- The house is in a very good street, a continuation of the cross street on which the San Carlos stands; If you are fond of theatricals, on the opposite diagonal corner is the Iturbide Theatre, where French & Spanish plays are performed; on the next square south is the Imperial Theatre (opera) & a little further on, the Teatro Poincipal, so called probably because it is quite small, apparently, & exhibits minor pieces, shovos, &c- The opera is the only one I have visited- I have received your letter finished at Richmond & Edmund's- I am very glad that E. has satisfactory employment in Va; my invitation was intended only for the case that he had not, & would like to see a new country & a new work in the line of his profession, & be able to support his family comfortably in Va, for a time- I have sent his letter, & C. Howard's to Chas. T., to Col. Talcott who is below; in order that he may send an answer to Howard by the steamer which takes this letter- Mr Douglass has arrived at V. Cruz & has no doubt met Col. T. on the road- John Maury also came & brought me a small parcel from Phila, which he sent up by Bernard Carter- I am sorry to say that Chas. Talcott's recovery has not been steady; he was thrown back last week, by another attack of bleeding from the lungs, which kept him in bed some days & reduced his strength- He is better again however & his mother has just asked me to make an arrangement for his going, by easy journey, to the warm country, at Arizava, which she thinks he is strong enough to undertake- I hope it may benefit him to go there; but to a well person it seems almost absurd to leave, on this account, a climate where I have actually been inconvenienced to-day by the heat of the sun, & am now (5, P. M.) sitting by an open window; however, it is somewhat changeable & sometimes cool at this season, which Arizaba, I suppose, never is.

Septr. 11th— I did not get far, you see, with my letter yesterday—Whiilst I was writing Chas. Talcott came in & showed me a letter which he had just received from Ned & which is very satisfactory—He

had not received any of the others to which Ned refers & cannot account for them. A note from Mr Douglass at V. Cruz to Chas. alludes to the newspaper threats of War²⁰ which you mention, but treats them with contempt, as I have always done- The blustering of demagogues in your wretched country gives me not a moment's concern on this subject; but even if such a mad thing as an invasion of this empire by the U.S. should take place, or if the Republic should be reestablished here, the railway interests would hardly be affected, or only temporarily: The grant to Mr Escandon, on which the English company was founded, was first made by Commonfort, 21 confirmed by Juarez²² & afterwards by the Emperor,²³ & the enterprize is too important to the country to be long interrupted; to say nothing of the protection which the British government would give to the interests of its subjects involved in the undertaking. The Peto's whom you mention have nothing to do, I fancy, with this work; unless they may contract for making in England some of the large iron bridges which are to be constructed here- I suppose that Ruston has found out, before this, his cousin M. T's arrangements- his family remain in England, where the children are completing their education- He is hard at work here & does not expect to visit them until late next spring- He told me the day before yesterday that Colonization is beginning to be realized: a number of Confederates have taken lands near Cordova &

²⁰ Secretary Seward was an inveterate optimist and expansionist, but he always believed that England and France would ultimately satisfy the just demands of the United States relative to the Mexican episode. Public opinion in the United States favored the expulsion of the French; many high military leaders like Grant wanted to exert pressure towards that end; Grant sent General Sheridan to Texas to assemble a large force on the Rio Grande; and a plan materialized by which General Schofield, then on leave of absence, was to be sent to Mexico to organize a force there from the disbanded Union and Confederate troops, and Grant even ordered Sheridan to see that these troops were supplied with arms. The scheme fell flat, but the liberals in the army brought much moral and military aid to the cause of expulsion. Schofield was sent to France and there was kept busy on a harmless mission. On May 25, 1866, Campbell of Ohio was appointed minister to Mexico in the name of Juarez; President Johnson wanted Grant to go with him, but he refused; Sherman went along, but it was a fiasco for they could not find Juarez or his government; and in the fall of 1865 the administration told Napoleon that the United States would not stand for continued occupation of Mexico. The French position became so precarious that on April 5, 1866, it was announced that the French army would be withdrawn by instalments between November, 1866, and November, 1867. In April, 1867, the whole French force left Mexico for France, and without a foreign army to support him, Maximilian was soon captured and shot. William Archibald Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic. pp. 152-156.

21 Ignacio Comonfort was born in Puebla on March 12, 1812, and died near Guanajuato on November 13, 1863. He joined the revolt against Santa Anna in April, 1854; became secretary of war under Alvarez in October, 1855; and became acting president when that leader retired. He was elected constitutional president on December 1, 1857, and lived to build up a dictatorship,

are about establishing a village & a settlement— I sent George a little pamphlet containing some of the most important decrees & regulations about Colonization, & the "Mexican Times" of Saturday contains an appeal of M. F. to persons wishing to emigrate, which I have not yet read, but will try to send you, if it is not painted in too bright colors. Gov. Reynolds asks me to mention his name when I write, so that Gustavus & Mrs M. may hear of him— He is now assisting Magruder, the Surveyor Genl, in the office here. His wife is in Gibraltar, being a Spanish woman— I had one of Mrs Butler's kind & friendly letters by the last British Mail, thanking me for my photographs; she has also written to you, however, as Ruston tells me— She is very sad about Edgeworthstown²⁴— "can hardly bear to think of it— The tenants are strangers."

I shall be very glad to get Emma's letter—I know how pleasant it is for you to be among friends so affectionate & long familiar as those in R., notwithstanding the sad feelings which desolution & changes must produce—With so many still remaining to love & value you, & so many more to whom your life of disinterested kindness & devotion has been so beneficial & cheering, how can you ask, "What was I born for?"—This is akin to the feeling which you justly reproved in me, & I hope you also will banish it, as I have done.

Tuesday, Decr 12th- It is not easy to describe the same thing twice, on the same day, in different language; so if you should see the letter I have just been writing to my wife you will find nearly what I am now going to set down. I have just returned from the celebration of a great Mexican holiday; for this is the anniversary of "Our Lady Guadalupe," the silly story of whose appearance to an Indian peasant you may remember, or may read, in Prescott- She is adopted as the tutelary divinity of Mexico & recognized by all the authorities, civil & ecclesiastical— For nine days before her fiesta, signs of worship are exhibited in many houses, by hanging out lanterns & draping the balconies in white, with a picture of the Miraculous blanket apron in the centre. For to-day a regular official program of ceremonies is published, arranging a procession of all the dignitaries, governmental, diplomatic, scientific & military; nearly all in embroidered uniforms; the rest in dress coats & white cravats, & headed by the Emperor; to attend high mass at the shrine of Guadalupe, about 4 miles from the city- The McC's & I were up early & had our coffee in time to wait half an hour for the unpunctual first train which was to leave at 7arrived at the church, we took our station outside of the railing, to see the officials arrive, & we were allowed by the gendarme to remain, exclusively, at our post where we saw the procession pass round on the carpeted pavement, to enter the front door; we then followed into the church which was not at all crowded, only the better classes going

²⁴ Edgeworthstown was in Ireland.

in at that time- The Emperor was in uniform, wearing the heavy gold chain or collar of the order of Guadalupe, & attended by his picturesque guard of halberdiers, in scarlet coats with silver epaulettes & trimmings, shining helmets of steel, & with gilt eagle & ornaments, & holding the classical halbert of the middle ages- all tall, fine looking men- The mass was performed by the archbishop, in mitre & crozier, & a numerous clergy. The church is gorgeous; the moldings & capitals of its brilliant white walls & columns are covered with gilding, & the heavy balustrades of the altars, stairs & middle aisle are of real silver; the screen of the music place (I forget the name) is of carved wood inlaid richly with silver- The music was very fine: besides the organ, there was a large orchestra (from the opera, I suppose,) & a grand piano on which a solemn solo was played by an excellent performer-The whole was grand & worth seeing- On going out it was difficult to make our way through the crowd, chiefly of the Indian race, who thronged the great space in front of the church- They came from all parts of the country to this festival- I said I never saw all out-doors crowded before- The day, it is almost needless to say, was lovely; a little cool in the morning; but on our return at noon, the snow mountains wore their most brilliant "sheen," under a hot & unclouded sky-

Decr 14th— I have a letter from Col. T. at Orizava, from which I gather that he will not be able to send an answer to Howard by this steamer, his arrangements being somewhat controlled by those of the contractors, whose head man has just arrived from England.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Mexico March 15th 1866

My dear Sister

As you do not like to see blank paper in my letters I was about to take a small sheet for my letter to-day, as I have been so quiet lately I fancy this may be a short one; but we shall see- By the Talcotts, who sailed on the 9th, I sent you a map, &c, of our road which I hope you shall receive all right. Col. T. went down to V. Cruz & has not yet returned; so that the family at the "Casa Amarilla" (Yellow House) in Tacubaya is reduced to Mrs Southgate & Nannie (for short,) & Majr B. with Mrs S's children- The Major may have to go to V. C. in a day or two, in that case I shall take up my quarters there during his or the Col's absence. I am sorry to say that Charles, who went with his father & mother, was detained by sickness at Orizava where his health became injured last autumn; He has had no hemorrhage, but chills & fevers of severe type & is anxious to get on the high lands again- I should not be much surprised if he were to return to Va, he writes so discouragingly about himself- I suppose you discovered that I had marked the names, except the one that you recognized, on the back of the photographed group— The one that you thought like Genl. Lee must have been Col. T.— George will not get your message soon, as he is Resident Engineer at Apaw & does not come here often. I have said that I have been very quiet of late & indeed my time is passed with great regularity— Though I wake early I am generally not up & dressed until near 8, when we have breakfast, after which I come to the office & remain until 5; a little walk brings us to dinner about 6 & by the time we are done one or two gentlemen generally come in to talk or play cards until bed time— I have therefore very little time, as you see for reading, but I believe I have read enough for my life time, & only care for it now as an amusement for which I am very willing to substitute any other that may serve to pass away the time— I read to-day in the French Mex. paper of a man in Wisconsin who died lately, after had the misfortune to live to the age of 147!—

This evening I am to have the rare variety of going out to tea at the house of a resident- an American (U.S.) who married a Mexican lady- Last Sunday week, instead of going to Tacubaya, we made up a little party for any excursion on the canal that comes into the city from Lakes Chaleon & Xochimilco-25 The part of the canal adjoining the city is bordered by a wide road planted with trees & during Lent it is fashionable to use this Paseo for the afternoon drive instead of the usual one on the west side of the city- at all other times the old Paseo is deserted- The canal serves to bring the country produce from the south east into the city, & it is bordered with vegetable gardens, or little plats for raising lettuce, cabbages, carrots & enormous radishes, which, altho' as big as your wrist, are crisp & good. These gardens have taken the place of the chinampas or floating gardens which you read of in Prescott, & at this dry season the vicinity of the canal enables them to furnish the vegetables & flowers which would with difficulty be produced on the dry plains- The only beauty of the banks consists in the relief of some green in place of the parched herbage which covers the ground at a little distance from the water- We took a nice luncheon which Mrs McLean prepared, &, of which the piéce de résistance was a huajolote, an indigenous bird which you have heard of, in more prosperous times, under the name of turkey- We procured a covered flat boat propelled by a boatman with a pole & went up the canal some distance, stopping at an arbor in a little village to eat our luncheon- Returning in the evening near sunset we found the canal

²⁵ Lake Texcoco is a shallow body of brackish water with an area of about eleven and a half square miles and is fed by a number of small streams from the mountains. Its shores are swampy and desolate and show considerable belts of saline incrustations with the fall of its level. The Aztecs settled there because of the security afforded by its islands and shallow waters. The Chalco and Xochimileo lakes, eight or nine miles to the southward, which are separated by a narrow ridge of land, are connected with the lower part of the city by an artificial canal called "La Viga," sixteen miles long and thirty feet wide, which serves as an outlet for the overflow of those lakes and as a waterway for the natives, who bring in flowers and vegetables for sale. Lake Xochimileo, celebrated for its chinampus or "floating gardens," is supplied mainly by fresh-water springs opening within the lake itself. Lake Chalco is greatly reduced in size by railway fittings and irrigation works. Encyclopaedia Britannica (1941), XV, 397.

crowded with boats filled with people & populace, to whom this is the principal source of amusement on Sunday evenings- in many of the boats would be a man with a rude guitar, not to say banjoe, to the music of which a few of the passengers went through a melancholy dance- One of our party, (& one of our most frequent visitors in the evening,) was Genl. Early, 26 who is a good-natured & pleasant companion, & whom I mention particularly on account of the censures cast on his habits- His conduct here is marked with strict regularity & propriety, which is the more remarkable because he is very much out of place, having no occupation but what he has made for himself in writing his campaigns, no knowledge of the language or desire to acquire it, & no fondness for this country except because it is not the U. States- Among the Confederates here I have been much struck with their propriety of conduct, very few having any bad habits, as far as I know- They have formed quite a settlement in the neighborhood of Cordova, & many have arrived lately who I fear may have difficulty in procuring lands, as all that the Government had to dispose of there have been taken up, & moving about in this country is no easy matter-It will be some time before the railway affords the means of traveling in that part, where the works are very heavy- a few miles of track have been laid at various points between this city & Puebla, & the contractors have engaged to open it to that city in the course of the summer; but I hardly think they can do it- transportation of produce in the meantime is almost exclusively done on the backs of men or mules or burros (donkeys) - You may see troops of these at any time bringing in marketing straw for hay, charcoal, pulque (above all) in hogskins, flagstones, planks, timber, &c, accompanied by men & boys Indians charged with loads almost equal to those of the other beasts.

I mentioned before Genl. Magruder being here as Surveyor Genl. His family have just arrived from England & with all my predilection for the climate &c, I am inclined to pity them; for I am afraid the contrast with the country they have left is too strong— I have only seen the son & daughter yet, their mother having been unwell from the journey— the young people make a very favorable impression & I hope, for their sakes, that my anticipations may not be realized— They have a very comfortable new house, a few doors from this office, & built like the office, on the grounds of the convent of the Late Francisco— With regard to the Talcott's church which you ask about, they have none— There is a converted Catholic priest here who reads prayers

²⁶ Jubal Anderson Early was born in Virginia on November 3, 1816; and died on March 2, 1894, an unreconstructed rebel. He graduated from West Point in 1837 and saw action in the Seminole War, but he resigned in 1838. He studied law, was admitted to the bar in 1840, served in the Virginia legislature from 1841 to 1842, and entered the Mexican war, where he was soon made major. He did not arrive at the scene of action until after Taylor's part of the fighting was over so he did not have to fight. He was mustered out of service in April, 1848, and returned to his practice of law. He opposed secession and voted against it in the convention, but joined the army and fought at Bull Run as brigadier-general. He was made major-general in January, 1863, and lieutenant-general in May, 1864. He is best known on account of his raids in the Shenandoah Valley. He was also a writer of some prominence. Dictionary of American Biography, V, 598-599.

to a few, as Maury tells you in the printed letter I sent you, & a poor fellow who died here the other day, Dr Kavanaugh, was buried by a french minister but there is no regular service- Mrs Chas. T. has taken to reading prayers at her home on Sunday evening & a few of her friends go there- In a discussion which I heard the other day about getting a minister to come here, the Secy, of the British Legation (who has lived nearly all his life abroad) objected because he was afraid it would break up the meetings of the cricket club (& perhaps also the ball alley) on Sundays at Tacubaya, & he thought the amusement much the most important of the two things-

Well I am actually at the end of my sheet & without room to say a word about people around you, except to send my love to them all- I quite envy you the pleasure of being able to contribute, as I know you do in every way to the comfort of Rosina & the boys-

> Yr affte brother A. Mordecai

March 15th 1866 No -9. Miss Ellen Mordecai Care of Gustavus A Myers Esq Richmond Virginia

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Mexico, April 23, 1866.

My dear Sister

You see I do not intend to be caught by the Departure of Next Month's steamer without a letter prepared for you; for my last one has not sailed from V. Cruz when I am beginning another, this leisure morning. The objection to this journal mode of letter writing from a foreign country is that one is apt to put down trifling things which are read with little interest; but after all, a personal narrative, like an autobiography, almost always interests & amuses us; perhaps on Horace's²⁷ principle that nothing of human affairs is considered foreign by man- or as I once heard Hale 28 say in the Senate: "There

²⁷ Quintus Horatius Flaccus Horace was born at Venusia, Apulia, on December 8, 65 B.C., and died in Rome on November 27, B.C. He was a famous satirical and lyric poet. He was the son of a freedman; was educated at Rome and other places; enjoyed great popularity; and was presented with a villa by Maccenas in the Sabine Hills about 34 B.C. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 513.

28 John Parker Hale was born in New Hampshire on March 31, 1806; graduated from Bowdoin College in 1827; studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1830; and after being state representative and United States district attorney, he served in Congress from March 4, 1843, to March 3, 1845. He declined to run on the Liberty party platform for President in 1848. He was in the Senate from March 4, 1847, to March 3, 1853; was nominated for President on the Free-Soil ticket in 1852; and served again in the Senate from July 30, 1855, to March 3, 1865. He was minister to Spain from March, 1855, to July, 1869, and died in Dover, New Hampshire, on November 19, 1873. Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, p. 1045.

is a good deal of human nature about most men." The variety of it which we see here is certainly very distinct in some aspects from that which you may meet with in N. Y., as we have a good opportunity of observing yesterday. (Sunday.) On Saturday evening there happened to drop in at our house several Americans: Mr Grayson (the bird man) & his wife, Genl. McCausland & a Mr Austin from Albany, a lawyer, who is here as it were by accident- His son is the purser of one of the V. C. steamers & the father going down to see him before the last trip, the son said, "Now it will do you good to take a trip to sea, just jump on board & go to Havana," & at that place, now, you may never have so good an opportunity to see Mexico, just go on there;" so he came, to return in the May steamer- Well, we had quite a pleasant evening; McClean brewed some "hot stuff;" & at 12 o'clk when we had stopped our game of euchre, & Genl. McC. asked Mr Austin if he would walk down town, the latter replied, to our great amusement, "I will do my best; as the French say, Je farai mon possible: We old residents often do the honors of the to the new comers; so we appointed the next day, Sunday, to take a trip with the two gentlemen on the canal- So, the next day, after a hearty dinnerbreakfast, to which our household had been invited, (at the house of an English gentleman, an old resident here, married to a Kentucky lady,) we drove out to the Paseo de la Viga & took a boat on the canal-Now, if some ill-conditioned traveler were to say that the canal is a dirty ditch, with low banks, cultivated for vegetable gardens, & filled with rude scows in which dirty uncombed Indians are seated, or going through the motion of a monotonous & lifeless dance, to the music of a poor banjo, the description would not be unlike.

41/4 P. M. I was called off to attend the funeral of Govr Allen of Louisiana, Editor of the Mex Times, who had been ill for several weeks &, as the burial service says, was yesterday taken mercifully from the troubles of this life- If even the solemnity of the interruption did not prevent me from continuing my account of yesterday's fête, I feel to much outraged to do so, on account of an occurrence at the house- After a good deal of delay beyond the appointed time, we began to enquire the cause & were told that the U. S. Consul, who I suppose has the granting of permits for burial, sent to object to the remains being buried in the U.S. burying ground, dressed in Confederate uniform! Filled as the room was with Confederate officers, (None of whom were in uniform,) I was perfectly surprised at their calmness of demeanor under this contemptible outrage from a miserable scoundrel of a naturalized Dutchman, (his name is Otterberg.29) They merely proceeded to look at the body, the coffin, (which was closed by the bye with hinges & a lock & key,) not having been shut up, & they found it dressed in black pants, with a long grey frock

²⁹ Marcus Otterburg was minister to Mexico in 1867, but William S. Rosecrans took his place in 1868. White's Conspectus of American Biography, p. 28.

with So Ca bottons & no insigna of rank— I believe the emissary of the consul was satisfied & no further interruption was offered to the interment, or I doubt if the consul's ears would have been too safe. The burial ground had just been purchased, under an act of Congress, when I was here in 1854— It is a neat little lot adjoining the English cemetery, a short distance outside of the Western limits of the city, & it is planted with weeping willows & ash trees— The Episcopal service was read very well in English, by a french German protestant clergyman—a fine looking man. An account of the facts about the miserable Dutch consul will be prepared for the next No of the "Times," & I almost hope that, when his conduct is known in the U. S. there may be decency enough left there to visit it with some censure.

April 24th. Having vented my indignation I may resume my account of Sunday, as I have no mail to answer this morning- I was going to say: If, on the other hand, some cheerful observer, looking at the bright side of things, were to speak of the pleasure boats crowded with the olive complexioned women in their best attire whose raven tresses hanging in thick braids on their shoulders were crowned with rich garlands of roses & bright poppies, whilst they moved gently to the music of the guitar or portable harp, played by their swains, whose hats, like the heads of the nymphs, were decorated with wreaths of flowers; whilst on the drive which borders the canal, the gay equipages of the better class, with their liveried servants, whirled by; & the children of all ages amused themselves with swings, seesaws, & merrygo-rounds, & the cool evening breeze tempered the influence of the tropical sun- The gayer picture would be equally faithful- In our neat & roomy, covered boat we proceeded up the canal towards Lake Charles, to the place where we stopped to lunch on our former trip, & walking about whilst our boatman rested, we followed the sound of firearms & the ringing of bells & strolled into the village church, where some grand "function," (celebration) was going on in honor of Saint Joseph, 30 as well as I could make out; (the day being the Patrocinio de San José,) whose intercession is considered especially available against earthquakes. A procession was formed, led by a figure on horseback which they said was Saint Jago- at any rate he was some military character, armed cassapie, & he & his horse were borne on a litter by four men; then came files of men with lighted lanterns; then a figure of Christ bearing the cross, mounted on another litter, then the consecrated host, borne by two priests under a large crimson unmbrella, at the passage of which all the devout kneeled, &, we outsiders stood with our hats off, except Mr Austin, who is that "rara avis" a Vermonter turned Catholic; he kneeled of course, & said he

³⁰ Saint Joseph of Cupertino, a mystic, was born on June 17, 1603, and died at Osimo, on September 18, 1663. The Feast is on September 18. His father was a poor carpenter and died before his son was born, and his debtors forced his wife out of her home, so that Joseph was born in a stable. He began to have visions in his eighth year. He was canonized on July 16, 1567, by Pope Clement XIII. Charles G. Herbermann and others. eds., The Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, 520-521.

thought it very hard that he had to do the religion for the whole party—he was a little put out perhaps at the absurdity of the whole things—The actors were all indians & the procession was a substitute, I suppose, for that of the Idols in the time of their forefathers—"And so it goes," as our breakfast friend ends all her stories—

I have just had a call from Bev. Tucker looking as fat as his skin can hold him— He arrived last evening with Mrs T. & they had the vexation to lose all their baggage on the way: not decently in Mexican style, by armed men; but cut off the coach, in the regular old No Ca fashion— it is a most annoying a serious thing for a poor exile, just arrived in this difficult country, & direct from Paris. They propose to take two of Maury's rooms, the offices which he has no further use for—

I read the two pictures of the camel scene to Mrs McLean & she begs me to add that the last is much the more realizing one, as the scene appeared to her.

April 28th— This is a real hot day: I have not observed the therm. but it must be at least 75°— The afternoon showers have intermitted for a week or so, & if there happens a wind, as there did a few days ago, the dust would do credit to Washington in a July afternoon gust, preceding a thunder storm. I have just written a few lines to Ruston, by way of Havanna, on account of the loss of the Vera Cruz which ought to have taken my letter to you—

April 30th—You see I was right about the tendency of journal-letters to spin themselves out; but to-day I have something to say & wish it was of a more cheerful character—First comes the loss of the V. C. steamer in consequence of which this letter may overtake my last—We know few particulars except that the vessel was said to have been lost on her voyage to N. York & that the passengers, crew & mail were saved—I write to Rutson how to send my letters in case of an interruption of the Mails to V. C.

I attended yesterday another funeral of an American, as the U.S. People are called here- Mr Austin, whom I have mentioned above, died suddenly on Saturday evening, of Neuralgia of the heart; it will be a sad shock to his son when he arrives in the Manhattan next sunday, expecting to meet his father in V. C. The interment took place at the U. S. cemetery, & the ceremonies were very kindly & liberally performed by a french Catholic priest an army chaplain, I suppose, as I heard him speak of being at the French Marshal's when he was sent for- At Mrs McLean's thoughtful suggestion I cut off some of Mr Austin's hair which she will send to his family, although she does not know them- My last unpleasant news is losing the McL's last night, or rather this morning at 3 o'clk, when they set off for Orizava- Before 9 the purchasers called for the furniture & our pleasant rooms were all dismantled & desolate- I have taken a room in this building immediately under the first of Maury's rooms on the long corridor; so that we have quite a large U. S. colony here- The room is not as cheerful as my other one, but it is large & I hope will be comfortable— I shall resume my former plan of living, by taking a light breakfast, & a dinner at 5, at my former best restaurant.

May 1st. I slept last night in my new room, & took my chocolate this morning at a new & handsome restaurant, alone— My room is large, (20½ x 18 ft) as you may see by the plan of the building which I sent you; but it is very far from being as pleasant & cheerful as the other; I like an airy room, altho' I am in it only at night. I see by the correspondence which the British packet brings from Havanna that the "V. Cruz" was lost on her voyage here; but we have as yet few names of passengers & none that I know. You seem to be in a nice mess in that "delightful country" of Rutson's— The English mail brought me a kind letter from Mrs Butler, in answer to one I wrote her in February.

 $May\ 3^d$ — As this letter is written I may as well send it by the mail which leaves to-morrow for the steamer of the 8^{th} ; especially as there may be some for the 23^d ; so you must not be disappointed if you do not hear from me again this month— I hope this will find you in N. Y. in as pleasant weather as it leaves here— a light shower. The first I believe for several weeks, is laying the dust, & the air is almost too cool to allow me to sit comfortably with the window open— Remember me affectionately to the Maurys & believe me, ever truly

Yr affectionate brother
A. Mordecai

Miss Ellen Mordecai April 23rd 1866 N°- 12.

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Nº. 23

Mexico, May 15, 1866.

My dear daughters

I have to thank you for your nice long letters which, with your mother's notes, came by the Manhattan, bringing the mail of the V. Cruz as well as her own, quite uninjured—If I make no comments on the various pieces of intelligence which you give me, it is not that I feel no interest in them, but because you can well imagine what I think about them, & the news itself is almost forgotten by the time my answer reaches you—It is more important & interesting to you for me to speak of myself & what is going on in this country. I am leading a more quiet. i.e. a duller life than I have led before here—a solitary breakfast, a walk perhaps in the alameda on music mornings as this was, a day in the office even if I have little to do there, a lonely dinner at 5 o'clk, another little walk, perhaps a nap, & in the evening a game of cards somewhere—Sundays are rather heavy; I don't care to read & have no books; I have lately taken up a translation of Hum-

boldt's³¹ Essay on New Spain, rather as an exercise in reading Spanish than any thing else, & I am apt to fall asleep over its statistics &c-Tacubaya, in the absence of the pleasantest part of the family of the Casa Amarilla, & of the Col the greater part of the time now, ceases to be much of a resource, & it is now entirely interdicted by Mr Southgate's having the small pox there-Boleslawski & his wife are in town, leaving none but the Southgate family out there, & as Mrs S. attends on her husband, she cannot see her children- it must be dreary indeed-I have a letter this morning from the Col. at Orizava; he expects to be here in about a week, but he too will probably stay in town- he had not heard of Mr S's illness- His son Randolph came out, with his wife, in the last N. Y. steamer, & will be a great assistance to his father, as he is clever & experienced engineer & was here on the preliminary surveys of the road- He remains at Orizava in charge of the most important portion of the road- Conway Howard, whom your mother may remember at Cocke's, is with him- I alluded before to troubles likely to occur in the affairs of the Govt. & the Railway-These troubles are now culminating & must be settled in some way before very long- The formal determination announced of withdrawing the french troops in a definite time will test the strength of the Imperial Govt. which I earnestly hope may stand the trial; but it is embarrassed by the chronic disease of all Mexican Govts since the beginning of the Revolution: financial difficulties- The trouble in the Railway affairs results, in great measure, altho' not entirely, from the embarrassment of the Govt. which has been unable for some months past to pay the subsidy for which they are pledged to the Compy & on which the Coy have depended in making their arrangements- An influential Director & large stockholder, Mr Barron, has just come out, with a consulting Engineer & much will depend, with regard to further operations, on his report to the Board in London- Meanwhile the works in the Mountain District are slackened, but those for completing the road from this city to Puebla are going on with a good deal of energy, as the Directors are very anxious to get that part in operation this autumn. I mention these things more minutely than might seem to be called for in a letter to young ladies, because I am greatly interested in them, & because you have sense enough to understand & appreciate their importance, & above all because they must have a decided influence on your arrangements in Phila- In the present state of uncertainty as to affairs in this country, altho' I hope & believe that all will turn out well so far as the Railway is concerned, I give up decidedly any idea of bringing many of you here, & consequently there is nothing to be done but to engage the house at the proper time, for

³¹ Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt was born in Berlin on September 14, 1769, and died there on May 6, 1859. This celebrated German scientist and author travelled and studied in many parts of Europe. From 1799 to 1804 he toured South America and Mexico in the interest of science. In 1811 he published "Essai politique sur la Nouvelle Espagne." Between 1814 and 1834 he published a Critical Examination of the History and Geography of the New Continent. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 518.

another year. I hope that nothing will occur to make it necessary for you to continue your school, but it may be as well to defer any definite notice on that subject until the usual time— Until I have seen Col T. I cannot say anything positive as to the time of my leaving here: He may require my assistance in the investigations that are now in progress' & I shall not leave him as long as my services may be important; but I think all that business will be over before the time when I thought of returning to you, even the earliest time.

May 17th- If you were in Mexico to-day at noon you would like Peter Schlemil, without a shadow; for to-day the sun's declination is equal to the latitude of this city & he is ve[rtic]al at 12 o'clk- From this time until near the end of [J]uly, the sun would shine all day into the window of your mother's bed room, or rather those of the room over it in the 4th story, which is above the back buildings- but the sun does not shine here all day, for the cloudy afternoons with occasional showers have commenced— On the 9th we had the first real measurable rain since the middle of October, & on the 11th it poured in torrents; about 2in of rain fell in less than half an hour, which is more than you have in half a month generally- Still the regular rainly season has not set in, altho' this fall flooded the streets & created some uneasiness for the future- it was even more copious out of the valley & did a good deal of damage in one place at least. Notwithstanding the vertical sun, however, the weather is uncommonly cool, especially at night & when the day is cloudy, I have sometimes to put on an overcoat for comfort.

 $May\ 20^{th}$ — Since commencing this letter I have changed my dining arrangements & joined a little mess of Americans at a French woman's in this house; but it does not promise well & I shall probably return to my solitary restaraunt dinner—Col. Talcott has returned & is staying at Charles's— M^r Southgate's disease is at its worst stage, but he is said to be getting on as well as it is possible—Wilson has returned to U. S. by way of N. Orleans; he will see you if he goes to Phila, as I hope will M^r Wimmer, who I understand has asked leave of absence & he is now employed by the contractor—Please send me some 3 ϕ stamps.

With best love to all my children.

Ever truly yr affte father A. Mordecaí

Miss Laura Mordecai 1825 DeLancey Place Philadelphia Pa-

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IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Mexico, May 27th 1866.

My dear Sister

What can I do better this quiet, bright Sunday morning, with no one to disturb me in my pleasant office, than to put on the stocks a

letter to you, in anticipation of launching it by the next N. York steamer- The mail of the new (or old) slow coach, "Andrew Johnson," came up only last evening & brought me a letter from Phila, on the outside of which Ruston has put one of his satisfactory notes that he expected you last week- I hope nothing has occurred to prevent your visit to our good friends in N. Y. for as you cannot come to this delightful summer climate, I am sure the next best thing will be a change to N. Y. from the summer heat of the South- You must take a trip some day, on a steamer, up the Hudson as far as West Point; if only to go & return- One used to leave N. Y. at 4 oclk for Newburg: I remember nothing more charming than such a run on a summer evening; altho', as I said in the last letter to my wife, I have no wish to visit W. Pt again. Perhaps Alfred will see you in N. Y. & invite you up there, as he expected a visit from his mother- If necessary ask Ruston to defray your expenses & deduct it from my next remittance- Possibly I may bring the next remittance myself, as I expect to visit my family this summer or autumn- The time of my leaving will depend on the course of affairs here, as in consequence of the present financial embarrassment of the Govt, the railway matters are in some trouble. It is hoped however that the Govt. will manage to meet its liabilities; at least to discharge them sufficiently not to impede very seriously the prosecution of an enterprise so important to the country- Mrs Butler asked me in her last letter where the railway is? & in answer I mailed for her yesterday, (with a full sheet like this,) a tracing of the little map I sent you- I asked her to send her acknowledgment of it under cover to Ruston & if it comes in your way you may read it- It is a pleasure to me to write to her & to you, for you are both good listeners & seem to take a pleasure in reading my letters & an interest in what I write about. Let me turn to your long &, as usual, satisfactory letter of the 24th March, & answer your last enquiries- The most common lights used here are kerosene lamps both in the streets, & houses of the better class; candles sufficing for the others. I have a lamp which the McLeans left me when they went to Orizava; but as I seldom read at night I have not troubled myself to take care of it, & make candles answer my purpose- french candles for which I pay 37½ cts a pound-A company is preparing to light the city with gas & the Director promises to begin by the next anniversary of Independence, Sept 16th-He may do it, but the difficulty of procuring materials for keeping us such a mode of illumination appears to me very great- This volcanic region furnishes no coal & the only resource is rosin from the pines that grow on the mountains, which are very different in fatness, from those of No Ca- Water is brought to the city by two aqueducts built in the time of the Spanish dominion; they are built on arches over the plain in the old Roman style. One of them comes from the fine spring at Chapultepec; the other from a greater distance, furnishes the best, i.e. softest water; but it is not clear, especially in the rainy seasonall the good houses (gente fino) are therefore provided with filters which are made by the Indians, out of porous volcanic rock—The wall at the head of my bed is a part of the old convent of San Francisco & more than 4 feet thick; In a recess formed for the (closed) door into an adjoining room, stands my water filter, with the motto which I put on it the other day; "Non vi, sed saepe cadendo." (Not by force, but by frequent dropping.) It furnishes me plenty of water, not only for drinking but for my ablutions—The recess would be a capital retreat in case of an earthquake, the usual resort being a window recess—I think of putting there a store of cheese & crackers, with which & water, I could wait to be dug out!—A very nice place for Rutson!

Genl. Early has left Mexico, which was not suited to him; ignorant as he was of the language & without disposition to acquire it- His brother wrote to him to go to Canada; he was in Havanna when last heard from- His letter discouraging emigration was perhaps rather officious; its publication at least uncalled for- Charles Talcott just came in for a little while; he is much improved in health, but has a child occasionally- Did I mention that Rev. Tucker & his wife & son live in some of Maury's rooms- We & one or two others form a mess at a french woman's in the part of the house under Charles T's, & although not very good living, I am tempted by the convenience of not being obliged to go out to dinner just at the time when it rains, in the season that is coming on & that has almost commenced. On the 9th we had the first rain since the middle of October & on the 11th it poured so heavily that I waded half leg deep in water to reach my restaurant; our mess not having been then formed- The mornings being always clear & delightful, I go out for my breakfast- On the 17th the sun passed our latitude, & now at noon upright objects are shadowless; until the latter part of July the sun still shines all day, (when it does as to-day,) into our north windows.

I ought to have mentioned, in connection with the subject of water, the peculiar Mexican institution of Aquadores (Water Carriers) who distribute to the houses the water from the fountains— They carry on their backs an earthen jar of about 10 gallons or more, supported by a leather cushion & a strap round the forehead & counterbalanced by smaller jar suspended in front— To our house & to many of the newer houses, & to the bathing establishments, the water is brought in pipes.

If this is merely the frame of your letter, it bids fair to be a three-decker.

May 31st— This is another Sunday morning, although it is only Thursday; but all the shops are closed & all the bells are ringing & the streets are lined with soldiers & dressed with hangings, in honor of the processio of Corpus Christi—32 The streets used to be covered with

³² Feast of Corpus Christi is a festival of the Roman Catholic Church in honor of the "Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist," observed on the Thursday after Trinity. It was begun by St. Juliana, prioress of Mont Cornillon near Liége (1222-1258), whose veneration for the blessed sacrament was intensified by a vision and who persuaded Robert de Torote, Bishop of Liége, to order the festival for his diocese in 1246. It did not spread, however, until 1261. In 1264 Urban ordered the whole church to observe it. Encyclopaedia Britannica (1941), VI, 466.

awnings stretched across, to protect the procession from the vertical sun; but the awnings were destroyed in some of the commotions & the renewal of them is too expensive; so the Emperor is having Court Procession in the Palace galleries, & the common people must take their risk in the street, confident no doubt of going strait to heaven if they fall by sun stroke in such a cause—Charles T. was taken sick with bilious fever a few days ago; he is better & sitting up this morning, but looking badly—His brother-in-law, Mr Southgate has had one of the worst cases of confluent small pox; but he is convalescent—He is at Tacubaya, alone with his wife & children, none of whom have suffered—Col. T. stays at Charles's & Boteslawski & wife at a hotel

Adieu, as I must close to-day for the steamer's mail.

Ever truly your affectionate brother

A. Mordecai

Miss Ellen Mordecai Care of F. J. Lippitt Esq^r 110 Williams S^t; Providence Rhode Island May 27th- 1866 N°- 13-

IMPERIAL MEIXCAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE.

Nº. 24.

Mexico, May 31st 1866.

My dear daughter

This religious holiday gives me a quiet day in the office to thank you for your nice letter of the 4th, & to prepare for to-morrow's mail my usual "Reviue de Quinzaine," although there is little to say about myself for the last fortnight- Your letter & your mother's came several days later than usual, & I was regretting that I had not carried out my intention of writing by the Spanish steamer to Havanna, when the Andrew Johnson was announced- In another week we shall have the Manhattan again & hope my letters from your mother will be more comfortable, as yours gives me reason to think that she is more cheerful & in good health- You are not very encouraging, to say that "letters are horrid things," & I really do not see why they should be so, as the writers have always the privilege of saying pleasant things & suppressing the unpleasant, when it is not necessary to communicate them. This remark does not apply to your items of news, although most of them are sad, or what are generally considered so- Poor Hyman, tho' young, had not perhaps so happy a life as to make him regret much his release, & Mrs Clemence & Mrs Miller must have almost rejoiced in theirs.

"The dark, damp vault; the mattock & the spade,

These are the bugbears of a winter's eve,

The horrors of the living, not the dead"- But you will really have a right to think it horrid, if I go on in this strain-

I rejoice to think that when this letter reaches you, you will be about to rest from your daily labors, I trust not to resume them next season—If I could only send you this charming air to breathe, in place of your sweltering summer heat, I would think of your situation with more pleasure—I hope however that your mother is enjoying a visit to her favorite W. Pt, & that you may have an opportunity of seeing Newport again—It gives me great pleasure to hear of my dear Rosa's trip to Washⁿ, as she enjoyed it, & I wish Miriam may have some change of scene, perhaps with her mother at W. Pt. The good industrious boys must allow themselves to take some recreation in the vacation—Why cannot Aug. take a month or so of entire leisure? Then riding & swimming lessons would be not only a profitable, but an amusing exercise for him & Gratz.

This bright day the bells are all ringing for the Fête Dieu (Corpus Christi) when I went out to breakfast, grand mass was being performed in the Cathedral. & the principal streets were lined with soldiers, preparatory to the grand procession of images &c; The balconies of the palace are hung with draperies of the National colors, & it was recently the custom to cover with awnings the streets through which the procession was to pass, as the sun is vertical, you remember; but in some revolution the awnings were destroyed, & economy forbidding their being replaced, the emperor is having his procession this year within the galleries of the palace, & the commonalty must take the chances of sun-stroke, of which however I believe I never heard here—Col. Talcott has gone to visit his daughter Mrs Southgate at Tacubaya, having no fear of the small pox contagion—Mr S's case was of the worst kind of confluent small pox, but he is convalescent & some of his family have taken it.

As the wet weather has not yet commenced regularly, I get along very well in my new room, which is very comfortable in every thing but the want of sunshine; & I find it so convenient not to have to go out when it does rain, that I shall probably put up with the modeste cuisine of our french hostess, which has the merit too of being cheap—Every now & then, I walk out, for my cup of chocolate, to the "Tovolé del Eliseo," where I enjoy my breakfast at freseo, under the shade of the trees & flowers & enlivened by, the singing of birds—does not that sound pleasant to you, in Phila, in June? Usually I breakfast at a café in the city, because it is only half price of the other.

No development has yet taken place with regard to the prospects of the Railway, but the people most interested are at work & hope to effect a good arrangement; I think there ought to be something certain in time for my next letter; but it takes a long time to receive an answer from England, if that should be necessary to sanction any arrangement that may be made— I could hardly believe when I heard the other day that Gus. Maynadier & his wife had spent some days in the city without sending me word, much less calling to see me—

I am glad to think that you have no unnecessary fears about cholera; as freedom from anxious agitation is a good preventative. It will force me to look again at the N. York papers, as ours take little notice of it, except in a very general way—I see by the bye, in the only column that I do look at, that No Ca Bonds were last quoted at 835%; nothing of Nashville City—You do not tell me what you have done with yours, or what prospect there is of the back interest being p[aid—] It is singular that I have not heard a word from either Dr Viele [or] Mr Roy in answer to notes I wrote them long ago.

I shall ask M^r F. H. Markoe,³³ who is now the agent of Col Talcott in Vera Cruz, to send to Rutson M. some *chia* seed which Rutson recommends so highly for cholera, & he will send your some, with directions how to use it—

I have in my dresser drawer one silver dollar of the new coinage which is the only one of the coins that I have been able to get for M. Cohen—I sent to the mint the other day & received for answer that the new machines were not received yet, & the director said he did not know whether they would *ever* strike off any of the new die—It was just after the news of the intended withdrawal of the French troops; but rather a cool speech, I thought for the Director of the Imperial Mint—

Tell your mother that I have really nothing special to say to her this time except to send my dear love to her, & give it also to your brothers & sisters from

Yr ever affectionate father

P. S. A. Mordecai

I expect you to admire the Motto which I have put on the water filter in my room that supplies me with as much clear water as I want: "Non vi, sed saepe cadendo"— It is a part of a line from Horace (I believe). "Gertta cavat Laxum, non vi sed saepe cadendo—"

Miss Laura Mordecai 1825 DeLancey Place Philadelphia Pa-

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER' OFFICE.

Mexico, July 2d 1866.

My dear Rosa

This shall be a letter "all to yourself," although I must use it to

³³ Markoe must have belonged to the outstanding family of that name who flourished in Philadelphia during the latter half of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, IV, 210.

thank Laura & Gussie also for their satisfactory letters accompanying yours— all your letters were most agreable & consoling to me, & I almost thanked the postmaster in my heart, (altho' I scolded him,) for his neglect in mislaying them a day or two, so that I had given up the expectation of hearing from you & received the additional pleasure of a surprise. I had letters from your mother & from sister E. &, but for the little malentender between them, with regard to their meeting, the mail gave me, as Laura hoped, nothing but pleasure— I was delighted to find that your mother seemed to revive all the benefit I expected from her visit to W. Pt. & that Miriam was enjoying it with her: & I felt my heart softened more than I ever anticipated by your account of your visit to Washⁿ arsenal & of the kind remembrance of me there, especially by my friends in humble stations; for I thought that nothing could induce me to go to Washⁿ again, if I could avoid it.

I am sorry that Dyer & Laidley, after having gone harmoniously through the war, have not been able to keep the peace—Why don't you tell them: "Let dogs delight, to bark & bite, &c"—

The last English steamer brought no intelligence tending to help the railway out of the snarl it has got into by the failure of the Mex. Govt to fulfill its engagements, as that was not known in England-I cannot help still hoping that something may be done here to remove the present embarrassments, at least so far as to complete the part of the road which is so well advanced & which it would be the greatest folly & misfortune to abandon; but it must be admitted that the present aspect of affairs is, in many respects, very unfavorable- I wrote you word before that, to my great regret, I must advise you to continue your school; it will afford some means for yourselves, even if they shall not be required for immediate support. The yellow fever & cholera have no horrors for me, although Dr De Leon writes me that the former is now very bad at V. Cruz; but I think it would be inconvenient to Col. T. & unkind in me, to leave him this month, & I have pretty nearly made up my mind to stay here until the autumn, when some development must have taken place- In the present state of the country, or any state that it is likely soon to be in, I cannot think of bringing any of you here, & in reply to Laura's question, I will say that, in the same spirit which brought me here, I am willing to sacrifice my repugnance to the condition of things in the U.S. for the purpose of remaining with you, if any suitable employment should be offered- although my true feeling is expressed in a remark I made the other day to Mr Tucker who was reading a Cincinti paper: "I wish I could go home without going to the U. S." My present occupation suits me perfectly, & I do not think that I could well bear the annoyances of such an employment as that your mother thought of for me- I am too old for that kind of work- I have said so much about myself & my affairs, because, they are, I know, of the greatest interest to you all, & at this distance it is well to repeat what one wishes to be known, as the merchants do, rather than risk its not being known—I hope I have now made myself clearly understood as to what we must expect for the next few (3) months—Send this to your mother, as I have not written the same things to her—

I hope Augustus will get the employment he wishes, as a trip to the Mountains & camp life will probably be good for him; if not I have no doubt he will occupy himself usefully at home, though I should prefer his not pursuing any severe study for a while- Tell him that I expect his instruments by the french steamer due on the 10th of this month; but I am afraid they will have to remain in V. Cruz until I go there to take them to him- If it were not useless to speak of plans, as Laura says, when so long an interval must elapse before they can be executed, I would ask uncle Henry to stay with you & let Gratz go to W. Pt. whilst your mother is there, or perhaps, if Alfred is going to stay there, Gratz may go to him when your mother & Miriam return, & Laura might go too, if not invited to New York which she would possibly prefer- I anticipate with pleasure the arrival of the steamer this week, hoping to hear good accounts of all of you- In Augt & Septr the N. Y. steamers will make but one trip ea. month; but Mr Maury can send letters if necessary through the Morisons of Havanna, who will send them over by the English or french steamers which arrive in V. Cruz about the 27th & 10th respectively, sailing from Havana about 4 days before. A person whom I asked to see the Minister of War about my books, brings me just now the answer which I expected: That the Mily. School is not organized & that at present they have more pressing demands for their money.

You must remember me kindly to your neighbors who enquire for me, & give my love to Josephine—Let me know if M^r Miles is still in Havan^a— You are either very remiss, or I have been singularly un[fortu]nate in sending things to you—Several persons have taken newspapers with postage stamps on them to drop in the post office at N. Y. which I have never heard of—I gave M^r Hargons & another gentleman large envelopes full of defaced stamps, with proper postage stamps on them, to mail for you; but I am afraid you have not received them.

I am glad to hear from Laura that you really take an interest in my letters, for feared otherwise & have therefore ceased to write of late about Mexico— at present however there is nothing to amuse you in my life here— I appreciate your thoughtfulness & attention in procuring suitable paper & writing your letters so neatly; I mean Laura & you & Gussie—

July 3^d — I have nothing to add, on this last day for the ordinary mail, but my love & blessing to you all: I am in excellent health & as comfortable & contented as I can be so far from my family.

Ever truly & with pride
Your affectinate father
A. Mordecai.

Miss Rosa Mordecai 1825 De Lancey Place Philadelphia Pa_

IMPERIAL MEXICAN RAILWAY. CHIEF ENGINEER'S OFFICE. Nº. 27.

Mexico, July 9th 1866.

My dear daughter

I had written just so far on the above date, intending to thank you & Rosa & Gratz for your letters received the day before, when I was interrupted & have not had time, in the office, to resume my letter until the 12th, when I am so sick of "man & men's affairs" as to be almost disqualified for continuing what I wish to be a pleasant letter to you- My morning paper contains two or three columns of extracts from Dr Craven's 34 book giving an account of the sickening atrocities practiced on Mr Davis in prison- It was only yesterday that, having finished Reade's book called "Very hard cash," 35 I was telling Blake that I could not believe such atrocious acts as these described could have been committed in mad houses in England as late as 1847; when here I have similar things done in real life, in the present day, without even the excuse of restraining madness: Oh! madness which has just set hundreds of thousands of people in Europe to killing each other for "a plot of ground whereon the parties cannot try the cause; which is not tomb enough & continent to hold the slain"- From this, however, some good must result: My dream of united Italy will be realized, & I only regret that Byron could not have seen this result for the land which he loved: Not that I could wish him so ill as to desire that he should have been burdened with life till this time- Let me now dismiss these things & turn to your nice letter. I am glad you saw Mr Wimmer- Nothing has occured lately to make us more hopeful with regard to the progress of the Railway, although it is still reported that money will be found-letters from England will arrive here to-day, but they could not have heard there of the suspension of work- I cannot understand how Mr W. or even yourselves, could have any difficulty. about the "red figures" on my map; they are the principal feature, indicating, as explained, the heights of the points at which they are written above the leven of the sea, & thus serving as a sort of profile of the road at the principal points. The map is lithographed, a mere sketch to accompany the company's original prospectus.

Catalogue.

35 He here refers to a novel, Very Hard Cash, published by Harper & Brothers in 1864, written by Charles Reade (1814-1884). Library of Congress Card Catalogue.

³⁴ He here refers to Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John J. Craven, who wrote the *Prison Life* of Jefferson Davis, embracing many details and incidents in his captivity and particulars concerning his health and habits, together with many conversations on topics of great public interest. It was first published in 1866, and contains 319 pages. Library of Congress Card

The recent departure of the Empress³⁶ for Europe has thrown another damper on hopes of this country- I believe she has gone really for the purpose of trying her personal influence to procure means of sustaining the Empire; but her journey is open to the construction of a flight, & this serves to give encouragement to the Emperor's enemies- His birth day was celebrated with great ceremony on the 6th inst- The Empress in state went to the Cathedral where a Te Deum was sung & he held an official reception- A wooden platform, carpeted, was laid from the gate of the palace to the door of the cathedral, about 300 yards, & although all the mornings here are what they call in England "Queen's Weather," a canopy of canvass, bordered with blue, was stretched over the whole way, under which the Empress, preceded by a large suite of gentlemen in court costume & followed by one of ladies, walked to the church- In the evening there was, on the plaza, one of the finest exhibitions of fire works I remember to have seen, always excepting those at Rome in Easter week- There was no moon; The rain held off for the day, but some dark clouds covering the sky gave additional effect to the terrestrial illumination- All this, between ourselves, is little better than nonsense; for in this democratic country, as the Emperor himself calls it, "There's no Divinity doth hedge a king," to give real effect to such demonstrations, got up "by authority," & the money had perhaps been better applied to some of the numerous objects of improvement or charity which are constantly demanding assistance. I went the day before to the mint, having had word that some of the new coins would be struck in honor of the birth day I found only the dollars, so I have but them & some 10 cts & 5 cts of the new issue, but not with the Empr's head. I received your letters last Sunday just before going to breakfast at Tacubaya, & Col. T. was good enough to look over his old letters, where we found a few stamps such as Rosa wants, which I will enclose, with any others that I meet with- Rosa's question about St John's day must mean "How did you celebrate it this year"- Well, here it is a great church holiday, marked with a double cross in the almanac- all business places were closed & all churches open- I breakfasted at Tacubaya & on returning to town in the evening I found the boys dressed up as soldiers & carrying on some military game in front of the cathedral- I could not learn the particular significance of this, nor why it should be continued on the following Sunday which was the day of St Peter & St Paul. I forgot to

³⁶ Charlotte Marie Amélie was born in Brussels on June 7, 1840, the daughter of King Leopold I of Belgium. She married Maximilian on July 27, 1857, and took great interest in his political activities. She was an outstanding social worker while in Mexico. She left Mexico City on July 8, and sailed from Vera Cruz on July 13, 1866, to try to persuade Napoleon to change his mind relative to the withdrawal of the French army from Mexico. She arrived in Paris on August 9, and was rather coldly received the next day by Napoleon, who refused to change his plans. She departed from Paris for Rome on August 23, hoping to procure the intervention of the Pope, but the plight of her husband and her sorrow affected her mind until she showed signs of insanity the day after she arrived in the Holy City. She was removed to the chateau of Tarvueren in Belgium where she remained hopelessly insane, but occasionally she was sufficiently sane to write some memoirs. She died near Brussels on January 19, 1927, died without ever regaining her sanity. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, IV, 270; Encyclopaedia Britanica (1941), XV, 116.

mention that Mrs Boleslowiski celebrated the Emp's birthday by giving birth to a child which proved, however, to be a daughter- She is to be christened next week at the palace chapel, (where the mother was married,) by the name of Maximiliana Carlota, & the Empr will stand godfather- by proxy.

I must tell on R. M. about your last letter, if you will not betray me-He thought the commencement card might slip out & he wanted to slip in something of his own; so he damped your wafer took out the cord & clipped off all but the printed part, thus keeping the whole postage within the 10 cts & 57 cts- I suspected what he had done, when your letter came to me with a little strip of gummed paper on the outside-You should be particular, by the bye, in writing foreign words & names to copy the spelling literally: "Oficina del Ferro-Carril," & Livoli del Eliseo." (Elysian Tivoli.) - The Mr Markoe at Vera Cruz is a young man, nephew of the N. Y. family who was living in V. C. when I was first there & has continied to reside there- Mr Howard is Conway Howard, unmarried but engaged to a daughter of Mr Frank Osborne of Petersburg- The father objects for a good reason, which however reflects no discredit on Mr H.

Mr Peter McCall³⁷ gave a letter for me to a young Ward of his, Geo. Burwell, who has received a Capt's commission in the Mex. Army, through the kind agency of Princess Iturbide- He is going to-morrow to Mazatlar & I have given him a letter to Mr Grayson, the bird artist whom I mentioned in a former letter; he has not written, I believe, to Mr McC. so I wish you would let Mr M. know this- I hope this may find you at Newport, enjoying your vacation— I am quite at a loss to know what to say about Gratz's school: I very much suspect Gussie is right about the Polytechnic & never fancied his going there- In general I dislike changes of schools & think it better to pursue a regular course, & therefore perhaps Gratz had better continue with Mr H.

I wonder that you have heard nothing from your Uncle George about the No Ca Bonds; but I suppose the best thing to do is to keep them & accept the new bonds for payment of interest- I see they are quoted a little higher in N. York.

I wish indeed I had some of the "nice books" you speak of- Last evening was one of my hard ones- Returning from dinner about 6, I took a nap, after which, as Blake was going out to sea, I tried Mr Brinley's game of Solitaire, & then I took up Neander's 38 early church

³⁷ Peter McCall (August 31, 1809-October 30, 1880) was born in New Jersey, but after finishing college and studying law he located in Philadelphia where he continued to reside until his death. He was not only an eminent attorney, but a valuable citizen in many ways. He served on the city council, was mayor of Philadelphia from 1844 to 1845; served as professor of law in the University of Pennsylvania and a trustee for many years; and was a writer and lecturer on legal topics. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, IV, 75.

38 August Ncander wrote many books about the Christian religion and church. We presume that Mordecai here refers to Joseph Torrey's translation from the German into English of Neander's five-volume work, the General History of the Christian Religion and Church which was published in Boston in 1847. Library of Congress Card Catalogue.

history & the Beauties of Ruskin, 39 which were on the table in the parlor, but neither of them tempted me- I have ceased to care about History of any kind & I hate Metaphysics- so I took my umbrella & walked to the Plaza, where I took a seat on one of the new iron settees, opposite the Palace- One of the contractors, out of work, happened to be on the same bench & I was provoked to have to assent to his remark that "this is a dull city"- It soon began to rain & I went back to my solitary room & to bed- I have very little Mexican cooking, the keeper of the restaurant being a frenchman; but I differ from Mr Wimmer, for I like many of their dishes. But there is nothing that gives me so little concern as eating: I always say that wherever men can live I can live, & I can eat & be satisfied: Whether eating roast beef with the Englishman, or oat meal bannocks with the Scotchman; or brown bread flavored with annis seed, with the Swede; or black bread & cold fish soup with the Russian, or Sour Kraut with the German; or Maccaroni with the Italian; or Kibabs & Pillace, with the Turk; or foie gras & ris de veau with the frenchman; or frijoles & tortillas, with the Mexican. Mrs Benfield promised me an almanac with some Mexican receipes, which I shall ask your mother to try some day.

July 17th— I have waited until the last day to close my letter for the ordinary mail, in case I should be able to say anything more definite about my arrangements, but nothing has turned up— All looks gloomy here, both in Govt. & Railway affairs, & that is all I can say—

So I must bid you farewell; with best love to your brothers & sisters & kind remembrances to the neighbors who think of me.

Ever truly

Your affectionate father

A. Mordecai

Miss Laura Mordecai 1825 Delancey Place Philadelphia Pa— United States []apor Mexico— Americano.

³⁹ Doubtlessly he refers to Mrs. L. C. Tuthill's editorial work entitled The True and the Beautiful in Nature, Art, Morals, and Religion, first published in 1860. Library of Congress Card Catalogue.

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida Under Five Flags. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1945. Pp. XIV, 140. \$2.50.)

This account of the growth of Florida from 1513 to 1945 is of particular interest to readers in North Carolina in view of the many contributions made by North Carolinians to the development of Florida. And, since it is one of several volumes published to commemorate the Florida centennial, it is appropriate to note that the first elected governor, William D. Moseley, was from North Carolina as was also John Branch, the last territorial governor. To celebrate the admission of Florida to the Union in 1845 Governor Branch opened to the public his plantation, "Live Oak," near Tallahassee. According to a contemporary report, bonfires blazed the way to the entrance, lanterns were hung in the gardens, the house was "brilliantly lighted from top to bottom," and "all the world and his wife" attended.

The author explains that this "small volume was planned and written to present a brief and interpretative account of the growth of Florida which could be read in a few hours." Obviously designed for popular use, it is entirely sound in concept, balanced in treatment, and readable.

Under chapter headings of Discovery, Settlement, Conflict, Under Changing Ownership, a United States Territory, Ante-Bellum State, Civil War and Reconstruction, Pushing Back the Frontier, Urban State, and Today and Tomorrow, the narrative encompasses 432 years and an area that receded from a large part of North America to the present southeasternmost state of the Union. It is a story that recounts almost three centuries of Spanish control, a few uncertain years of French attempts at settlement, twenty years of English development, and, the really important 124 years of settlement and development as a territory and state of the United States.

The over-all picture is so admirably created and the analysis of movements so superbly discussed that it is difficult to suggest improvements. One minor defect appears, however, in the inadequate treatment accorded the remarkable contributions of two developers, Plant and Flagler.

More than 100 maps and illustrations, both authentic and appealing, enhance the value of this handsome book. The author, Dr. Patrick, received his training at Guilford College and the University of North Carolina. Before his appointment to the University of Florida he taught at Meredith College.

A. J. Hanna.

Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.

Library Resources of the University of North Carolina. Edited by Charles E. Rush. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1945. Pp. X, 264. \$3.50.)

Never in American education has a great university celebrated a milestone in its history by such a series of volumes as the University of North Carolina is now issuing as its sesquicentennial publications. Conceived neither narrowly as the history of one university, nor boastingly as a survey of its present influence and achievements, but humbly as an example of the significance and nature of modern scholarship and of the manifold activities and importance for our national life of all great universities, this series, under the direction of Louis R. Wilson, is already setting a remarkable standard.

The volume on Library Resources fits into the general plan of the series. It briefly recites the history of the University of North Carolina Library, candidly admitting that the real history began, not a hundred and fifty, but forty years ago, when funds became available for building a research library. Thirty-five separate articles, written by members of the library staff and of the faculty, describe the research collections in each field of the humanities and the sciences. The descriptions follow a deliberate pattern, the same pattern on which, since 1905, the library itself was built. In each division of knowledge a survey of bibliographical works, with long lists of titles, is followed by a naming of the scholarly journals and of the principal secondary works in the library's possession. The assumption is that modern scholarship, as the joint product of many minds, depends upon the publications of foreign academies and universities, of societies and governments, upon learned journals, sets of monographs and serials, and the tools of bibliography and reference. Emphasis is upon the library's strengths instead of its weaknesses.

Those strengths are many and great, and reflect credit upon the succession of librarians who for forty years have adhered to a consistent program of development. Every division now has most of the books deemed essential. The bibliographical collections are strong, the incunabula and other works in the Hanes Foundation on the history of printing are noteworthy, and the manuscripts and rare books and pamphlets for the study of North Carolina and of Southern history make an altogether exceptional collection.

If it be true, as is often said today, that this is the last period of our present civilization when a great library could be put together, the University of North Carolina began its serious accumulation of scholarly materials barely in time. Money alone. even in vast amounts, could not duplicate today its great standard works. Most of them are no longer on the market, at any price. This survey leaves a reader with the impression that the library is weak, comparatively, in collections of source materials. of various editions of great authors, in the works of minor authors, and in its holdings out of the mass of heterogeneous books and pamphlets which the last four centuries have produced. Their acquisition would seem to be the next step, and the continuation of the highly sensible cooperative arrangements with Duke University should make that step easier and more certain than if each university had to spread its funds over the entire field.

Stanley Pargellis.

The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

HISTORICAL NEWS

- Dr. M. L. Skaggs, head of the department of history at Greensboro College, has been promoted to the position of head of the division of social sciences. There will be five associates in this department.
- Dr. Chalmers G. Davidson, director of the library and associate professor of history of Davidson College, has been promoted to be director of the library and professor of history.
- Mr. Bradley D. Thompson will return to Davidson College as associate professor after a half year at Harvard University doing graduate work and a year as visiting professor of history at Mary Baldwin College.
- Dr. Edward O. Guerrant, formerly of the California Institute of Technology and lately of the Department of State in Washington, in September will become associate professor of history and international relations at Davidson College.
- Mr. S. G. Riley, since 1920 head of the history department of Meredith College, has retired. Before coming to Meredith, Mr. Riley was a professor at Brenau College, where he began his career as a teacher of history in the early years of the century.
- Dr. Alice Keith, assistant professor in the department of history at Meredith College, will teach during the summer session at Howard College at Birmingham, Alabama.
- Dr. C. S. Snydor, who is on sabbatical leave from Duke University, has been given a grant from the Library of Congress for a study of leadership in the South from 1783 to the present time.

Miss Christiana McFayden, assistant professor in the department of history of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, has been awarded the Wolf Fellowship in history at the University of Chicago. She has been granted a leave of

absence to complete her residential requirements for her doctor's degree.

Dr. B. B. Kendrick, who retired last year as professor and head of the department of history and political science of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, is still at a rest home at Gardiner, Maine. His condition shows no improvement. Mrs. Kendrick's address is Cedar Grove, Maine.

Miss Helen G. Edmonds of the department of history of the North Carolina College for Negroes received the degree of doctor of philosophy at Ohio State University at the spring commencement.

Dr. John Hope Franklin, professor of history at the North Carolina College for Negroes, addressed the Trinity Historical Society of Duke University on March 1 on the subject, "Military Education in the Ante-Bellum South."

Mr. Ernest E. Neal of the department of sociology of the North Carolina College for Negroes appeared on the program of the ninth annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society at Atlanta, Georgia, in May. Mr. Neal is also North Carolina's reporter for the *Monthly Summary*, a periodical devoted to race relations, and published at Fisk University.

Dr. J. H. Taylor, professor of history of the North Carolina College for Negroes, was elected vice president of the Association of Social Science Teachers at a recent meeting in Atlanta. Dr. Taylor is also serving this year as director of the summer school of the North Carolina College for Negroes.

A portrait of Captain Plato Durham, Confederate States Army, and a student at the University of North Carolina Law School, 1866-67, was presented to the University of North Carolina, June 9. The portrait was a gift of Mr. Robert Lee Durham of Beuna Vista, Va.

Mrs. Gordon W. Lovejoy, who on August 1, 1945, became head of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Depart-

ment of Archives and History, resigned at the end of April to accept a position in the library at Randolph Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, formerly acting state archivist of the state of New York, has been employed as head of the Division of Archives and Manuscripts of the State Department of Archives and History. A native of Vermont, Mr. Eddy is a graduate of Middlebury College and received the degree of master of arts from Harvard University. He has taught at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Phillips Academy, and other educational institutions. For several years Mr. Eddy's experience has been in the field of archival work. He served as state supervisor for Vermont of the WPA Historical Records Survey, and later at different times was on the staff of The National Archives in Washington and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial Library at Hyde Park. He served as acting archivist of the state of New York while the regular archivist, Mr. Hugh Flick, was in the armed forces.

Mrs. Ethel Taylor Crittenden, librarian of Wake Forest College since 1914, has resigned. Mr. Carlton P. West, assistant professor of history at Wake Forest College, has been appointed to fill this vacancy in the library.

Dr. Solon J. Buck, Archivist of the United States, on May 11 spoke in Chapel Hill on the services and research opportunities of the National Archives. He spoke before a group of historians, archivists, and librarians.

Hitler's marriage certificate, private will, and last political testament, signed the day before he is believed to have died, were placed on display in the Exhibition Hall in the National Archives on April 27. These documents were captured by the American military intelligence officers last December and were sent to the War Department from which they were transferred to the National Archives.

Mr. C. R. Hinshaw, Jr., since November 1, 1945, has been an instructor in history at High Point College. From 1942 to 1944

he was civilian instructor in the reserve Army Air Forces and from 1944 to 1945 he was on active duty in the Army Air Forces.

Thomas Dixon, author of *The Clansman*, upon which the moving picture, "The Birth of a Nation," was based, died in Raleigh on April 3. Mr. Dixon, a native of Cleveland County, North Carolina, was a lawyer, a minister, a lyceum lecturer, and later a novelist. His novels deal chiefly with the Reconstruction period in the South.

The yearly Easter services of the Moravian Church, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, were broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting System and affiliated stations from coast to coast. These services, throughout the years, have been an outstanding Easter event in North Carolina, and were broadcast for the first time last Easter.

The Presbyterian Historical Foundation at Montreat, North Carolina, is making progress toward raising funds for the erection of a new building. The foundation has on hand over \$56,000. The very fine collection of manuscript and printed materials of the foundation deals with the Presbyterian church and Presbyterianism and is serving not only students interested in the church and church history but also students who are candidates for higher degrees from various colleges and universities of the several states.

The state of Tennessee celebrated its sesquicentennial at Nashville on May 30-31 and June 1-3. Portraits of Admirals Samuel P. Carter and Charles St. John Butler were presented to the state. An historical marker erected in honor of Ann Robertson Cockrill was unveiled. Busts of Admiral David Glasgow Farragut and Commander Matthew Fontaine Maury were dedicated. Pilgrimages to Polk Memorial Home and the Hermitage were made, and a pageant, "Tennessee Through the Years," was performed twice during the celebration at Dudley Stadium. The printed program contains brief sketches of Rear Admiral Samuel P. Carter, Rear Admiral Charles St. John Butler, David Glasgow Farragut, and Matthew Fontaine Maury.

Senator Clyde R. Hoey has introduced a resolution in the United States Senate to create a commission of five members to formulate plans for the preservation in Raleigh of the birthplace of Andrew Johnson, seventeenth president of the United States. The house in which President Johnson was born is now standing in Pullen Park, Raleigh.

The remaining building of Jefferson Academy at McLeansville, Guilford County, North Carolina, has been torn down and the timber sold for the erection of other buildings. Jefferson Academy was founded in 1895 by Professor Charles D. Cobb and was operated until about 1912. Several students from Guilford County who attended this academy later became successful in the economic and political life of that community.

Mr. D. L. Corbitt of the State Department of Archives and History has been appointed chairman of the committee on amendments to the constitution of The American Association for State and Local History. Other members on the committee are: Mr. Melvin J. Weig, Morristown, New Jersey; Mr. Willard C. Wichers, Holland, Michigan; Mr. David C. Duniway, Salem, Oregon; and Miss Frances M. Hails, Montgomery, Alabama. This committee will this fall make a report on Amendments to the constitution at the meeting of The Association in Washington.

The Archivist of the United States has announced the opening of the search room of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. Manuscript materials now available for use at the Library include letters and documents relating to the business, legal, and domestic activities of the Roosevelt family, 1751-1928; papers relating to prominent Hudson Valley families in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; manuscripts on American naval history from the Revolution to World War I; and certain sections of Mr. Roosevelt's White House central files for the years 1933-41. The latter include correspondence, reports, and memoranda on the administration of government agencies; correspondence on the enactment of legislation; letters from the public expressing opinions on matters of national controversy; and some correspondence on important events.

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, director of the State Department of Archives and History, on April 8, delivered an address, "A Historical Tour of the Old North State," at a meeting of the Colonial Dames, New York City.

An article entitled "The North Carolina State Department of Archives and History and its Manuscript Collections," by Dr. Christopher Crittenden appeared in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, March, 1946.

An article entitled "History as a Living Force," by Dr. Christopher Crittenden, appeared in *Michigan History Magazine*, April-June, 1946.

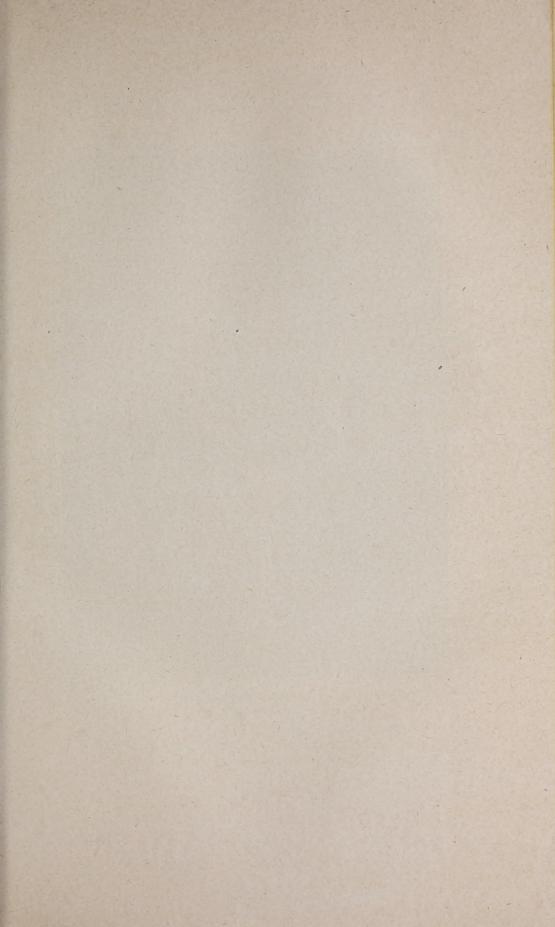
The North Carolina Society of County Historians met at Ira Weldon's Mill in Franklin County on June 16, and were the guests of Dr. D. T. Smithwick of Louisburg, vice president of the Association. A barbecue dinner was served after the regular meeting. The group before noon made a tour of several historical sites and after dinner continued the tour. Such places as old Bute County courthouse, the grave of Annie Carter Lee, daughter of Robert E. Lee, the home of Charles F. Best, Cassine, and other pre-Revolutionary homes were visited. This was the first post war tour by the historians.

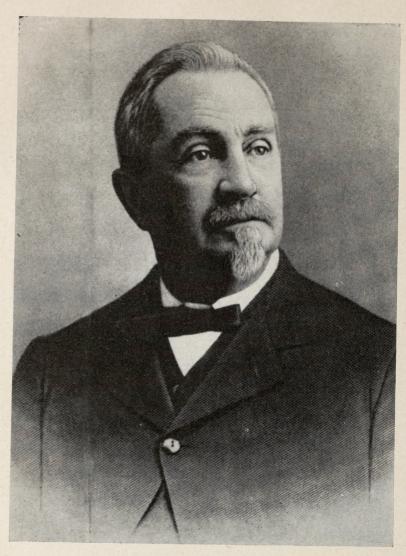
On June 26 Granville County held its bicentennial celebration with a morning, afternoon, and evening meeting sponsored by the civic clubs of Oxford. At the morning meeting Mr. Robert Lee Humber of Greenville delivered an address on banishing war and at the evening meeting Dr. C. Sylvester Green, editor of the Durham Herald, delivered an address. A community sing was held at the afternoon session.

An old print showing Arthur Onslow presiding over the House of Commons of which he was speaker, 1727-1761, has been presented to the people of Onslow County by Lady Halifax, a direct descendant of Arthur Onslow and wife of the former British Ambassador to the United States. Onslow County, named in honor of Arthur Onslow, was established in 1734 from New Hanover County. Jacksonville is the county seat.

The following North Carolinians have been awarded fellowships from the Julius Rosenwald fund: Das. Kelley Barnett, Chapel Hill; Vladimir Eugene Hartman, Asheville; Edna Catherine Cooper (University of North Carolina), Chapel Hill; John Tate Lanning (Duke University), Durham; Elizabeth Head Vaugh (University of North Carolina), Chapel Hill; Willis Duke Weatherford, Jr. (Fisk University, Nashville), Biltmore; Ann Carolyn White (University of Chicago), Wilmington; and Wilmoth Annette Carter (Atlantic University), Gastonia.

Books received include Samuel Bryant Turrentine, A Romance of Education; Greensboro Female Colleges (Greensboro: The Piedmont Press, 1946); Thomas Tileston Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia, 1706-1776 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945, second printing, 1946); Frank J. Klingberg, Carolina Chronicle, The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946); Josephus Daniels, The Wilson Era, Years of War and After, 1917-1923 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); J. T. Salter, Public Men (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946); Florida Becomes A State (Tallahassee: Florida Centennial Commission, 1945); J. G. Randall, Lincoln and the South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946); Tennessee, Old and New (Nashville: Tennessee Historical Commission, 1946); Louise Frederick Hays, The Hero of Hornet's Nest (Cynthiana, Kentucky: The Hobson Book Press, 1946; Thomas Cary Johnson, Junior, A Proclamation for Setling the Plantation of Virginia (Charlottesville: The Tracy W. McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1946); Albert Hazen Wright, Our Georgia-Florida Frontier, the Okefinokee Swamp, its History and Cartography, Volume I, Studies in History Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 (Ithaca, New York: A. H. Wright, 1945).





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GEORGE DAVIS, NORTH CAROLINA WHIG AND CONFEDERATE STATESMAN, 1820-1896

By FLETCHER M. GREEN

During the autumn of 1860 and winter of 1861 momentous events shook the United States to its very foundations and rent the great American Republic in twain. On November 6, 1860, Kentucky-born Abraham Lincoln, the "Black Republican" candidate from Illinois, was elected President of the United States. On December 20 South Carolina seceded from the Union and was quickly followed by the six states of the Lower South. On February 4, 1861, delegates from those seven states assembled at Montgomery, Alabama, and on the eighth they organized the Confederate States of America and elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, also Kentucky-born, its President. Meanwhile the moderate men of the Upper South, hoping for some adjustment of the dispute between the free states of the North and the slave states of the South, had joined Northern moderates in Congress in various efforts at compromise. These efforts failed because the Republicans would agree to no compromise on the extension of slavery. In like manner the Virginia Peace Convention failed. Finally on April 12, 1861, Confederate troops fired on Fort Sumter and war between the North and the South had begun. President Lincoln then called for 75,000 volunteers but Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina, unwilling to join in the coercion of their sister states, seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. Four years of bitter fighting ensued but on April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant and the Union was saved.

One North Carolinian who endeared himself to the people of his state by his role during this stirring period was George Davis of Wilmington. A moderate Unionist, he was a delegate to

the Virginia Peace Convention, Confederate Senator, and Attorney General in President Davis's Cabinet from January 22, 1864, until his resignation on April 26, 1865. He never held any other public office either before or after the Civil War. In spite of the fact that his public career was crowded into the short period from the Peace Convention of February, 1861, to the fall of the Confederacy in April, 1865, Davis takes high rank among North Carolina statesmen. Zebulon Baird Vance, himself one of the state's most revered leaders, said that Davis's example had been of great service "in shaping and toning the political ethics" of North Carolina.2 And Samuel A'Court Ashe wrote that "Among all the great men who had adorned the annals of North Carolina no one deserves to take precedence of George Davis, whose virtues rendered him illustrous, while his abilities. culture and public services gained for him an eminence that no other North Carolinian has enjoyed." 3 This exaggerated estimate may be explained partly by the emotionalism and sentimentalism centering around the Civil War and the "Lost Cause," but these alone do not account for the deep hold Davis gained on North Carolinians. One must search deeper into the career, contributions, and the character of this man if he is to understand his stature and place in history.

In 1641 Roger Moore initiated a project to expel the English from Ireland and thus to bring freedom to his beloved isle. The Irish Rebellion, however, was marked by such cruelty and barbarity that Moore abandoned the cause and was later exiled to Flanders. In 1643 Robert Yeomans, sheriff of Bristol, was captured and executed by the Parliamentary forces because of his loyalty and devotion to the crown. In 1665 John, son of Robert Yeomans, secured a grant of land as well as a title from the king, in recognition of his family's loyalty and misfortunes, and led a colony to Old Town Creek near the present site of Wilmington, North Carolina. He later removed to South Carolina and became governor in 1671. And about 1690 James Moore, grandson of Roger the rebel, settled on the Cape Fear and in 1700 he too became governor. Moore married the daughter of Yeomans:

¹ Charles Chilton Pearson, "George Davis," Dictionary of American Biography, V, 114-115, 2 A Memorial of the Hon. George Davis (Wilmington: Wilmington Chamber of Commerce, 1896), p. 28.

3 Samuel A'Court Ashe, "George Davis," Biographical History of North Carolina from Colonial Times to the Present, II, 71.

thus were mingled the blood of the exiled rebel and that of the loyalist victim.4 George Davis was a descendant of this union.5 and he inherited and cherished the love of freedom, the bold and intrepid spirit, and the humanitarian qualities of Roger Moore and the loyalty and devotion of Yeomans. Davis in turn was to exhibit a love of country, devotion to a cause, unswerving loyalty, and qualities of leadership similar to those of his forbears.

The Davis family came to North Carolina from England by way of Massachusetts and South Carolina. Jehu, first of the name to arrive, reached the Cape Fear region about 1725; his son Thomas married Mary Moore, daughter of James Moore and his wife, the daughter of John Yeomans. Thomas and Mary (Moore) Davis were the grandparents of George Davis. George's parents were Thomas Frederick and Sarah Isabella (Eagles) Davis. The Davis family, closely related to the Ashe, Jones, Lillington, Moore, and Swann families of the Cape Fear region, was long noted for its culture, political leadership, and religious devotion. It was a family of big planters, numerous slaves, and much wealth.6

George Davis was born on his father's plantation, Porter's Neck, in New Hanover (now Pender) County on March 1, 1820. He attended H. H. Harden's school at Pittsboro, and was tutored and prepared for college by Moses A. Curtis, afterwards a botanist and minister of Hillsboro.7 George entered the University of North Carolina at the age of fourteen and was graduated four years later in a tie for first honor with Green M. Cuthbert. On drawing lots, Davis drew the prize for valedictory. He had been commencement speaker in 1836 and 1837.8 Davis's valedictory address made a deep impression on the audience by reason of its beautiful imagery, lofty sentiments, high ideals, and the impassioned eloquence with which it was delivered.9 While a college student, Davis in a boyish fancy inserted "R" as a middle initial

⁴ George Davis, Address Delivered Before the Two Literary Societies of the University of North Carolina, June 6, 1855 (Raleigh: Holden and Wilson, 1855), pp. 6-7.

5 C. C. Pearson, "George Davis," p. 114.

6 Henry Groves Connor, George Davis (Wilmington: The Cape Fear Chapter, No. 3, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1911), pp. 9-10.

7 Samuel A'Court Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis to the Supreme Court of North Carolina," 170 North Carolina Reports (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1915), 202

Court of North Carolina, 110 North Carolina Reports (Salegh: Barbara 1916), p. 802.

8 Kemp Plummer Battle, History of the University of North Carolina from Its Beginning to the Death of President Swain, 1789-1868 (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1907), I, 439, 423, 433.

9 A Memorial of the Hon. George Davis, p. 7.

in his name. This was dropped when he left college because his fellow students had insisted that it stood for "Rascal." 10

The eighteen-year-old graduate determined upon the law as a career, and began his study in the office of his brother Thomas Frederick who later became the beloved Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina. After completing his studies he was examined by Judges Thomas Ruffin, William Gaston, and Joseph J. Daniel of the state Supreme Court. He was "found to possess such competent knowledge of the law as to entitle him to admission" to the bar although he was then only twenty years of age. One year later he was admitted to practice before the superior courts of the state. 11

A deep student of history, classical and English literature, and jurisprudence, Davis early made a name for himself at the Wilmington bar when it was noted for its able lawyers. Davis's diligent study and application to his duties brought him renown, although his brilliant mind and eloquent tongue were valuable assets. He sought and won "professional rewards by close application and painstaking preparation." A lucid and eloquent debater, Davis was also a "calm and conscientious and wise adviser. His speeches were often eloquent and listening to him, you always knew you were addressed by a good man. His views were always as broad as they were dispassionate." 12

Davis's specialty was corporation law; he served as counsel for the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad from its beginning and was with the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad until his death. But Davis made a reputation also in maritime and criminal law and in equity practice. The following account, taken from a newspaper reporter's story, is fairly typical of the reaction to Davis's speeches before the courts.

The Hon. George Davis next arose and addressed the Court and the jury in that eloquent and forcible strain so habitual to his pleadings. The Justice upon the Bench, the Jury, the Members of the Bar, and the whole number of spectators were held spell-bound during the whole

¹⁰ Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina, I, 440.
11 H. G. Connor, George Davis, p. 11.
12 "Biographical Sketch of the Honorable George Davis," Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session of the North Carolina Bar Association held at Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, N. C. August 2, 3, 4, 1915 (Wilmington: Wilmington Stamp and Printing Company, 1915), pp. 267-269. James Sprunt in Proceedings of the State Literary and Historical Association (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, 1919), pp. 21, says this sketch was written by Eugene S. Mortin Martin.

of his argument. The eloquence of the distinguished gentleman is undescribable; his genius stood forth, radiant and clear, surrounded by that unclouded brilliancy, which is ever attendant upon true genius. His argument was forcible and incontestible, and founded upon fair and undeniable facts. 13

This glowing account was written of Davis's speech in the case of The State vs. William S. McDonald, keeper of a junk shop, who had been charged with stealing old railroad iron from the Wilmington and Weldon Railroad. Davis was employed to assist the state solicitor in the prosecution. In view of the reporter's words one need not be surprised to learn that the defendant was found guilty.

Davis was a noted speaker and lecturer. So popular was he that he was often forced to decline invitations. 14 His audience ranged from university groups to agricultural societies, lawyers' clubs, historical associations, and legislative assemblies. His lectures were generally historical in nature, and some were biographical and eulogistic. The first of his biographical papers, Eulogy on the Life and Services of Henry Clay, will be noted elsewhere in this study. Two others were memorial addresses on his two great Confederate heroes, Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee. Neither makes any great contribution to the knowledge of these men, but both give us an insight into the loyalty of Davis to his convictions and to his superior officers. The address on Davis¹⁵ is of some importance in an understanding of President Davis's problems, for his Attorney General was not only one of the President's warmest and most intimate friends but also one of his closest advisers. In like manner the "Letter from Hon. George Davis Late Attorney-General of the Confederate States" to Major W. T. Walthall is an important source of the last days of the Confederate cabinet. 16

But Davis's chief historical works have to do with the Cape Fear region during the colonial period. The first of these, "Early Times and Men of the Lower Cape Fear," 17 was a real contribu-

¹³ Wilmington Daily Journal, June 17, 1866.

14 See for instance the correspondence concerning his invitation to address the North Carolina Agricultural Society in 1856, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, editor, The Papers of Thomas

lina Agricultural Society in 1856, J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, editor, The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, II, 524, 526.

15 In Memoriam Wilmington's Tribute of Respect to Ex-President Davis (Wilmington: Messenger Steam Power Press, 1890), pp. 9-13.

16 Published in Southern Historical Society Papers (Richmond: Southern Historical Society), V (March, 1878), 124-126.

17 George Davis, Address Delivered before the Two Literary Societies of the University of March Carolina, Lung 8, 1955, 28 pages

North Carolina, June 6, 1855, 36 pages.

tion to the colonial history of North Carolina, although a recent writer has declared that it is "no longer accepted as final." 18 In the address Davis lamented the fact that so little work had been done in early North Carolina history and that much of what had been done was inaccurately written. He realized that his "time and opportunities for research have been too limited," but, even so, he corrected errors in Martin, Williamson, Wheeler, and Bancroft. 19 In the thirty-six pages there are some eighty-two footnotes including not only the historians already named but also several others, as well as periodicals, court records, and manuscripts.

In two other papers, "A Study of Colonial History" 20 and "An Episode in Cape Fear History,"21 both published in the 1870's, Davis further developed his views on colonial history. In the first Davis takes up in particular Carey's Rebellion and shows how Chalmers, Oldmixon, Hawks, Williamson, Lawson, and even Bancroft "derive all their information from the government party, and treading in each others footsteps have told only the story of this party and have greatly misrepresented the motives, the characters and the actions of the men who were opposed to it." 22 Bancroft, says Davis, is very unreliable, his "coloring is always wrong, the facts usually perverted." Yet, he continues,

one of the highest offices of history -[is] to paint for us men and manners as they were.... My only object is to protest against considering him [Bancroft] infallible, and assigning to him, any more than to the rest, that ultimate, dogmatic authority in our history, which is to cut off all appeal, and preclude all inquiry, and all right of independent judgment.23

In an address at the Greensboro Female College in 1856, entitled "A Rich and Well Stored Mind," Davis extolled the virtues of a broad and liberal education. He urged the young ladies of the college to study the sciences, chemistry and physics, as

¹⁸ C. C. Pearson, "George Davis," p. 114.

19 "Editorial Table," The North Carolina University Magazine, V (March, 1856), 87-88, deals with the correction of errors in regard to the career of George Burrington, first royal

deals with the correction of errors in regard to the career of George Burrington, first royal governor of North Carolina.

20 George Davis, A Study in Colonial History: A Lecture Delivered before the Historical Society, of Wilmington, the 26th day of November, A.D., 1879 (Wilmington: Jackson and Bell, 1889), 34 pages.

21 George Davis, "An Episode in Cape Fear History," The South Atlantic: A Monthly Magazine of Literature, Science and Art, III (January, 1879), 245-269.

22 George Davis, A Study in Colonial History, p. 3.

23 George Davis, A Study in Colonial History, p. 11.

well as literature and music. He deplored the narrow, selfish, and materialistic concept of society that led to heaping praise upon the grasping business man who might acquire a huge fortune while it ignored and soon forgot the man of virtue and good deeds. He felt that Northern society was much more prone to do so than Southern.24

Davis compiled A General Ordinance for the Government of the City of Wilmington, together with the City Charter.²⁵ Many other addresses and lectures of Davis are reported in the press of the state. Judge Henry Groves Connor said that Davis's writings "were models of high thinking, noble expression, historical research, and wise reflection," and should be compiled and published. Judge Connor felt that "No man knew better, few as well, as did Mr. Davis, and none in such noble, but simple eloquence told with faithful accuracy, in glowing language, the story of the part borne by the men of the lower Cape Fear in the struggle for independence."26

Davis possessed many of the qualities of a good historian. Without formal training, he loved research and did a good deal of it. His legal work was beneficial in his historical research. It developed the "habit of minute reference to all available sources of information." This practice of going to the sources led Davis to "document every debatable position by detailed citations from histories, magazines, diaries, reminiscences, deeds, journals, memoirs, trials and epitaphs," at a time when scientific historical scholarship in America was in its infancy. Davis had a command of language that enabled him to select the correct word for his exact shade of meaning; and his style was always "clear, strong and flexible."27 Again Davis possessed broad learning of literature that, together with his knowledge of history, enabled him to interpret his materials and to relate them to the general stream of history. Finally he had both historical imagination and sound independent judgment. As a young man of twentyfive, he exposed the inaccuracies of well established historians. For him to attack Bancroft, the first great national historian of

²⁴ George Davis, Address Delivered Before the Young Ladies of Greensboro Female College, 14th May, 1856 (Greensboro: The Times Job Office, 1856), p. 3.
25 Wilmington: Bernard's Printing and Publishing House, 1867.
26 H. G. Connor, George Davis, p. 9.
27 See Charles Alphonso Smith, "George Davis," in Edwin Anderson Alderman and others, editors, Library of Southern Literature, III, 1229.

the United States, indicated a high degree of intellectual courage.

Davis was by conviction and association a Whig in politics. He was an ardent admirer of Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Zachary Taylor, Edward Everett, and other national Whig leaders, many of whom he knew personally. When Henry Clay visited Wilmington on April 9, 1844, Davis had the great pleasure of being one of Clay's escort committee to Charleston, South Carolina.28 And upon Clay's death, Davis was appointed to deliver a eulogy on the deceased leader.²⁹ The daily press, even the Democratic Wilmington Journal, praised the speech highly. In it Davis gave vent to his own support of a vigorous nationalist policy. He praised the militant, jingoistic spirit of Clay and other War Hawks of 1812 and the basic principles of Clay's "American System." In particular he championed federal aid to internal improvements. It is interesting to note that Davis, as do many present-day historians, erroneously gave Clay full credit for putting through the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

Davis took an active interest in the national presidential elections. In 1848 he joined with other Wilmington Whigs in calling a meeting of all those interested in advocating Zachary Taylor for President. He served as one of the secretaries of the meeting and also on the resolutions committee. He decried the evils of party spirit, interested only in the success of party or faction and willing to sacrifice "learning, ability, statesmanship, and integrity." He called upon both Whigs and Democrats who loved their country to pledge themselves to "support no man for its highest office who is not good, honest and true" to its best interests. In closing the committee asked the people to support Zachary Taylor, "him whose greatness is his honesty and simplicity." ³⁰

When the Whig party died because of the Compromise of 1850 and the issue of slavery in the territories, Davis was left without a party. He refused to ally himself with the Native American or Know Nothing party and he could not support the new Republican party on the slavery issue. When the presidential cam-

²⁸ James Sprunt, Chronicles of the Cape Fear River. Being Some Account of Historic Events on the Cape Fear River (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton, 1914), p. 159.

29 George Davis, Eulogy on the Life and Services of Henry Clay, Delivered in the Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, N. C., on the 15th July, 1852 (Wilmington: Herald Book and Job Office, 1852), 18 pages.

30 Wilmington Journal, February 4, 1848.

paign of 1860 got under way, Davis joined the group opposed to the extreme Southern Democrats. In March, 1860, he presided over a Wilmington meeting called to appoint delegates to a district opposition convention.³¹ Later in the campaign he openly supported John Bell and Edward Everett, the Constitutional Union candidates. Speaking at a Bell-Everett meeting in October, he declared that the Democratic party was "disrupted and used up." He went into "a long and elaborate argument to show that Mr. Douglas' peculiar dogma of Squatter Sovereignty, or nonintervention as he calls it, is not only right but the doctrine to which the Democratic party had been committed." He further declared that preservation of the Union was the major issue in the campaign.³² Edward Everett was introduced by Davis when he spoke in Wilmington in 1859 and later declared that no one in all his travels and speaking engagements had exceeded his own eloquence except George Davis.33

Davis sought no office or preferment for himself, but he was a student of politics and a close observer of the trend of events. He ardently supported the broad policies of government carried out by Governors John Motley Morehead, William A. Graham, and Charles Manly. Something of a conservative in his own philosophy, Davis nevertheless advocated such changes as promised to promote the welfare of the state or to increase the happiness and prosperity of its people. He therefore favored governmental aid to internal improvements and public education. He supported the work of Dr. Frederick Hill in advancing the public school system, and the general program of railway, good roads, and canal construction. In national politics he favored the bank, protective tariff, and internal improvements of the Whigs, but stood with the Democrats on territorial expansion and protection of slavery in the territories.

Despite his many services to the Whig party Davis was never rewarded with office. The Whig state convention of 1848 came within one vote of naming him its candidate for governor but ultimately nominated Charles Manly as a compromise candidate. Davis was not an active candidate and, in fact, did not know his

³¹ Wilmington Journal, March 31, 1860. 32 Wilmington Journal, October 11, 1860. 33 James Sprunt, Chronicles of the Cape Fear, p. 167.

name was before the convention until after Manly had been nominated.34

In line with his views on state development, Davis attended a public meeting in Wilmington on April 4, 1848, in which he urged public subscription for a railroad connecting that city with Manchester, South Carolina. He was appointed one of a committee of three to ascertain the will of the taxpayers on the matter. Ten days later the committee reported back that it had canvassed the people and found them overwhelmingly in favor of a subscription of \$100,000 for the project.³⁵ Davis became general counsel to the road and later drew a decree by which it was sold at the instance of the bondholders. When the road was merged in the Atlantic Coast Line Davis became general counsel for the system.³⁶ He was a stockholder of the Wilmington and Raleigh Railroad Company and played an important role in the expansion of its work.37

Davis was interested in many municipal enterprises. He was a member of the Wilmington Historical Society (before which he read some important historical papers) and of the Thalian Society, and a director of the Bank of Wilmington and of the Wilmington Library Association.³⁸ His work was important in the economic and cultural development of the city.

As the crisis of secession approached, Davis cast his lot with the moderates who hoped to preserve the Union. He was a guiding spirit in calling a meeting at Wilmington on December 11, 1860, "of all persons who desire to preserve the Union of the States as long as it is consistent with our Constitutional rights." He served on the committee on resolutions and, according to his own statement, drew the resolutions of the body. He addressed the gathering and greatly influenced its every action. The resolutions recognized "the Union of States when preserved in its fairness and equality by a just observance of all the guarantees of the Constitution, as an inestimable blessing, and the best form of government the world has ever seen." It was, therefore, "a high and solemn duty incumbent upon every citizen to exhaust every

³⁴ S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," p. 806.
35 Wilmington Journal, April 7, 14, 1848.
36 S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," p. 817.
37 Proceedings of the Stockholders of the Wilmington & Raleigh R. R. Company, at their Fifteenth Annual Meeting, Held at Wilmington, North Carolina, November 14th, 1850 (Wilmington T. Loring, 1850), pp. 4-5.
38 Wilmington Journal, September 26, 1861; Daily Journal, January 18, 1866.

effort for its preservation consistent with our safety and honor." Recognizing the existing "state of public affairs to be in the highest degree threatening and dangerous" to the "rights and security" of the American people, Davis still hoped that "prudence, moderation and patriotism" might "find a remedy within the Union." He was, therefore, "opposed to immediate and separate secession" of North Carolina. While cherishing the Union and "determined to use all honorable efforts for its preservation," Davis was unwilling to live in "such a state of excitement, alarm and danger" as then obtained; therefore "the present crisis ought not to be suffered to pass away without such a satisfactory adjustment upon terms and guarantees demanded by a united South, as will put at rest all disturbing questions at once and forever." To the Davis resolutions was added one other that declared North Carolina "cannot honorably secede from the Union without consulting her revolutionary sisters, Maryland and Virginia." All the resolutions were unanimously approved.

The meeting urged the call of a state convention; requested the state legislature to call a conference of all the Southern states "to establish unity of feeling and concert of action, and to consult for the common safety and welfare" of the South; and called upon the legislature to make liberal appropriations for the military organization of the state.³⁹ The legislature, already in session, took action generally in accord with the Davis resolutions. It called for a vote on a convention and for the election of delegates if the people favored a convention, and it appropriated \$300,000 for the purchase of arms and muntions. The convention bill, passed on January 29, 1861, provided for the election of delegates on February 18, and the assembling of the convention on March 11. The people, however, voted adversely on the convention.⁴⁰

Already the North Carolina legislature on January 26, in response to Virginia's request, had decided to send delegates to the peace convention, and elected Judge Thomas Ruffin, former governors John M. Morehead and David S. Reid, Daniel M. Barringer, and George Davis as the state's delegation. They were instructed to work with delegates from the other states "in devis-

³⁹ Wilmington Journal, December 13, 1860.
40 Joseph Carlyle Sitterson, The Secession Movement in North Carolina, pp. 185, 187, 208.

ing some plan for settling the unhappy sectional differences which have agitated the public mind and endangered the Union."41

The Virginia peace convention recommended seven resolutions to Congress to be added as amendments to the Constitution of the United States. These amendments would have been as follows: (1) slavery would have been prohibited north of parallel 36° 30' and property in slaves south of that line would have been protected; (2) the acquisition of any new territory by the United States would have been prohibited without the concurrence of a majority of the senators of both the free and the slave states; (3) neither the Constitution nor any amendment thereof should be construed to give Congress power to regulate, control, or to abolish the relation of slaves to masters in any state, or in the District of Columbia without the consent of Maryland and of the owners and then with compensation, or to prohibit the transit of slaves from one state to another where slavery was recognized; (4) the Constitution should not be construed so as to prevent the return of fugitive slaves; (5) the foreign slave trade was to be forever prohibited; (6) these amendments were to be amended only by the unanimous consent of the states; and (7) Congress should provide by law for the payment to the owner for any fugitive slave whose recovery was prevented by action of others.42

The North Carolina delegation supported unanimously the third and fourth resolutions. It divided on the others with Ruffin and Morehead voting for and Barringer, Davis, and Reid voting against. "Ruffin and Morehead thought it their duty not to reject absolutely any guarantees, which the non-slaveholding States might offer for the security of the slaveholding States, but to submit them to the people of North Carolina for acceptance or rejection." But "Reid, Barringer and Davis, were of opinion, that those sections [1, 2, 5, 6, and 7] ought not to be and would not be satisfactory to North Carolina." 43 Davis claimed that he held the balance of power between the two groups; and the reaction

⁴¹ Wilmington Journal, January 31, 1861; Hamilton, The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, III,

<sup>134.

42</sup> The complete resolutions are in the "Report of the Commissioners of North Carolina" to Governor John W. Ellis, Hamilton, The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, III, 135-137.

43 See the "Report of the Commissioners from North Carolina" to Governor John W. Ellis, Hamilton, The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, III, 134.

of Morehead and other Whigs seems to bear him out. Morehead wrote Ruffin that, while the resolutions gave general satisfaction, Davis "made a strong speech vs. them" and represented "them as a rickety affair." ⁴⁴ And Jonathan Worth wrote his brother that "our quondam friend Geo. Davis" had "gone over, whatever he may think or say, to "Democracy and red Republicanism. . . . You ought not to regard him as a Whig." ⁴⁵

Davis's speech, referred to by Morehead, was delivered by request at a public meeting in Wilmington, North Carolina, on March 2, 1861. In it Davis declared that he had gone to the peace convention prepared

to exhaust every honorable means to obtain a fair, an honorable, and a final settlement of existing difficulties. He had done so to the best of his abilities and had been unsuccessful; for he could never accept the plan adopted by the "Peace Congress" as consistent with the rights, the interests or the dignity of North Carolina. Never! . . [He took the ground] that the present crisis ought not to be suffered to pass away without such a satisfactory adjustment . . . as will put at rest all disturbing questions at once and forever. To do this it must strike at the root of the matter. It must distinctly acknowledge and guarantee property in slaves, and extend to such property full and adequate protection as to any other specie of property.

And, he declared:

No arrangement had been made — none would be made. The decision must be made on the line of slavery. The South must go with the South . . . or as the tail-end and victim of a Free Soil North. [Furthermore the Republicans have] passed the most oppressive tariff that had ever been heard of. They would tax us to death to protect and build up themselves, and at the same time pay the agents of the Underground Railroad for running off our Negroes.

[He emphatically declared] that the South could never—never obtain any better or more satisfactory terms while she remains in the present Union, and for his part he could never assent to the terms obtained in this report of the Peace Congress.⁴⁶

The Democratic and secessionist Daily Journal, commenting upon the powerful appeal of Davis, said: "Mr. Davis is no fire

 ⁴⁴ Hamilton, The Papers of Thomas Ruffin, III, 138.
 45 J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, editor, The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, I, 134.
 46 Daily Journal, March 4, 1861.

eater. He has always been a consistent Union man—a member of the 'Union Party.' He has come to his present conclusion because he has kept his eyes and ears open and what he has seen and heard, have forced him to it." 47 In like manner Judge Ruffin changed his views. Speaking at Hillsboro, he said North Carolina must "Fight! Fight! Fight!" 48 The tide of public opinion in the state had begun to turn toward secession and Davis did much to affect it. When Lincoln called for volunteers a convention was called that voted unanimously for secession and joining the Confederacy.

Davis's name was proposed as a candidate for a vacancy in the North Carolina convention, but he published a card declining to run. In spite of this fact a large number of votes were cast for him.49 But if he refused to serve in the convention he was interested in the morale of the state troops called into the field. On May 18 he wrote to Captain W. L. DeRosset, of the Wilmington Light Infantry, saying: "Thinking it might in some slight degree relieve the tedium of Camplife, I send the boys a little song I have written for their anniversary." The song entitled "Carolina Sons Are Ready," contained five stanzas and was to be sung to the tune of "Dixie Land." The first stanza reads as follows:

> Our gallant boys are going to battle Seeking fame where the cannon rattle Look away, look away, Cheer the boys! Oh cheer them on in the path of duty To fight for home and love and beauty Look away, look away, Cheer the boys. 50

But there was more important work for Davis than songwriting. On June 18, the state convention elected delegates to the provisional Confederate Congress. The old Union men met, presided over by William A. Graham, and nominated candidates, but the independent voters decided the elections and delegates from both parties were chosen.⁵¹ George Davis led the ticket for

⁴⁷ Daily Journal, March 4, 1861.
48 J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina (New York: Columbia University Press, 1914), p. 19.
49 Daily Journal, June 3, 1861.
50 The entire song may be found in the Daily Journal of May 23, 1861.
51 Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, pp. 33-34.

the state at large and W. W. Avery, an early secessionist, joined him as the other North Carolina Senator. 52 Davis was reelected for the first full term in 1862. When the General Assembly met to elect senators in 1864 the conservatives were in full control and, under the leadership of W. W. Holden, they mapped a plan whereby every person who had supported the Davis Administration, "Destructives" Holden's Standard called them, was to be defeated. Davis was defeated and was succeeded by William A. Graham.53

Davis took his seat in the Confederate Congress on July 20, 1861, and his term expired in February, 1864. As a Senator, he was friendly to the administration but independent in his voting. His work in Congress enhanced his reputation for wisdom and patriotism. One writer declared that his services in that body were "indispensable."

During the closing months of 1863, President Davis sought some one of ability and proper political affiliation to head the Department of Justice. He found his man in George Davis who was then under fire from Holden and the peace group in North Carolina. After the defeat of Davis President Davis appointed him Attorney General on December 31, 1863. The appointment was generally pleasing to the press and the people of the Confederacy, and Davis was unanimously confirmed by the Confederate Senate on January 4, 1864.54

Davis took office on January 22, 1864. Many of his duties were mere routine; these he performed with dispatch, and with satisfaction to the President. He also wrote seventy-four opinions. Sometimes inconsistent, his opinions were usually sound and logical. He decided in October, 1864, that he had no power to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, thus reversing an earlier opinion. Davis was a strict constructionist, but had the courage to disregard precedent and law when necessary.56 President Davis did not always see eye to eye with his Attorney General, but he generally found the advice of his cabinet officer

⁵² Journal of the Convention of North Carolina. Held on the 20th Day of May, A.D., 1861 (Raleigh: John W. Syme, 1862), pp. 119-120.
53 Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, p. 46.
54 William M. Robinson, Jr., Justice in Grey. A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States of America, p. 38.
55 Robinson, Justice in Grey, pp. 520, 528; Rembert Wallace Patrick, Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet, pp. 312-314.

sound and correct.⁵⁶ Augustus H. Garland, Confederate Senator and later Attorney General of the United States under President Grover Cleveland, said that Davis's

discharge of the duties of that office [Attorney General] won for him not only the commendation of his great chief, who was warmly attached to him, but the applause of the Congress and of the officials of the Government. His opinions were fine specimens of good, pure English, and of a clear forcible logic in law. He was rare indeed as a counsellor.⁵⁷

Davis's hope for Southern independence failed after the surrender of General Lee, and his last opinion, written in regard to the terms granted General Joseph E. Johnston by General William T. Sherman, urged President Davis to accept defeat, disband the remaining armies, and resign his office. Written in haste and without time for polishing, this opinion displays the "same clarity and flexibility of mind evident in his more leisurely written opinions." ⁵⁸ Davis continued with President Davis and his cabinet to Charlotte, where he resigned his office on April 25, 1865. ⁵⁹

The fall of the Confederacy was indeed a sad blow to Davis. In it his public career had its beginning and its end. But more than that, Davis thoroughly believed in the cause to which he had so entirely committed himself. He voiced his own innermost feelings when he said: "My ambition went down with the banner of the South, and like it, never rose again." ⁶⁰

Having resigned his post near Charlotte, Davis made his way to the home of his brother, Bishop Thomas F. Davis at Camden, South Carolina. Learning of the order for the arrest of high officials of the Confederacy, he left Camden about the middle of May, traveling on horseback as Hugh Thompson. On June 3 he reached the home of his cousin, Mrs. Thomas Hill Love, near Lake City, Florida. From thence he went to the plantation of James Chesnut, Jr., near Gainesville, and thence to Ocala in Sumter County, which Davis declared was the "very verge of civilization and clear beyond good morals and religion." Carefully dis-

⁵⁶ Letters of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, A Memorial of Hon. George Davis, pp. 22-23.
57 Quoted in Eugene S. Martin, "Biographical Sketch of the Honorable George Davis,"
50. 269.

⁵⁹ Letters of Jefferson Davis to George Davis, April 25, 26, 1861, A Memorial of the Hon. George Davis, p. 21.

60 Quoted in A Memorial to the Hon. George Davis, p. 31.

guised, Davis made his way to New Smyrna where he hoped to catch a boat for Nassau and thence to England. But when he "saw the craft in which he [the captain] proposed to make the voyage, I was amazed at the rashness of the undertaking." The little boat, twenty feet long, seven feet wide, with rotten sails and a leaky hull, was unable because of rough seas to complete the six-day voyage to Nassau. Instead it spent thirty-three days "beating about the coast, sometimes on the open sea and sometimes in the bays and among the reefs and keys—often straightened for food, and repeatedly in such imminent peril that nothing but God's Providence saved us from destruction." The boat finally put in at Key West on October 18, 1865. Here Davis was arrested and taken to Fort Lafayette in New York.

When news of Davis's arrest reached Wilmington the editor of the *Daily Journal* declared:

It is unnecessary to bear witness to the purity of his character or the urbanity of his manners. Those to whom for four years, he was diametrically opposed, have paid him perhaps a higher compliment than any partisan could do. Neither by Federal open foe, or quasi Confederate secret destroyer, has his name ever been coupled with cruelty or corruption. . . . We are candid and sincere when we say that President Johnson could make no more acceptable use of the pardoning power than by releasing Mr. Davis. 62

John Dawson, mayor of Wilmington, at the request of the freeholders of the city, called a public meeting "to adopt such measures or take such action as might be necessary to insure a speedy application for pardon"; and the *Daily Journal* in another glowing tribute declared that, since "none could have been more scrupulously pure," no one could hesitate to sign the petition. Such a petition, said the editor, "will meet with less opposition than that of almost any other Confederate official." ⁶³ The meeting was held on November 23, attended by a "large and respectable portion of the citizens" of the town, and a committee prepared a petition to President Andrew Johnson. ⁶⁴ From his cell in Fort Lafayette, Davis wrote John Dawson, the mayor, a let-

⁶¹ See Davis's letter to his son Junius, dated November 14, 1865, written on board the U.S.S. Memphis, in S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," pp. 811-812. Alfred J. Hanna, Flight Into Oblivion, pp. 210, 219, 222-223, recounts Davis's efforts to escape.

to escape.
62 Daily Journal, November 20, 1865.
63 Daily Journal, November 21, 22, 1865.
64 Daily Journal, November 23, 1865.

ter of appreciation for the efforts of the people. 65 Davis was paroled on January 2, 1866 and arrived in Wilmington on January 6 where he was received by a large concourse of people with "warm hearts and honest hands." "If there is an honest man in the whole Southern States," said the editor of the Journal, "that man is George Davis." 66

Finally on July 29, 1866, Davis received his pardon. upon the editor of the Journal declared that "throughout the South, by all who honor devotion to principle, honesty of purpose, lofty patriotism and eminent abilities, the intelligence of the pardon of the Attorney General of the Confederate States will be received with pleasure." 67

Davis returned to his home to face poverty and ruin as did most of the Confederate leaders. His "modest competence accumulated during an honorable lifetime had been swept away"; his home, an "ordinary dwelling house," had been taken over by the Freedmen's Bureau; and his six children were motherless and in want.68

Although faced by ruin, Davis did not whine or complain of his fate. He applied himself diligently to his profession, hoping once again to provide adequately for his family. He eschewed any political action for himself but threw the weight of his influence in favor of complete reconciliation of the sections and the readjustment of the governmental relations of the Southern states with the Union. 69 Later the prosecution of Jefferson Davis, the quarrel between President Johnson and the Radicals, and the extreme practices of radical reconstruction, especially the work of the Negro-carpetbag regime in North Carolina, led Davis to speak out openly against the evils of reconstruction. Consequently he was often in the political limelight, although only a private citizen.

Since Davis urged reconciliation and readjustment on the one hand and courageously upheld the rights of the South on the other, he was early suggested as a possible candidate for the governorship. A correspondent in the Charlotte Democrat, de-

⁶⁵ Daily Journal, December 20, 1865.

⁶⁵ Daily Journal, December 20, 1806.
⁶⁶ Daily Journal, January 3, 9, 1866.
⁶⁷ Daily Journal, July 31, 1866.
⁶⁸ Jonathan Worth to President Johnson, in Hamilton, The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth, 1, 549; see also S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," pp. 809, 812.
⁶⁹ C. Alphonso Smith, "George Davis," III, 1225.

siring to "reconcile the conflict between the old parties and geographical jealousies," recommended "Robert P. Dick, of Guilford (Democrat and Western man), for Governor, and Hon. George Davis, of New Hanover (Whig and Eastern man), for Lieutenant Governor." To this the editor of the Daily Journal said: "We would respectfully suggest to this correspondent that . . . he has placed the 'cart before the horse.' If he would acknowledge his mistake, we would like the ticket much better." 70

In 1866 Davis, William A. Graham, George Howard, and R. C. Puryear were chosen by a state convention as delegates at large to the Philadelphia convention for the purpose of uniting the moderate Republicans and the Democrats in support of Andrew Johnson.⁷¹ Some twelve thousand people, Democrats, Republicans, and former Whigs, Northerners and Southerners, attended the convention. They sang "Rally Round the Flag Boys" and "Dixie" too; they drew up a "Declaration of Principles" and an "Address to the People"; and they pledged their support to Johnson. Davis could heartily endorse such statements as that no state or combination of states could exclude "any state or states from the Union," and that "History affords no instance where a people so powerful in numbers, in resources, and in public spirit, after a war so long in its duration and so adverse in its issue, have accepted defeat and its consequences with so much good faith as have marked the conduct of the people lately in insurrection against the United States." 72 These fitted in with his ideas of the South and reconstruction.

The defeat of Johnson by the Radicals and the extreme program of radical reconstruction measures led Davis to enter actively into the fight against the ratification of the constitution of 1868. When it was announced that he would address a Conservative rally at Wilmington on April 14 the desire to hear the brilliant orator was so great that, in spite of "very inclement weather," Thalian Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity. In opening his address, Davis said that "he had thought never again to have appeared before his friends in a capacity like the present. His voice, he thought was silent and buried forever in the

⁷⁰ Daily Journal, June 28, 1866.
71 Daily Journal, August 11, 1866.
72 The National Union Convention, Its History and Proceedings. Assembled in Philadelphia, Tuesday, Aug. 14, and Adjourned Thursday, August 16, 1866 (Philadelphia: Barclay and Company, 1866), pp. 39-41.

grave where constitutional liberty had been interred." But the voice of duty had called and he could no longer remain silent. He then took up "the miserable child of the infamous Convention, with bold effrontery called a Constitution" and "literally picked it to pieces." He called attention to "its revolting, sickening, degrading features." He vindicated "the rights and principles of the freemen of North Carolina" and exposed the "hideous nakedness and loathesome" actions of the "saintly, pious, disinterested Radical missionaries, who seek to rob us of our sustenance and degrade us and our posterity."

One of his audience declared that the paramount effect of the speech was "to determine all white men who heard it, except perhaps a few sneaks, to VOTE AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION AT ALL HAZARDS." ⁷³ But Davis labored in vain, for the people ratified the constitution by a large majority. Davis joined in the successful movement for a convention in 1875 to amend the reconstruction constitution. ⁷⁴ During this campaign he spoke effectively to large audiences in Wilmington, Goldsboro, and Raleigh.

While Davis himself sought no office, his friends and supporters continued to urge him for high position. He was urged to make the race for governor in 1876 but declined to do so. In 1877, when the chief justiceship of the state Supreme Court became vacant, "the people of North Carolina instinctively and, almost with one consent cast their eyes upon Mr. George Davis." Governor Vance offered Davis the post but he declined it, saying that "To fill it worthily would be the highest reach of my ambition." The reason Davis gave for declining was that he "could not live upon the salary. . . . [And] One of my first duties in life now is to endeavor to make some provision for the little children that have come to me." In acknowledging Davis's refusal, Governor Vance said:

You are one of the men who have steadily pursued principle for its own sake, spurning alike the temptations of office and the lures of ambition when they come not strictly within the utmost requirements

⁷³ Daily Journal, April 15, 1868.
74 J. G. deR. Hamilton, Reconstruction in North Carolina, p. 605.

of dignity and manly honor. . . . In attempting to honor you by the bestowment of that great office I have also attempted to show what is my own sense of State honor, as well as to give expression to the general voice of our people. 75

Davis did render the state a special service in 1879-1880. Governor Thomas J. Jarvis received an offer from William J. Best and associates of New York for the purchase of the state-owned Western North Carolina Railroad. He called in George Davis and Thomas Ruffin, explained to them the offer, said that he thought best to accept the generous proposition, and asked them to study it and report back to him. They agreed to do so, gave freely of their time (refusing to accept one cent for their services, even payment for their hotel expenses while in Raleigh), held conferences with Best and his legal adviser, and then made a redraft of the proposition with certain significant changes. Governor Jarvis called a special session of the legislature and submitted the amended proposal to it. Judge Augustus S. Merriman opposed the sale and spoke against it. The legislature then invited Davis to present his views on the issue. He spoke to that body on March 22, 1880.76

Governor Jarvis said that Davis's speech "swept away all opposition, and when the vote was taken but few, in either house, voted against authorizing the sale." Later Davis and Ruffin prepared the deed of sale and the contract for completing the road. Governor Jarvis said "No two men ever served their State more faithfully, more efficiently, or more unselfishly. You can say all you will in commendation of their services and the half will not be told." 77 This action reversed a general policy of the state in regard to railroads and internal improvements. The wisdom of the action may be questioned but not the honesty and sincerity of the actors.

Davis continued the practice of law until his death on February 23, 1896, but, other than to deliver a few historical addresses, he took no further part in public life. He was one of the best

⁷⁵ Raleigh Observer, December 22, 23, 1877; see also the letters of George Davis, Governor Vance, and William L. Saunders in A Memorial to the Hon. George Davis, pp. 26-28.
76 Journal of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina, at its Special Session, 1880 (Raleigh: Hale, Edwards and Broughton, 1880), p. 11 et seq.; Journal of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of North Carolina at its Special Session, 1880 (Raleigh: Hale, Edwards and Broughton, 1880), p. 80.
77 Governor Jarvis's statement of this transaction and Davis's part therein is quoted at length in H. G. Connor, George Davis, pp. 34-36.

loved men produced by the state but it was primarily the character of the man, rather than his deeds, that endeared him to the people. He was a "lawyer of the highest ability, a patriot without personal ends to serve, and a citizen whose character was without a spot. . . . [He was] Eminent for his virtues and for his learning, lofty in his ideals, of high merit in literature, magnificent in oratory, great in his thoughts, and great in his performances." ⁷⁸

Judge Walter G. McRae, mayor of Wilmington, later characterized Davis as a man who "never bowed the knee to Baal, never lowered the standard of right, never stood for anything which his conscience did not approve, never permitted any motive of selfish gain or advancement to move him from his integrity." George Davis despised meanness and duplicity, denounced unfair dealings, excited no animosities, but won the love, admiration, and affection of all who knew him. Davis served his own class but at the same time he worked for the best interests of all the people as he saw them.

⁷⁸ S. A. Ashe, "Presentation of the Portrait of Hon. George Davis," pp. 823-824.

JOE CANNON'S CAROLINA BACKGROUND

By DOROTHY LLOYD GILBERT

When Gulielma Cannon, mother of young Joseph Gurney Cannon, spoke her farewell from the loaded wagon which would carry her to Indiana saying, "Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization," 1 she made her comment on the life she had known in the New Garden community. She also spoke out of her experience in pioneer Indiana and Ohio, for she had spent the early years of her life there, returning to North Carolina in 1819.2 As recently as 1838 she had gone with her husband, Horace F. Cannon, to visit Indiana Yearly Meeting3—these were not "unknow terrors of the western wilds" which lay ahead.4

But emigration was in the air; two members of her own family had already gone to Indiana,⁵ and that state held one great attraction—there was no slavery within its borders; so in 1840 it was "Good-by, North Carolina; good-by, civilization."

New Garden, the community which the Cannons left, was a thriving settlement, a center of North Carolina Quakerism. Friends from Pennsylvania had been the first to arrive in the locality (which is now called Guilford College and lies about six miles west of Greensboro); and they had brought the name from New Garden Meeting in Chester County, Pennsylvania, which in turn had been named for a New Garden Meeting in County Carlow in Ireland.6

A meeting for worship was set up in 1751, and in 1754 since "there were Near or Quite Forty Families of Friends Seated in Them Parts," 7 a monthly meeting was allowed. The meeting

¹ L. White Busbey, Uncle Joe Cannon—the Story of a Pioneer American, p. 10.
2 Minutes of Deep River Monthly Meeting, 9mo/7/1807, "Isaac Hollingsworth and family granted certificate to Miami Monthly Meeting, Ohio." Minutes of Dover Monthly Meeting, 2mo/20/1817, "Susanna, John, Gulielma, Phoebe, Cyrus and Sarah Hollingsworth, children of Isaac, received on certificate from Silver Creek Monthly Meeting, Franklin County, Indiana." Isaac Hollingsworth's own certificate dated 10mo/17/1819 was received at Dover from Blue River Monthly Meeting, Washington County, Indiana. W. W. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy (Ann Arbor, Michigan), I (1936), 594,818. Throughout this article the Quaker form of dates, "12mo/27/1834," etc., is used.
3 Minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting, "8mo/25/1838. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I, 530.
4 Busbey, Uncle Joe Cannon, p. 10.
5 Her sister Phoebe married Nathan Stanley in 1824, and they requested a certificate of removal to Duck Creek Monthly Meeting, Henry County, Indiana, in 1830. Her brother John and his family got a certificate to Pine Creek Monthly Meeting in Indiana in 1836. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I, 548, 596-597.
6 Albert Cook Myers, Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1922), p. 130.

^{1992),} p. 130.

7 Minutes of Perquimans and Little River Quarterly Meeting, 5mo/25/1754. Items from minutes which are not included in Hinshaw's Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy are taken from the manuscript books in the vault at Guilford College, N. C.

grew rapidly: the first great wave of migration came in from Pennsylvania and Virginia between 1751 and 1770, the second from the island of Nantucket between 1771 and 1775, and the third from eastern Carolina during the first half of the nineteenth century.8 In 1776 New Garden Friends, finding the long journey to Perguimans County a wearisome thing to undertake each Eleventh month, suggested that North Carolina Yearly Meeting might convene in the New Garden or Cane Creek neighborhood on alternate years. The request was considered now and then and was granted in 1784. In 1791 North Carolina Yearly Meeting met for the first time at New Garden, much of the interval between 1784 and 1791 having been occupied in planning and building a large meeting house suitable for the annual ses-Since 1791 North Carolina Yearly Meeting has met at New Garden one hundred and twenty times.

Thus the community became an important center for the Society of Friends; not only was there a great ingathering each November, there was also much of the general visitation so effective in binding the Society of Friends together throughout its earlier phases. From the beginning New Garden had no sense of isolation; ninety-three "Public Friends" visited it between 1752 and 1778.9 The practice continued, and during the seven years (1833-1840) in which Horace Cannon was a member of New Garden Meeting at least three parties of well known Friends¹⁰ spent some time in the neighborhood visiting practically every member of the meeting.

Horace F. Cannon, although reared by Friends after the early death of his parents, 11 did not become a member of the Society until $10^{mo}/26/1833$, when he and his two sons Elisha Bates and Isaac Newton Cannon were received on his request at New Garden Meeting. 12 Gulielma Hollingsworth was disowned by Marl-

⁸ There is a full discussion of this migration in my article, "First Friends at New Garden in North Carolina," Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association, XXXIV (1945), 51-63.

9 William Hunt, Account of the Public Friends that hath visited New Garden in Truth's Service from the first settlement of that Meeting in the year 1752, MS. at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia), case 14, box 1.

10 "Jonathan and Hannah C. Blackhouse from England in the course of their religous [sic] visit in these parts acceptably attended this meeting and have visited most of the families belonging thereto where company and gospel labours amongst us have been Sattisfactory and Edifying." Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 12mo/27/1834. There is a similar minute for Daniel Williams and his companion John Maxwell 11mo/30/1839 and Joseph John Gurney spent two months in Carolina in 1837. See below, pp. 479.

11 Busbey, Uncle Joe Cannon, p. 6.

12 Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 10mo/26/1833. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I, 530.

borough Meeting on 12mo/11/1828 for marrying out of unity¹³ but was received as a member at New Garden 10mo/29/1831.14 They left North Carolina in 1840, but in that short space Horace Cannon had succeeded in achieving considerable importance among Friends; in fact he was on his way toward being what was called a "weighty Friend," and his wife Gulielma's name¹⁵ appears several times in the appointments of the Women's Meeting. She was on committees appointed to transcribe minutes, to prepare certificates of removal, and to visit a Friend who had married contrary to the order of Friends, and she was named as a representative to Quarterly Meeting. 16

Horace Cannon's first appointment appears on $3^{mo}/29/1834$ when he was made librarian. In 1832 the meeting had purchased a hundred books "none admitted except those generally approved" and had set up rules for their use: "Books with 250 pages could be kept a month, not exceeding 400 pages, two months and over 400 three months with liability to pay damage for unreasonable use." 17 While Horace Cannon was librarian a few others were received: "1 Evans Exposition, 1 Youthful Piety, 1 Customs and Manners of the Jews, and 3 Decision of the Court of Chancery of the State of New Jersey between Friends and Hicksites." 18 In 1835 he was appointed by New Garden Quarterly Meeting to furnish the Meeting for Sufferings¹⁹ with the number and titles of books in the library, but the list does not appear in any minutes; so a full commentary on the reading habits of New Garden Meeting is lacking.

¹³ Minutes of Marlborough Meeting, 12mo/11/1828. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I, 756. The actual date of the marriage was August 21, 1828, Marriage Bonds of Guilford County (typescript in office of Register of Deeds, Greensboro), p. 62.

14 Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 10mo/29/1831. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I, 530.

15 Gulielma was the given name of William Penn's wife and should have been familiar, but North Carolina Friends spelled it in many ways. Mrs. Cannon's name appears as Gulah, Julia, Guly Elma. The marriage bonds give it as Guilliamma. Horace was also hard to spell, and appears as Haris, Horrace, Horac, Horrice, and Horice.

16 Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 6mo/24/1837, 7mo/29/1837, 1mo/27/1838, 12mo/29/1838, and 2mo/23/1839.

¹⁶ Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 6mo/24/1837, 7mo/29/1837, 1mo/27/1838, 12mo/29/1838, and 2mo/23/1839.

17 Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 12mo/31/1831 and 6mo/30/1832.

18 Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 8mo/30/1834. Thomas Evans wrote An Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers in the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion. It was printed in Philadelphia in 1828, two editions being required that year. Thomas Evans also wrote Examples of Youthful Piety, principally intended for the Instruction of Young Persons. Printed in Philadelphia in 1830, reprinted 1835. The Decision of the Court of Chancery in New Jersey was a pamphlet printed in 1832. See Joseph Smith, Catalogue of Friends Books (London, 1867), II, 578-579, 947.

19 Minutes of New Garden Quarterly Meeting, 6mo/13/1835. The quarterly meeting is the larger body to which the monthly meeting reports certain matters of business; it in turn reports to the yearly meeting. New Garden Quarterly Meeting was established in 1787. The Meeting for Sufferings, originally established in 1824 to direct the liberation of "people of colour," has become the executive body of the Yearly Meeting and is now known as the Permanent Board.

Permanent Board.

Horace Cannon served on committees and as representative to the quarterly meeting.²⁰ In 1838 New Garden Quarterly Meeting made him clerk, and he seems to have held that office until his departure in 1840.21 When he requested a certificate of removal from New Garden Monthly Meeting on 7/25/1840, he asked that a settlement be made with him as clerk of the Quarterly Meeting on behalf of the treasurer of the Yearly Meeting—thus reversing the usual application of certification. No monthly meeting granted certificates until it had ascertained whether or not the applicant had his affairs in order and was clear of debt, for these certificates were the equivalent of recommendations.

The Yearly Meeting bestowed certain duties and honors on Horace Cannon. In 1836, 1837, and 1838 he was on the committee to prepare the epistle sent by North Carolina Yearly Meeting to the other yearly meetings; in 1836 and 1838 he was appointed to assist in transcribing the minutes; in 1837 he was one the committee for improvement of the Discipline; and in 1839 he was named as one of the two assistant clerks.22 The conception of his abilities is clear: Friends believed that in him they had a rising young Friend who could be trusted to phrase their proceedings and their message acceptably. He wrote in a fine hand as his transcription of minutes shows. He was the school teacher supposed to be interested in books and writing.

The period in which Horace Cannon was a member of the Society of Friends in North Carolina was one of intense interest in education for it coincides with the years in which New Garden Boarding School, predecessor of Guilford College, was planned and built and opened.23 At each yearly meeting Nathan Hunt, patriarch and prime mover in the enterprise, prepared a subscription list, started it with his own name and a gift of \$25, and circulated it among Friends. The 1834 list²⁴ contains 95 names: the total subscription is \$236.87½. Four men besides Nathan Hunt gave as much as ten dollars; all of the other sums are smaller. Horace Cannon made one of these \$10 subscriptions.

²⁰ Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 1mo/31/1835, 8mo/29/1835, 5mo/27/1837, 11mo/25/1837, 6mo/29/1839, 5mo/25/1839, 11mo/30/1839, 2mo/29/1840.
21 His successor, James Woody, was appointed on 9mo/17/1840 "in place of Horace F. Cannon moved from this country." Minutes of New Garden Quarterly Meeting, 9mo/17/1840.
22 Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1836, 1837, 1838, 1839.
23 The first move toward founding a school was made in the Yearly Meeting of 1830, and the first plans are dated 1831, the rules 1832; the charter was granted Jan. 13, 1834, land was bought in 1834, and building was started. The school opened August 1, 1837.
24 This list is a manuscript on file at Guilford College.

In 1836 he was a member of the Yearly Meeting Committee which considered the plan for the boarding school.²⁵ These are the only direct evidences of his interest in the great project in Quaker education undertaken by North Carolina Yearly Meeting in the 1830's.

Horace Cannon's principal service to education was given in the Little Brick School, which preceded the boarding school. Although it was a monthly meeting school, the New Garden Minutes contain no hint of the date of its erection. Elijah Coffin taught there in 1816.26 William Williams visited it during the course of his religious labors in North Carolina in 1819 and mentioned the fact that Jeremiah Hubbard was then the teacher.²⁷ It may be that Horace Cannon was one of the students, for his son says that the spinsters who reared him sent him to the academy at New Garden and gave him a medical education.²⁸ The Little Brick School House was the closest thing to an academy which Friends had in the youth of Horace Cannon. As for the medical education, there is not even a mild surmise of what it was. Certainly there was not much time for a medical practice in the busy teaching years of Horace Cannon at New Garden, and no reference, formal or informal, to a Dr. Cannon has yet come to light.

There was no school being conducted at New Garden when in 1830 the Yearly Meeting first came under the burden of the education of its youth and asked each monthly meeting to report on the state of education within its limits. The school committee, thus reminded of its duties, met in June, 1832, procured a teacher for six months, and inserted the following notice in the *Greens-borough Patriot*:

The Managers of the New Garden Monthly Meeting School take this means of informing the public that they have employed

Horace F. Cannon

to take charge of a school under their direction. This school was opened on the last Second Day; and will continue open for the recep-

 ²⁵ Minutes of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1836.
 26 Elijah Coffin, Life with Reminiscences by His Son, Charles F. Coffin (Cincinnati, 1863),

p. 16.
27 William Williams, Journal of the Life, Travels, and Gospel Labours of William Williams, Dec. (Cincinnati, 1828), p. 211.
28 Busbey, Uncle Joe Cannon, p. 6.

tion of students — they, the Managers retaining the discretion to close it when the number shall be deemed sufficiently large.

Parents and Guardians, who may wish to board their children away from home, will find as many advantages in this school as in any other elementary institution in this country.

Spelling, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography (illustrated with large Maps and Globes), Natural Philosophy, the elements of Chemistry and Astronomy, accompanied with the problems on the celestial globes, will be taught at very reduced prices.

The students of this institution will undergo a strict examination, several times in each day. By pursuing this course, their progress in the studies assigned them will be much accellerated.

The scheme will be concluded with a public examination of the students on the branches of education to which their attention was devoted during its continuance.

By order of the Managers²⁹

New Garden 6/6/1832

There were twenty-seven students enrolled in Horace Cannon's school. He was not yet a member of the Society of Friends, but he was "required to teach a school as near as he can in accordance with the principles of the Society of Friends." Students used the plain language while in school, and the committee visited once a month, or oftener if necessary, to assist in keeping good order. Once in three months the members met to examine the scholars in the different branches of learning. The teacher was paid two hundred dollars for twelve months' work.30

According to the minutes, Horace Cannon taught during 1832 and 1833; there was no school in 1834, and in 1837 he was teaching again, still at the rate of \$200 for the year's work although the year had been divided into two terms of five months each. However, the school brought in \$146.12½, leaving a deficiency to be met out of the school fund and the committee hesitated to guarantee funds for another term, even a short one of three months: "The Committee have given there [sic] attention to the same and have required as in the other that the plain language be used, But not responsable [sic] to the teacher for the pay." 31

The Little Brick School recedes into the background in 1837, for that was the year in which New Garden Boarding School

 ²⁹ Greensborough Patriot, June 13, 1832.
 ³⁰ Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 7mo/27/1833.
 ³¹ Minutes of New Garden Meeting, 4mo/29/1837.

opened. Sessions of the Yearly Meeting were filled with gratitude and a sense of high endeavor. Joseph John Gurney was present, as were other visiting Friends from Indiana and New England. The Cannons were especially interested in Gurney; they had named their baby born eighteen months earlier for the "elegant and opulent" 32 English Quaker. Their first child likewise bore the name of a visiting Friend, Elisha Bates of Ohio. With one child named for Bates and one for Gurney, there could be no doubt concerning the leanings of the Cannon family; for these men were filled with evangelical fervor, and Gurney's visit marks the turning toward the evangelical movement, which occurred in many American Yearly Meetings in the early nineteenth century. His influence was profound—it not only stimulated the growth of evangelism, but it also had a wide general effect well summarized by Elbert Russell in his History of Quakerism: "He illustrated in his own princely character the possibility of a new type of Quaker manhood and culture. He gave new subjects to think about and new movements to work for that enabled them [the young Friends] to forget in a measure the early petty strife [of the Hicksite separation]. He aroused zeal in education . . . he promoted the study of the Bible so that Bible schools sprang up everywhere." 33

There is no doubt but that he appealed to the Cannons—not for his "materialistic conservatism," 34 however, for that is an evaluation not provided by his contemporaries. The Cannons were ready for his message. They enjoyed a good revival or camp meeting anyhow and sometimes went with their neighbors, the Fosters.³⁵ thus risking the stern disapproval of Friends. The usual attitude of Friends is reflected in the traditional story of the elderly Deep River Friend whose son came to him with a confession:

"Father, I went to camp meeting last night."

"Thee did?"

"Father, I got converted."

"Served thee right for going."

Joseph John Gurney was considered as a liberalizing influence,

³² Logan Pearsall Smith, Unforgotten Years (Boston, 1939), p. 20.
33 Elbert Russell, The History of Quakerism (New York, 1942), p. 349.
34 Jay Monaghan, "North Carolinians in Illinois History," The North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (1945), 446.
35 Elmina Foster Wilson, Reminiscences, MS in Guilford College Library, p. 14.

and the effect of his preaching was pronounced. Harriet Peck, a young teacher at the Boarding School, kept brief minutes of his sermons to the Yearly Meeting and sent them to her family. This is her record:

1st day the 5th [11mo-1837]. Public meeting at New Garden convened at 11 A.M. Notwithstanding the weather was rather unpleasant, the house was soon filled and many stood without. We had been seated but a short time before Friend Gurney was concerned in supplication which was fervent and solemn, after a short pause ensued when he arose and addressed us nearly two hours in an impressively eloquent and feeling manner. After he had concluded Elizabeth Cogshell addressed a few words to us and the meeting closed for the day at half past two o'clock.³⁶

A student present in the same long meeting kept a diary, and her entry is a good indication of the emotional appeal of the great preacher whom she, having been trained not to use outward titles of respect, always calls by his first and middle names:

Joseph John appeared weightily in supplication, then in a lengthy and powerful testimony proving the divinity of Christ and warning us to prepare to meet him when he shall come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead. O permit a stranger from a strange land to cry amongst you, turn! turn! so shall we be brands plucked out of the burning and monuments of God's mercy.

Later in the day J. J. Gurney addressed the students; after tea he had a "religious opportunity" with them and the student, Delilah Reynolds, was so moved that as she recorded the day's events in her diary, she mixed her metaphors with zeal if not with judgment: "Such a day it never was my lot to pass before. May this day's labor fasten as a nail in a sure place and be the means of stirring me up afresh to press forward to the prize set before me." ³⁷

The Cannon family lived quite near the meeting house and the school, and it is more than probable that the great English Friend saw his small namesake. He visited in the neighborhood then spent nearly two months riding about, visiting first the meetings in Guilford and Randolph counties then those in the

³⁶ Harriet Peck, Letters, letter no. 3, 1mo/10/1838, MS in Guilford College Library.
37 Delilah Reynolds, Diary, 1st day 5th [of 11th mo. 1837]. MS in Guilford College Library.

southern and eastern parts of the state. He had come from Indiana in a carriage drawn by those "homely, lively, faithful 'creatures,' David and Jonathan," and driven by "my honest, serious companion, William Kenworthy." 38 In North Carolina he added another to his company, a young man on horseback to serve as guide—this young man was Horace Cannon.39 Two months in the company of the great English Friend, two months of listening to his message delivered sometimes in the open air to such crowds that none of the small meeting houses could contain them, two months of seeing how the burden of slavery lay upon the heart of the English Quaker, are bound to have had an effect upon him. He told Harriet Peck how Joseph John Gurney had been requested not to speak on slavery in Raleigh and how he had answered by saying "that he had left all that was near and dear to him, and come amongst them for the purpose of preaching the Gospel and should the subject of slavery present he should not think it well for him to hesitate to speak of it." 40

Soon after Joseph John Gurney had left North Carolina and Horace Cannon had returned to New Garden, the Cannons entertained the women teachers of the boarding school. Harriet Peck's letters give a full description of the afternoon.

Last 7th day we passed the afternoon very agreeably at Horace Cannon's - doubtless thou recollects him father. His family consists of a wife and three little sons. The eldest Elisha Bates, 2nd Isaac Newton and the third Joseph John Gurney. People here name for almost every stranger who visits them. There are Rowland Greenes, Jonathan and Hannah Backhouses, Eliza Kirk-Brides, Mildred Radcliffs etc. etc. but to return to our visit - Horace came with carriage for us while we were at dinner. Cousin Asenith [Hunt Clark], Catharine [Cornell] and myself went with him. The day was like a day in summer, so that we set with one of the outside doors open during the afternoon. No credit to them however — for had the weather been ever so severe it would have been the same. I never knew the like - they will make large fires (for you know they have plenty of wood) then set the outside doors open — we often smile at it — they tell us "We South-

³⁸ Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney (Philadelphia, 1854),

II, 111.

39 Braithwaite, ed., Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney, II, 113. Horace Cannon is mentioned by name in the letter dated 12mo/7th/1837, but is referred to only as "the young man on horseback" in an earlier undated letter (p. 111).

40 Harriet Peck, Letters, letter no. 3, 1mo/10/1838, MS in Guilford College Library. See also Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney, II, 114.

erners are fond of air." They live well here — and one thing to which I am certain none of us ever were accustomed — is their practice of cooking one or two kinds of meat for tea, besides having the table loaded with other eatables — for example at Horace's — let me see if I can tell you what our tea consisted — though I know it is not polite to go abroad and then tell what we had for supper - but we'll not mind that at present. I am talking to father and mother, and none else need hear me. Well we had a very nice roasted pork with dressing, Fried Chicken — Beets — Sweet potatoe pie — pumpkin pie — Persimmon pudding, White bread, nice waffles — guince preserve, coffee and tea. At friend S. Stanley's several weeks since, we had still greater variety still for tea - several different kinds of meat, chicken pie, minced pie, tarts, & almost invariably wherever we go they have nice honey in the comb set upon the table. They seem to abound in honey. Nevertheless, the words - A land flowing with milk and honey - the literal meaning — would not be at all applicable for however true it is with regard to the latter, I think you will agree with me when I say the former belongs to them not at all for they never provide any shelter for their cows consequently get but little milk.41

Another visitor to the Cannon home was a lively little neighbor girl, Elmina Foster, but when she wrote her reminiscences she included one detail only. She remembered that the Cannons had an abundance of pears—because her family had none.42 That is an interesting detail, for the farm on which Joseph Gurney Cannon was born still has a long lane bordered by ancient pear trees — hardly the same trees, however. Fruit was plentiful in that immediate neighborhood because Ann Jessup had lived there. She was a minister among Friends and in 1790 she had felt a deep concern to go to England to preach. When she returned in the fall of 1792, she brought grafts of many varieties of apples and pears, also grape cuttings and garden seeds. 43 Thus Ann Jessup's farm and Ann Jessup's orchard made New Garden famous for its fruit. It was not altogether a figure of speech which made early settlers call the place their "New Garden Spot."

But there was one thing wrong with New Garden: there were slave owners in the neighborhood, and just beyond the limits of the Quaker community slave owning was deeply entrenched in

 ⁴¹ Harriet Peck, letter no. 3, 1mo/10/1838.
 42 Elmina Foster Wilson, Reminiscences, p. 8. MS in Guilford College Library.
 43 Addison Coffin, Early Settlement of Friends in North Carolina. Traditions and Reminiscences, pp. 26-27. MS in Guilford College Library.

social and economic life. Friends held deep convictions on slavery: after twenty years of desperate effort they had reached the place where they could see the end of slave owning among their own members: by 1838 there were only 97 people of color under the care of the Yearly Meeting as compared to 727 in 1824.44 Horace Cannon did not want to rear his family where slavery existed. 45 Friends were moving to Indiana in a steady stream of migration, and in 1840 the Cannons decided to go. In June Horace Cannon sold his farm of 160 acres to Dougan Clark. for \$1,60046 and put his affairs in order. The certificate of removal was signed in New Garden Meeting 8/29/1840, and the North Carolina chapter in the early life of Joseph Gurney Cannon closes with the departure and the mother's cry, "Goodby, North Carolina; good-by, civilization."

Joseph Gurney Cannon made a great deal of his North Carolina Quaker background, and these are its outlines. He was also proud of his mother's Nantucket heritage but seems to have taken it on faith. His mother was a descendant of Valentine Hollingsworth, who was born about 1632 in Ireland. Valentine Hollingsworth came from County Armagh to New Castle, Delaware County, Pennsylvania, sailing on the Welcome. His descendants moved on to Cecil County, Maryland, then to Frederick County, Virginia, and finally in 1762 to Bush River in Newberry County, South Carolina. 47 In 1801 Isaac Hollingsworth brought his family to Deep River Meeting in North Carolina.48 The Hollingsworths were the strongest and most courageous of all of the Newberry families, 49 and certainly the record of their successive migrations from generation to generation bears testimony to their vitality.

⁴⁴ Minutes of North Carolina Yearly Meeting, 1824 and 1838. By 1848 there were not more than 12 or 15 persons of color to whom the Society of Friends retained legal right. A Narrative of Some of the Proceedings of North Carolina Yearly Meeting on the Subject of Slavery within Its Limits (Greensborough, 1848) traces the progress of liberation of slaves by the Yearly Meeting.

45 Busbey, Uncle Joe Cannon, pp. 7-10.
46 Register of Deeds, Book 30, pp. 466-67. Guilford County Courthouse, Greensboro.
47 Valentine Hollingsworth1 (s. of Henry and Catharine) m. Apr. 7, 1655, Anne Ree, m. Apr. 12, 1672, Ann Culvert. Thomas Hollingsworth2 b. 1661 in Ireland died near Winchester, Va., 1733. Abraham3 b. New Castle, Delaware County, Pa. 1686 L. Frederick Co. Va. 1748 m. March 13, 1710, Ann Robinson. George Hollingsworth4 b. Cecil Co. Maryland 1712 m. Hannah McCoy (d. of Robert) 1734 moved to S. Carolina 1762. Joseph5 m. Margaret Wright Hammer at Bush River 1768. Isaac6 married Hannah Crem "out of unity" 1799, Gulielma Hollingsworth7 was their daughter. Compiled from Stewart J. Adger, Descendants of Valentine Hollingsworth Sr. (Louisville, Ky., 1925.)
48 Minutes of Deep River Monthly Meeting, 3mo/2/1801. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, I, 818.

49 John A. Chapman, The Annals of Newberry (Newberry, S. C., 1892), part II, p. 342.

Joe Cannon's great-grandmother came from a strong Quaker family, the Wrights, but they were Pennsylvania people, and if the Nantucket Coffins and Folgers to whom he often referred have any place in the family tree, it is remote and well concealed.

Horace Cannon, the son of Samuel Cannon, was reared by two Quaker spinsters, and it may be that Joe Cannon was unknowingly retelling the stories which his father, not his mother, had heard as a child and that the Nantucket tradition is by adoption only. There were several families of Coffins at New Garden: Horace Cannon's name is linked with theirs a few times: 50 his son always mentioned Coffins when he referred to Quaker ancestors in a large general way, but there is no real evidence that Horace Cannon was reared by the Coffins.⁵¹ Joe Cannon was deeply moved on viewing Nantucket graves bearing the names of Coffins, Folgers, and Hollingsworths, and whether or not they were those of his actual ancestors seems not to have affected the validity of his conclusions: "They are testimony of this pioneer instinct to move on when they found the restrictions of civilization and the customs and laws of men in conflict with their faith." 52

Surely there were generations of pioneers behind him, and his own pioneer days were beginning when at the age of four years, he saw the long road to Indiana ahead. Mr. Jay Monaghan carries him forward in his excellent article, "North Carolinians in Illinois History." 53

⁵⁰ Elihu Coffin witnessed the deed when Horace Cannon sold his farm in 1840; he also made Cannon his trustee when he took a mortgage on a farm in 1832. Elihu Coffin was the chairman of the School Committee which employed Cannon in 1832 and one of the two men appointed to visit him when he requested membership among Friends in 1833.

51 The guardianship records of Guilford County do not begin until 1822, but Quakers would not count legal procedure necessary.

52 Bushey, Uncle Joe Cannon, p. 4.

53 The North Carolina Historical Review, XXII (1945), 445-459.

THE WILSON MOVEMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA¹

By ARTHUR S. LINK

Woodrow Wilson made his first bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in 1912 by virtue of his smashing victory in the New Jersey gubernatorial contest in November, 1910. During the campaign the former Princeton president had attracted the interest of the people of the nation by his repudiation of the Democratic machine that had nominated him and by the forcefulness and clarity of his impelling arguments for progressive reforms. It was an unusual situation, but Wilson was already an unusual figure and his rising leadership had the promise of great import to Southern progressives. Progressive Southerners since 1896 had more or less consistently followed William J. Bryan and just as consistently had encountered defeat after defeat in national politics.

Wilson's program was only in the making in 1910, but by the summer of 1912 his New Freedom had a powerful appeal to certain elements in Southern society. By his defeat of Boss James Smith's ambitions to go to the United States Senate and by his support of progressive James E. Martine in the senatorial contest, Wilson demonstrated early in his political career his qualifications as a political machine-smasher, and this one act alone endeared him to Southern liberals.2 And when the New Jersey governor pushed through the legislature of a hitherto backward state legislation which placed it in the vanguard of progressivism, most Southern progressives were convinced that Wilson was their man.3

Wilson was at first reluctant to enter the campaign for the Democratic nomination, but after a tour of the West in May.

¹ Research on this article was made possible by a grant from the Julius Rosenwald Fund. 2 The Southern press gave unusual publicity to the Wilson-Smith contest. For significant editorials on the controversy see: Mobile Register, January 10, 1911; Nashville Banner, December 13, 1910, and January 25, 1911; Richmond Virginian, January 25, 1911; Montgomery Advertiser, January 25 and 26, 1911; Columbia State, December 27, 1910; Birmingham Age-Herald, December 10, 1910, January 31, 1911; Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, December 2, 1910; Chattanooga Daily Times, December 10, 1910; Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman, December 2 and 20, 1910; Raleigh News and Observer, January 15 and 29, February 3, 1911; New Orleans Times-Democrat, December 14 and 21, 1910; Houston Post, January 27, 1911; Dallas Morning News, December 22, 1910 and January 27, 1911; Knoxville Journal and Tribune, December 17, January 27, 1911; Richmond Times-Dispatch, January 9 and 25, 1911; Atlanta Georgian, December 28, 1910, January 25, 1911.

3 See especially Raleigh News and Observer, April 29, 1911, Galveston Daily News, January 11, 1912; New Orleans Times-Democrat, March 2, 1911; Charleston News and Courier, April 22, 1911; San Antonio Express, April 24, 1911; Atlanta Georgian, March 23, August 4, November 3, 1911; Columbia State, November 20, 1911, quoting Augusta Herald; Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, May 29, 1911; Atlanta Constitution, May 1, 1911; Oklahoma City Daily Oklahoman, April 18, 1911; Birmingham Age-Herald, April 28, 1911.

1911, he determined to make an active campaign for the nomination. One of the foremost objects of Wilson's presidential campaign was the capture of his native region, the cornerstone of the Democratic party. It made no difference to the three prominent candidates4 that the South was solidly Democratic, for the votes of the Southern states in the national convention were as good as any. Consequently a contest between the candidates, almost unequalled in the annals of Southern history, absorbed the interest of the Southern people during this presidential campaign.5

Wilson fired the opening gun of his pre-nomination campaign in Atlanta in March, 1911, when he addressed the Southern Commercial Congress in that city.6 The New Jersey governor had a strong sentimental attachment for the South and Southerners. He had been born, of course, in Staunton, Virginia, and had spent the first third of his life in several Southern towns. He had married the daughter of a Savannah Presbyterian minister and two of his daughters had been born in Georgia. Long periods of absence from the South had heightened his affection for the region.7

In the spring of 1911 Wilson turned his attention to North Carolina. He had been encouraged by the favorable reaction of North Carolina newspapers to his struggles for reform in New Jersey: he had already been assured of the support of Josephus Daniels, progressive editor of the Raleigh News and Observer and an influential leader in the North Carolina Democracy.8

**iton, p. vi. 8 Full of energy, shrewd, with a gift for making warm personal friends, Daniels was in 1911 Democratic national committeeman from North Carolina. He had been a devoted follower of Bryan—free silver and all—since 1896. Daniels has published four volumes of his memoirs, which tell the story of his life down to the year 1921.

⁴ Wilson, Champ Clark of Missouri, and Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama.

⁵ For a general discussion of the pre-nomination campaign in the South see Arthur S. Link, "The South and the Democratic Campaign of 1912," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation in the library of the University of North Carolina.

⁶ Wilson's visit to Atlanta is best covered by the Atlanta Journal, March 10 and 11, 1911.

⁷ As a historian, Wilson felt that "There is nothing to apologize for in the past of the South—absolutely nothing to apologize for." Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1896, p. 295. As a Southerner, Wilson was frankly proud that the South had taken up arms against the North in 1861. Even a man who saw the end from the beginning should, as a Southerner, have voted for spending his people's blood and his own, rather than pursue the weak course of expediency, he thought. "Address on General Robert E. Lee," published in R. S. Baker and W. E. Dodd (eds.), Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson, II, 76. On one occasion Wilson told the members of the Virginia Bar Association that he felt the sort of exhilaration that must always come to a man "who returns from a distance to breathe his native air again and mix once more with those to whom he feels bound by a sort of intellectual consanguinity." Public Papers, I, 336-337. On another occasion in Chapel Hill he confessed that, after long periods of absence, he forgot how natural it was to be in the South, "and then the moment I come, and see old friends again, and discover a country full of reminiscences which connect me with my parents, and with all the old memories, I know again the region to which I naturally belong." Wilson, Robert E. Lee: An Interpretation, p. vi.

Moreover, by March, 1911, one congressman from eastern North Carolina had declared his intention to support the New Jersey governor for the presidency.9

Woodrow Wilson was no stranger to the state he visited in May, 1911. He had lived for a few brief years at Wilmington and had spent a year at Davidson College. On May 29 he came to the University of North Carolina to deliver the commencement address to the graduating class of the University. On the day of his arrival Wilson spoke at the alumni luncheon and discussed his conception of "The Mission of the University in America." 10 The following day at the University's commencement exercises several thousand persons crowded Memorial Hall to hear the governor. Francis P. Venable, president of the University, gave him a hearty welcome. Wilson's entrance into public life, Venable declared, had gladdened the American people entangled in their own confusion, yet awake to the injustice and wrongs from which they suffered. Princeton had sent forth her president, Venable said, to stand before the whole people as the undaunted champion of their rights. "Scholar, profound thinker, able teacher, wise governor, strong and true gentleman, we welcome you, Governor Wilson." 11

There was nothing particularly original in Wilson's address. He covered well-beaten progressive ground and declared that the nation was coming to itself, that economic and human exploitation had proceeded apace, but that the people, with sober repentance, had determined to take matters into their own hands. He spoke frankly—"For several generations we have made damn fools of ourselves." The people had allowed the captains of industry to disregard their duties to society; they

⁹ The congressman was John H. Small. Raleigh News and Observer, March 9, 1911. Daniels opened his campaign for Wilson unofficially on March 22, 1911, when he published in the News and Observer an editorial, "Woodrow Wilson's Revolutionary Faith and Practice." Reviewing Wilson's work in New Jersey, on April 29, 1911, Daniels wrote, "Governor Woodrow Wilson, of New Jersey, has aroused the nation. He has emphasized the fact that the scholar can also be the man of affairs. Declared not to be a politician he has shown that in its abused term he is not a politician, but that when it comes to dealing with questions which have to do with things of real value to the people he is a man, a man with backbone, a man with a purpose. He has met the politicians on their own ground and has unhorsed them, securing the passage of laws in New Jersey which mean for real reform."

On May 6, 1911, Daniels made a pilgrimage to Trenton and reviewed more closely Wilson's work. After recounting the several important reform laws which Wilson had pushed through the legislature, Daniels declared, "The chief thing that Governor Wilson has done is not written upon statute books, for it simply is that he has shown the people that they can rule and need not be dependent upon political bosses and public service corporations, but that if they will assert themselves they can themselves be the boss and regulate the corporations rather than be regulated by them." News and Observer, May 10, 1911.

10 Daniels, "Woodrow Wilson at the University," News and Observer, June 2, 1911.

had stood by silently while political machines took their governments from them. The duty of university men, Wilson declared, was to learn the truth and to tell it to their fellow-citizens. 12

On May 31 Wilson traveled to Raleigh, the capital city of North Carolina. The News and Observer voiced the sentiments of most of the citizens of the capital in its welcome to the visitor, whom Daniels greeted as the ablest and most progressive governor in the nation and as the outstanding political leader in the country. 13 Wilson arrived in Raleigh from Chapel Hill shortly before twelve-thirty on the afternoon of May 31, and a reception committee¹⁴ went with him to Daniels's home, where the Tar Heel Editor gave an elaborate luncheon in Wilson's honor. Chief Justice Walter Clark, the members of the state supreme court, various state officials, and prominent North Carolina educators 15 were among the two hundred guests. 16

At five o'clock in the afternoon Wilson spoke to the people of Raleigh from a platform erected at the east front of the capitol. Before an audience of some 3,000 persons he reiterated his Chapel Hill address. He declared that the Democratic party was on trial to determine if it could serve the country regardless of party interests. Since there were both reactionaries and progressives within the party fold, the governor thought it necessary to determine standards of action.¹⁷ But, he declared, the progressives controlled the Democratic party and were resolved to destroy the Republican partnership between business and government and to restore control of affairs to the people. 18

Josephus Daniels was much encouraged by the reception Wilson received in Raleigh. 19 The editor had long before decided that Wilson was to be the future leader of his party and he rejoiced in the belief that there were numerous Democrats

¹² News and Observer, May 31, 1911.
13 News and Observer, May 31, 1911.
14 Albert L. Cox, J. Bryan Grimes, secretary of state, Mayor James I. Johnson, Colonel Benehan Cameron, Clarence Poe, Dr. Hubert A. Royster, and Walter Clark, Jr. Governor William W. Kitchin was not in Raleigh.
15 President D. H. Hill of the North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College (North Carolina State College), President H. J. Stockard of Peace Institute, President R. T. Vann of Meredith College, President William L. Poteat of Wake Forest College, and the Reverend George W. Lay, rector of St. Mary's School.
16 News and Observer, June 1, 1911.
17 He defined a reactionary as a person who "looks at public affairs through spectacles of his own," while a progressive considered public issues with the purpose of serving the country "by some touch of self-sacrifice, some consideration of those things which are larger, greater and more prominent than himself."
18 News and Observer, June 1, 1911.
19 Josephus Daniels to the author, January 24, 1942.

who would give the "scholar in politics" their loyal support.20

The fact that Daniels was the most influential and vigorous Wilson man in North Carolina should not lead one to underestimate the work done by other North Carolinians in the Wilson campaign. Although by the summer of 1911 the Wilson supporters had not yet organized for an active campaign, and although the Baltimore convention was yet more than a year in the future, several North Carolina editors and citizens had voiced their allegiance to the Wilson cause. Probably no man in the Southeast had more influence with the farmers than Clarence Poe, editor of the *Progressive Farmer*. During Wilson's stay in North Carolina, Poe broadcast the fact that he was unreserved in his support of Wilson.²¹ Thomas Clawson, editor of the Wilmington Morning Star, joined Daniels in espousing Wilson's candidacy. "When a man is in North Carolina he is in the Wilson country," Clawson asserted; 22 he then added, "Down in this country it is unanimous for Woodrow Wilson." 23 Edward J. Hale, veteran editor of the Fayetteville Observer and a prominent Tar Heel progressive, was another of the early Wilson supporters in North Carolina.24

The Wilson movement, as an organized campaign, got underway in North Carolina early in 1912. The progressive leaders soon found that they had a hard fight on their hands,25 and contented themselves with the conventional methods of politics. Only three Wilson clubs, as far as this writer knows, were organized in the state.²⁶ The Wilson managers had, however, enlisted the support of the great majority of the North Carolina newspapers. The News and Observer was the spokesman for a group of journals that included the Wilmington Morning Star, the Asheville Citizen, the Greenville Reflector, the Charlotte News, the Winston-Salem Twin-City Sentinel, the Fayetteville

²⁰ News and Observer, June 1, 1911.
21 News and Observer, June 2, 1911. Poe later wrote that he had supported Wilson's candidacy because he believed the governor was one of America's greatest statesmen and because he believed that Champ Clark was so lacking in statesmanship as to make his nomination a disaster to the party and a disaster to the nation. Letter to the author, September 17, 1942.

<sup>17, 1942.

22</sup> Wilmington Morning Star, September 16, 1911.

23 Morning Star, August 9, 1911. Clawson had known intimately Wilson's father, Dr. Joseph R. Wilson, who, he said, was "one of the grandest men we ever knew."

24 Walter Clark to Woodrow Wilson, December 24, 1912, Edward J. Hale Papers (manuscripts in the library of the University of North Carolina; hereinafter cited as Hale

Papers).

25 Josephus Daniels later told the author (January 24, 1942) that it was his hardest fight.

26 At Lillington, Wilmington, and Asheville.

Observer, and the High Point Enterprise. During most of 1911 and 1912 one of Wilson's bitterest enemies, James Calvin Hemphill, an ante-diluvian reactionary, was editor of the Charlotte Daily Observer and was one of the leaders in the national campaign against Wilson. But Daniel A. Tompkins, publisher of the Observer, managed to rid his paper of Hemphill and on June 6, 1912, it declared its advocacy of the New Jersey governor. There were, in addition, numerous small-town and county newspapers that joined in the Wilson movement.

In addition to the politically-minded editors, an important group of North Carolina politicians allied themselves with the Wilson movement. Former Governor Robert B. Glenn, who was Wilson's class-mate at Davidson, carried on a ten days' campaign in California for his friend,27 while Julian S. Carr, a Durham industrialist, Hugh MacRae, Wilmington banker, Chief Justice Walter Clark, 28 and Heriot Clarkson of Charlotte were among the leading North Carolina supporters.²⁹ North Carolina's senators³⁰ refused to commit themselves publicly to the support of either of the Democratic presidential hopefuls. Senator Overman admitted, however, that Wilson was personally his choice among the candidates; but, he added, "I have advocated no man." 31

Wilson state headquarters were established in Greensboro under the direction of S. E. Williams on April 24, 1912, less than a month before the state Democratic convention was to convene. It was true, as Daniels stated, that the movement in North Carolina was largely spontaneous, and that Williams and his associates entered the contest too late to affect the outcome. Some of the Wilson leaders expressed their gratification that the state campaign had at last some semblance of organization, but it was patent to most observers that the people of the state had already committed themselves to the Wilson cause.³²

The outspoken support given Wilson by Tar Heel college presidents and professors must have heartened the Wilson or-

²⁷ News and Observer, May 1, 1912.
28 See the recent biography by Aubrey Lee Brooks, Walter Clark, Fighting Judge, p. 183.
29 Others were E. R. Preston, W. H. Osborn, Benehan Cameron, E. J. Justice, S. E. Williams, and J. Crawford Biggs.
30 Furnifold M. Simmons and Lee Slater Overman.
31 Charlotte Daily Observer, June 4, 1912.
32 Williams declared early in May that he was convinced that fully three-fourths of the North Carolinians were in favor of Wilson's nomination. News and Observer, May 4, 1912.

ganizers. A "straw ballot" presidential election at the University of North Carolina gave a revealing insight into the political preferences of the professors and college students. Wilson received 322 student votes, while his strongest Democratic rival, Underwood, received only 35.33 President Francis Preston Venable and Dean Edward Kidder Graham of the University gave public endorsement to Wilson.34 They were joined by the Reverend George Lay, rector of St. Mary's School, Henry Louis Smith, president of Davidson College, Henry J. Stockard, president of Peace Institute, William Louis Poteat, president of Wake Forest College, and J. Allen Holt of Oak Ridge Institute, all of whom gave their earnest support to the "professor in politics." 35

The North Carolina state Democratic convention was to meet in early June, 1912. Since the Wilson movement had suffered defeat by the Underwood campaigners in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Mississippi, the Wilson managers in Washington and New York were determined that North Carolina should be saved from the Southern groundswell to Oscar W. Underwood. Two Texas Wilson campaigners — Albert S. Burleson and Robert L. Henry—came to the state immediately preceding the Democratic convention in an attempt to arouse enthusiasm for Wilson. Burleson, speaking at Charlotte on May 15, declared that Wilson was the only Democratic candidate who could possibly be elected,36 while at Durham, on the same day, Henry warned his audience that Wilson was the sole Democratic candidate who was in accord with the progressive spirit of modern Democracy.37 Senator Thomas P. Gore's address at Raleigh on the evening of May 24 marked the culmination of the Wilson campaign in the Tar Heel state. In concluding his speech, the blind Oklahoma Senator added a tribute to Wilson that was characteristic of his ambigious political eloquence. "In closing let me appeal to you, my fellow Democrats," he pleaded, "to nominate at Baltimore a man for the presidency who is devoted to right against wrong, justice against injustice, liberty against slavery,

³³ Tar Heel, March 13, 1912. The faculty was even more enthusiastically favorable to Governor Wilson. The vote of the faculty stood: Wilson, 28; Underwood, Harmon, and Theodore Roosevelt, each 2; Taft, 1.

34 News and Observer, March 10, 23, 1912.

35 News and Observer, March 24, 29, 31, April 23, 30, and May 25, 1912.

36 News and Observer, May 16, 1912.

37 Charlotte Daily Observer, May 16, 1912; News and Observer, May 16, 1912.

man against mammon, good government against graft." 38

For a month before the Democrats of North Carolina gathered in state convention, Josephus Daniels carried on in his News and Observer, a pressure campaign to assure a Wilson victory in the state. The News and Observer, undoubtedly the most widely read newspaper in North Carolina, printed daily articles lauding Wilson's accomplishments for progressive reform, stories about his career, and verbatim reports of many of his addresses. In a brilliant editorial, the Tar Heel editor cried to his fellow-Democrats, "Come, Let Us Reason Together." The appeal, five columns in length, filled the editorial page.³⁹ Two days later Daniels followed with a forceful editorial entitled "Wilson on the Tariff"—an obvious attempt to counteract the charges that Underwood, not Wilson, was the honest tariff reformer.40

Although the opposition to the Wilson movement in North Carolina came largely from the advocates of Oscar W. Underwood, some men were vociferous in their support of conservative Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio. The single Harmon club organized at Dunn did not represent the Ohio governor's real strength in North Carolina. A feeble attempt was made by Robert R. Reynolds of Asheville and Walter Neal of Laurinburg to form a Harmon state organization, but nothing resulted from their efforts. 41 The Wilmington Dispatch was the spokesman of a group of Harmon newspapers which included the Charlotte Chronicle, the Greensboro Record, the Durham Sun, and the Winston-Salem Journal. In North Carolina, as in practically every Southern state, the conservatives who favored Harmon turned to Underwood when they realized that Harmon could not be nominated.

This was notably true in the case of Henry B. Varner of Lexington, who led the Underwood campaign in North Carolina.42 Varner admitted that he had been favorably disposed toward the Ohio governor's candidacy, and that he had turned to

³⁸ News and Observer, May 25, 1912.

39 By an apparently logical analysis of the presidential situation, Daniels attempted to prove that since Wilson was the only Democrat who could marshal the full strength of the progressive vote, he was the only Democrat who could win a presidential election. News and Observer, May 12, 1912.

40 News and Observer, May 14, 1912.

41 Charlotte Daily Observer, November 23, 1911.

42 Varner was for years editor of Southern Good Roads, published at Lexington, North Caroline.

Underwood when he realized that the Alabamian's nomination was a possibility.43

Following their victories in the Lower South, the Underwood generals turned their attention during the early part of May to the battleground in North Carolina. J. Thomas Heflin, who campaigned at Greensboro and Durham, was joined by Senator John H. Bankhead, the Alabamian's national manager, at an Underwood rally in Raleigh on May 30.44 Other Underwood campaigners — Representatives T. V. Sisson of Mississippi, William B. Bankhead, John L. Burnett, and S. Herbert Dent of Alabama - stumped North Carolina in a desperate effort to swing the state into the Underwood column. 45

In North Carolina, as in the other Southern states, the alignment between progressives and conservatives was clear-cut. Practically all the leaders of the progressive faction of the state Democracy were in the vanguard of the Wilson movement. From the very beginning, moreover, they encountered the opposition of the conservatives and reactionaries who at first leaned toward Harmon's candidacy but who later went wholesale into the Underwood ranks. The Wilson managers in North Carolina were beset with still another difficulty—the opposition of the Simmons organization. Although Senator Furnifold M. Simmons took no active part in the campaign, his lieutenants and many of his political supporters led in the Underwood movement in the state.46 Simmons himself was faced in 1912 by one of the greatest fights of his life in a battle for re-nomination and therefore he followed a cautious policy of hands-off in the Wilson-Underwood contest.

The Democratic voters of the state assembled in county conventions in the middle of May and elected their delegates to the state Democratic convention. Josephus Daniels, writing to "the Democrats in North Carolina who favor Wilson and Victory," warned Wilson supporters: "Be alert to see that North Carolina's vote is cast for Woodrow Wilson." 47 Only a small number of the county conventions instructed their delegates to vote for

⁴³ Varner to News and Observer, February 8, 1912.
44 Birmingham Age-Herald, May 31, 1912.
45 Birmingham Age-Herald, May 12, 1912.
46 Josephus Daniels, letter to the author, September 18, 1942; A. L. Brooks, Walter Clark, p. 183. 47 News and Observer, May 18, 1912.

either of the presidential candidates, but it was apparent that the Wilson men in the remaining county conventions had overwhelmed their Underwood opponents by a ratio of at least two to one and that, as Daniels jubilantly declared, "WOODROW WILSON IS THE CHOICE OF THE STATE!" 48 The important congressional district conventions which elected most of the delegates to the national convention met during the latter part of May and the first part of June and elected an overwhelming majority of Wilson men⁴⁹ to go to the national Democratic convention at Baltimore. The Wilson forces won clear victories in the first, the third, the fourth, and the fifth districts, and divided with the Underwood men in the sixth and eighth districts and with the Harmon supporters in the ninth, while the Underwood men carried the tenth district.50

Assured that they had won a sweeping victory in North Carolina, the Wilson men at once clamored for definite instructions for the entire Tar Heel delegation to Baltimore. 51 S. E. Williams, state manager for Wilson, declared that a sacred obligation rested with the state convention to instruct its delegates to Baltimore in Wilson's favor. He feared that an uninstructed delegation would mean an Underwood victory. "I believe," he insisted, "it would be a crime against conscience, a departure from party fealty, [and] ... a breach of everything that ought to govern a man's conduct," if the state's delegation did not express at Baltimore the wishes of a majority of North Carolina Democrats. 52 Daniels was equally determined that the state convention should instruct its delegates to vote for Wilson. In a message to "WILSON MEN" he warned his friends that in order to carry out the will of the people they should organize before the gathering of the convention at Raleigh. A conference of Wilson delegates would be held in the capital, he declared; and

⁴⁸ News and Observer, May 26, 1912. The Wilson counties were Swain, Clay, Rowan (½), Scotland, Columbus, Beaufort (½), Cumberland, Wake, Onslow, Duplin, Granville, Sampson, Pender, Rockingham, New Hanover, Polk, Dare, and Greene. Underwood carried the following counties: Buncombe, Durham, Haywood, McDowell, Rowan (½), Beaufort (½), Richmond, Wilson, and Davidson. Wilmington Morning Star, May 26, 1912; News and Observer, May 19, 1912. Underwood's strength was largely concentrated in the western part of the state, while Wilson's support came largely from the middle and eastern sections.

49 Probably two-thirds.

50 News and Observer, May 20, 31, June 5, 6, 1912; Morning Star, May 29, June 7, 1912; Charlotte Daily Observer, May 30, 1912.

51 Despite the fact that the congressional district conventions elected twenty out of the twenty-four delegates to the Democratic national convention, the state convention might instruct them and the four delegates it elected to vote for the candidate of its choosing.

52 Morning Star, May 29, 1912.

he warned the Wilson men to attend the conference, for "plans will be formulated there for seeing that the choice of North Carolina, the nomination of Woodrow Wilson at Baltimore, is registered at the State Convention." 53

On June 6 the Democratic clans assembled at Raleigh for the state convention. Although the outcome of the presidential battle had apparently been decided, the Wilson men took nothing for granted. Wilson himself was deeply interested in the action of the convention. "I hope with all my heart that North Carolina might be won in my interest," he wrote a day before it met. "I have had so many delightful associations with the Old North State that I should feel very proud indeed to receive its vote." 54 The June 6, 1912, issue of the News and Observer was manifestly printed for propaganda purposes, for the delegates to the convention found the front page filled with pictures of Wilson and editorials and comments favorable to his nomination.

At dawn on the morning of June 7 the Wilson forces in the convention, marshalled by Judge J. Crawford Biggs of Durham, elected eight Wilson men as delegates-at-large to the national convention.⁵⁵ But the opposition of the Underwood men was so determined that the Wilson leaders abandoned their plan to force a resolution instructing the delegates and contented themselves with an endorsement of Wilson by the convention which declared, "Woodrow Wilson should be the candidate of the Democratic party . . . and we heartily endorse his candidacy." 56

Josephus Daniels was pleased with the results of the convention. He congratulated North Carolina on "the splendid victory at Raleigh" and wrote, North Carolina has "come nobly to the front, and forgetting the furor of months past has proclaimed for a statesman whose election would reflect great honor upon the party and the nation." 57 William F. McCombs, Wilson's national manager, termed the results a "grand victory," 58

⁵³ News and Observer, June 4, 1912.
54 Published in Asheville Citizen, quoted in Charlotte Daily Observer, June 13, 1912.
55 The delegates-at-large were Edward J. Hale, E. J. Justice, Julian S. Carr, Robert B. Glenn, W. C. Hammer, W. C. Newland, A. W. McLean, and W. C. Dowd. As a concession to the Underwood supporters, they added one Underwood man to the list of delegates-at-large. He was W. T. Dortch.
56 Passed by a vote of 503 to 393. Morning Star, June 8, 1912; News and Observer, June 8, 1912. Probably the chief reason the convention did not instruct the delegates for Wilson was the simple fact that the Wilson candidacy had made such little headway in the nation at large that it appeared that the governor's nomination was improbable.
57 News and Observer, June 13, 1912.
58 McCombs to Edward J. Hale, June 8, 1912, Hale Papers.

while one Piedmont newspaper rejoiced that North Carolina men would go to the national convention as Wilson supporters.⁵⁹ Daniels and the other Tar Heel Wilson leaders had indeed wrought well for their candidate. They had marshalled the progressive forces of their party behind the standards of a progressive leader and had added precious strength to the candidate whose chances of success were in precarious doubt. North Carolina's twenty-four votes were desperately needed to strengthen a failing movement.

⁵⁹ News and Observer, June 13, 1912, quoting High Point Enterprise.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY NEW BERN

A HISTORY OF THE TOWN and CRAVEN COUNTY, 1700-1800

By ALONZO THOMAS DILL, JR.

PART VIII NEW BERN AT CENTURY'S END

 \P It is the image of Charleston. Neuse and Trent have a likeness to Cooper and Ashley Rivers. This is a growing place.

-Francis Asbury, 1796.

When that amorous patriot, Francisco de Miranda, visited New Bern in the summer of 1783, he arrived just in time to witness the town's celebration of peace. He noted the event along with the record of the pretty women he saw and sometimes conquered: which proves beyond doubt that the *fiesta* competing, as it were, with other interests, made quite an impression. It took place on June 17, and Miranda describes it in his Spanish diary in full.¹

This day [he writes] the suspension of hostilities and the preliminary treaty of peace with England were announced throughout the vicinity by sound of drum from a company of armed militia (each soldier with his dress and rifle of a different sort), and by the discharge of four field pieces, which had been brought up beforehand for the purpose. At the end of the ceremony about one o'clock, there was a barbecue (that is, a roast pig) and a barrel of rum, which the crowd consumed promiscuously, the first magistrates2 and better-class people of the country along with the crudest and lowest classes, shaking hands and drinking from the same glass; it is impossible to conceive without seeing it a more democratic assemblage, and one which fulfills to a greater extent what the poets and historians of Greece tell us of similar events among those free peoples. At the conclusion, some were drunk; they scuffled readily with one another, and one was wounded. At night everyone retired to sleep-with which, and the burning of some empty barrels for a bonfire, the celebration ended.3

¹ On April 11, 1783, the president of the Continental Congress issued a proclamation announcing the termination of hostilities. The preliminary articles of peace were signed November 30, 1782, but the definitive treaty was not agreed upon until September 3, 1783. 2 Does he mean here justices of the peace? Ordinarily the term "first magistrate" refers to

the governor.

³ William Spence Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States), 1783-1784 (New York, 1928) p. 6.

This freedom was not won without the most tragic sacrifices, and the struggle left its scars on the town as well as conspicuous gaps among the ranks of the inhabitants. Alexander Gaston and many a brave soldier gave their lives. Other patriots were not long in following them in death, none the less mourned for not having laid down their lives in battle. Richard Cogdell. the safety committee leader; James Green, Jr., secretary of the provincial congresses; John Wright Stanly, privateer owner and importer of war supplies — not one was to survive the decade which saw the coming of peace; while the Bryans, William and Nathan,4 James Coor, Richard Ellis, and John Hawks were to pass from the New Bern scene before the century's end. William McClure, whose health broke under the strain of his duties as a Continental army surgeon, was one of the many who as a result of the war lost all his property, "which was something considerable in South Carolina," he says. 5 Abner Nash literally gave everything, health and wealth. Writing in later years, his son Frederick told how his father, always delicate, had been "entirely broken—by the anxieties & labours to which he was exposed during the struggles of the revolution - & particularly while he was governor of the State." 6 Like McClure, Nash had contracted pulmonary tuberculosis, which ended his life in 1786 as he was on his way to a session of Congress, where he had served since 1782. "He went into the war of the Revolution a wealthy man," continues his son, "& came out of it worth nothing." Mrs. Nash used to tell the boy her husband's salary as governor, because of the inflation, would hardly purchase her a calico gown. The case of the Marquis de Bretigney is in some ways the saddest of all. This peer of France died in 1793 poor and in debt. A year before his passing, the court minutes record the apprenticing of a twelve-year-old boy to him to learn the trade

⁴ Bishop Francis Asbury, when he visited Craven County in 1791, was struck by the succession of tragedies which overtook the Bryan family. The general he called "a man I had often heard of, and wished to see—but death, swift and sudden, reached the house before me." His son Hardy had died November 18, 1790; his daughter Mary, December 28, 1790; and he himself, January 10, 1791. "I felt strangely unwilling to believe the general was dead," writes Asbury, "until I could no longer doubt it: at the graveyard I had very solemn feelings—there was some melting among the people while I enlarged on Pslam xii, 1." Francis Asbury, Journal . . From August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815 (New York, 1821), II, 92. As for Nathan Bryan, he died while a member of Congress at his lodgings in Philadelphia June 4, 1798. North Carolina Minerva (Fayetteville), June 23, 1792.

⁵ State Records, XVI, 470-471, 474-475.

⁶ Frederick Nash to David Lowrie Swain, May 21, 1853; Swain MSS, University of North Carolina Library, transcripts in the State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

⁷ Craven Court Minutes, December, 1793.

of a baker.⁸ Does this mean that Bretigney had been reduced to keeping a bakery shop and that he—like the war-scarred chevalier of Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*—kept himself alive by selling the *pâtés* he made?

The war affected not only the town's inhabitants and their estates, but the school and newspaper, as well as the Palace. The Palace's decay and eventual destruction seem to symbolize New Bern's loss of political primacy as war conditions, plus western growth, forced the choice of a new capital. And yet as the new century began, the town was a thriving one, largest in the state, and its people were living a gayer, more varied, and more comfortable life than they ever had before.

Foremost among the casualties of the Revolution was North Carolina's first newspaper. Through the turbulent early years of the war, in the face of what must have been severe handicaps, James Davis continued intermittently bringing out his Gazette, but about 1778 he was forced to suspend this irregular publication. Adam Boyd's Capefear Mercury had been discontinued two years earlier when Boyd entered the Continental army, so the stopping of the New Bern paper left North Carolina for the first time since 1751 without the prospect of a public press. Not until several months after peace was proclaimed did another newspaper spring up, and this too was in New Bern. It was called The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser, and was published by Robert Keith & Company on Davis's old press. Keith also seems to have used Davis's first newspaper office, the one "near the Church." 10 The first copy of Keith's paper appeared August 28, 1783, but it apparently did not continue long in publication, though it was still being brought out in the fall of the following year. Archibald Maclaine, the Wilmington lawyer, called it "not worth having," and evidently this opinion was shared by other subscribers. 11 In 1785, when Davis died, willing all of his equipment to his son Thomas, including that used by Keith, there were two rival

⁸ Craven Court Minutes, March, 1792.
9 C. C. Crittenden, "North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790," James Sprunt Historical Studies, XX 1928, p. 11.
10 The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser, Septem-

¹⁰ The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly Advertiser, September 2, 1784.

11 State Records, XVII, 128, 504.

presses in New Bern. 12 They were Arnett & Hodge and Martin & Company, who bid in competition for state printing (though whether they were journalistic rivals when they did so does not appear). 13 The former firm, which later became Hodge & Blanchard and then Hodge & Wills, was, however, publishing a newspaper called The State Gazette of North-Carolina by late in 1785. and early in the following year Francois Xavier Martin's North Carolina Gazette began to appear. Hodge & Wills published in New Bern until 1788, when they moved to Edenton, thus leaving Martin, a Marseilles-born Frenchman, in clear possession of the field. 14 Martin continued as the chief publisher of New Bern. The town in many ways was the most important in the journalistic field of any in North Carolina. Of the twelve newspapers published before 1790, no fewer than five were brought out in New Bern, and only Wilmington, with three to its credit, comes near challenging this number. 15

The school, just as the press, underwent great vicissitudes during and after the war, and it was many years before it was restored to the level upon which Tomlinson had placed it. After the young Englishman came one Elias Hoell, who in July or August, 1774, began classes in the public schoolhouse. 16 In the following June, classes there were "again opened," though whether under Hoell's tutelage does not appear. 17 English, Latin, and French; algebra; plain and spherical trigonometry; astronomy and navigation; "the Use of the Globes"; and "the Italian Method of Bookkeeping" were being taught. Not until 1778 is there further mention of the school. In midyear Joseph Blythe opened classes in the building. 18 "I wish the young man may succeed," wrote Richard Cogdell, "as his behaviour since he lived among us has been unexceptionable." 19 But despite this wish and the encouragement of Abner Nash, Blythe stayed on only about a year before entering the Continental army as a

¹² Craven County Records, Will Book A, 81; State Records, XVII, 279, 337, 504, 632. Thomas

¹² Craven County Records, Will Book A, 81; State Records, XVII, 279, 337, 504, 632. Thomas Davis did not remain in New Bern but moved westward, publishing a paper first in Halifax and later in Hillsboro.

13 State Records, XVII, 279, 337, 504, 632.

14 In 1788 Hodges & Wills's shop was on Pollock Street "opposite the Tobacco-Inspection." Andrew Blanchard died about 1787, and Wills succeeded him sometime between November 15, 1787, and February 7, 1788. The State Gazette of North Carolina, March 27, 1788.

15 C. C. Crittenden, "North Carolina Newspapers Before 1790," James Sprunt Historical Studies, XX (1928), p. 15.

16 The North-Carolina Gazette, September 2, 1774.

17 The North-Carolina Gazette, July 7, 1775.

18 State Records, XIII, 461.

19 State Records, XIV, 128.

surgeon.²⁰ Several private schoolmasters seem to have been active in the town at this period. One of these was James Cole Mountflorence, a French officer from Chariol's disbanded regiment, who later kept a store near Warrenton. Mountflorence readily admitted he had had no experience in teaching but offered as qualification two years' study in philosophy and eight years in mathematics at the University of Paris.²¹ He seems to have taught but a brief while before falling ill of fever, and what education there was offered soon came to depend on itinerant pedagogues. One George Harrison in mid-1778 was advertising classes in English, French, writing, and ciphering.²² In the spring of the year Gasper Beaufort, self-described as of Philadelphia, offered classes in French at thirty shillings per month, but met with little encouragement.²³ Another who may have taught at this time was "John Green, schoolmaster," as he was known in legal documents, in contradistinction to John Green the merchant. Green died in 1781.24 The historian Vass, without citing his source of information, says that, near the end of the war, "a noted Scotchman," blessed with the prolix name of James Alexander Campbell Hunter Peter Douglas, taught in the county. "He would flog a whole class," Vass says, "because they spelt 'corn' as he pronounced it, 'kor-run.'" 25 These various schoolmasters probably did not prove satisfactory as to qualifications, and sometimes not as to character. In 1784 one Andrew Gowtey, then schoolmaster, though whether under trustee supervision is not clear, was brought before the county court, where it was charged that he "keeps a disorderly House and Entertains loose . . . persons of profligate Character, and Suffers unlawful gaming on the Lords Day." 26 Without mention of the disposition of the other charges, the court dismissed Gowtey's case with a ten-shilling fine for breach of the Sabbath.

Gowtey's unexemplary character may have been the motive for reorganization of the school, which came about the same time the court caught up with this schoolmaster's misconduct.

²⁰ State Records, XIV, 128, 323.
21 State Records, XIII, 335-336.
22 The North-Carolina Gazette, July 31, 1778.
23 The North-Carolina Gazette, March 6, April 3, 1778.
24 Craven Court Minutes, December, 1781.
25 L. C. Vass, History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C. (Richmond, 1886), p. 44. 26 Craven Court Minutes, June, 1784.

An act introduced by William Bryan at the Assembly convening in April, 1784, accomplished this much-needed postwar reform.²⁷ The legislation was needed, according to the preamble, because "in the course of the late war, by the death and removal of many of the trustees, and from other unavoidable accidents, the building is much impaired, and the education of youth neglected." 28 The act gave the school the name it was to bear for so many years —the New Bern Academy. It appointed a nine-man, self-perpetuating board of trustees, of which the governor of the state at the time Richard Caswell—was made an ex officio member. The other members were Abner Nash, a past governor; Richard Dobbs Spaight, a future governor; and such distinguished men as John Wright Stanly, William Blount, John Sitgreaves, Spyers Singleton, William McClure, and the sponsor of the bill, William Bryan. These trustees were to elect a president, secretary, and treasurer. As to who was chosen to preside, there is no record, though it is a fair assumption that the governor was accorded this honor. It is known, however, though not from the Academy's minutes, which have not survived, that William McClure was treasurer and John Sitgreaves, who within a few years was to be named district federal judge, was secretary.²⁹ The act provided for a "public visitation" every six months. It was planned to grant certificates for work completed, but the law specifically forbade the awarding of degrees. Finally this act vested in the trustees, as an endowment, certain of the public lots set aside in 1751 for the courthouse site but never built on. Three years later another act, introduced by John Sitgreaves, turned over to the school the old glebe-Lot No. 322 at Middle and Johnston streets — with instructions that the trustees were either to rent or sell it and use the money as they saw fit. 30 Thus, as in Tryon's time (though not by means of a public tax) the school was provided with the means toward a revenue as a subsidy for its encouragement and continued operation.

Unfortunately there is no record as to who was the master of the reorganized school, nor indeed whether it opened in 1784 or later. Its operation certainly did not discourage private teachers

²⁷ State Records, XIX, 551.
28 State Records, XXIV, 607-609.
29 The North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser,
July 29, 1784.
30 State Records, XVIII, 267; XXIV, 825.

from soliciting pupils in the town. In 1787 one "Mr. Nihell" was advertising for as many as twenty-five scholars whom he offered to teach English, French, Latin, arithmetic, surveying, bookkeeping, gauging, navigation, and geography, as well as "morality and politeness, so necessary to youth." 31 In 1791, for a fee of thirty shillings per pupil quarterly, Thomas Crew was planning to open a school for young children "next door to Mr. James Carney's." 32 In 1795 a night school, one of the earliest in the state, was begun by A. H. Adams "for instructing those young men, in writing and arithmetic, whose business will not admit of their attending in the day." 33 The Academy probably was being taught about this time by the rector of Christ Church. It may be that the Reverend Leonard Cutting, who served the parish from 1785 to 1792, was the first master of the school under the reorganization, though definite proof of this is lacking.34

In 1793 it was announced that the Academy would open in November of that year under the direction of Thomas Pitt Irving, a young graduate of Princeton University, class of '89, and native of Somerset County, Maryland.³⁵ This was an important date in the life of the Academy, for under Irving's talented guidance it began to acquire a reputation such as it had enjoyed in Tomlinson's day. There were at this time three classes: a primary group, tuition twenty shillings per quarter, who studied the three R's; a secondary group, thirty shillings tuition, who studied higher mathematics; and a third, fifty shillings tuition, who learned the classical languages.³⁶ On December 23, 1793, the first visitation of Irving's classes was held.³⁷ The trustees examined his pupils in Latin, English, Euclid's elements, and geography. The pupils in turn entertained the visitors by performing "a dramatic piece in ridicule of scholastic pedantry," in which young William Gaston, son of Alexander Gaston and later to be one of the nation's great jurists, took part. The visitation was concluded with an oration by the fifteen-year-

³¹ The State Gazette of North-Carolina, October 4, 1787.
32 The North-Carolina Gazette, June 4, 1791.
33 North-Carolina Gazette, October 24, 1795.
34 Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., "Decay and Revival 1800-1830," in Sketches of Church History in North Carolina (Wilmington, 1892), chap. VII, p. 258.
35 North-Carolina Gazette, October 12, 1793. Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., "Decay and Revival 1800-1830," Sketches of Church History in North Carolina, p. 258.
36 North-Carolina Gazette, October 12, 1793.
37 North-Carolina Gazette, January 4, 1794.

old Gaston "on the blessings of American independence," for which his father had given his life. During the quarterly examination which took place the following spring, the trustees announced that "Mr. Gaston and Mr. Guion cannot be too highly commended for the Accuracy and elegancy of their translations from Homer and Horace." The Gazette proclaimed significantly:

From the present flourishing state of our Academy we have reason to hope that we shall no longer regret the disadvantages, under which we have long laboured in obtaining an education for our youth.38

The school at this time had fifty "younger pupils." At the next quarterly visitation, held in July, the students recited in logic besides the other usual subjects, and the Gazette speaks of a crowded audience assembling to hear them.³⁹ Several orations and "extracts from various comedies" were given, as well as a "petite piece," thought to have been written by Irving, which ridiculed the "pretender to science." The chief event of the evening was the performance of Mock Doctor, or Dumb Lady Cur'd, an adaptation by Fielding from Moliere's Le médecin malgré lui. The event was concluded with an impromptu talk by Irving on "the glories of science." Subsequent accounts of these visitations are infrequent due to the scarcity of early newspapers, but it is a safe assumption that the trustees and townspeople — as at one held in 1796—continued to be "well pleased" with the instruction and headmastership of Mr. Irving.40

In 1795 the schoolhouse was destroyed by fire, and Irving seems to have moved his classes to a room in the Palace. 41 The loss was a blow but no more than the town's gain in having acquired so accomplished a resident as this Marylander. In 1796 he was ordained to the Episcopal ministry and from that date until 1813, when he removed to Hagerstown, Maryland, "Parson" Irving served as rector of Christ Church in addition to being master of the Academy. In some ways he typified the fin de siècle atmosphere of the town. Strait-laced church folk probably criticized his worldliness, for not even upon donning the cloth did he leave off his flair for theatricals. Bishop Cheshire says, at

³⁸ North-Carolina Gazette, April 5, 1794.
39 North-Carolina Gazette, July 12, 1794.
40 North-Carolina Gazette, July 9, 1796.
41 John D. Whitford, "Historical Notes," MS reminiscences in the New Bern Public Library and Whitford Collection, p. 202, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.
Colonel Whitford wrote about 1900. The writer has encountered no contemporary reference to the fire.

a later date, that Irving was criticized for being "lacking in zeal and religious fervor" and complains that "some of the most prominent people of the parish left the Church during his time," being attracted by the growing Methodist and Presbyterian congregations.42 It is not hard to believe that Irving had more of the scholar's reserve than the preacher's ardor because he acquired an almost proverbial reputation for what a later schoolmaster and Presbyterian elder called his "sang froid." 43 But he was human enough to be dubbed "Tippoo Sahib" and "the Great Mogul" by his scholars. 44 And surely, in view of his long pastorate, second only to James Reed's in length, he could not have been entirely unsuccessful as a rector. On the other hand, his interest in literature, music, and drama must have made him a welcome companion in most circles. He taught singing and composed music for the odes or anthems he sometimes wrote. 45 His liking for "Theatrical exercises, of the unlicentious kind," gave the town many an entertaining evening.46 And he was popular enough as a member of the Masonic lodge to serve in 1798 as chaplain and as worshipful master in 1808-1810.47 After a long residence in New Bern, Irving returned to his native state and served at Hagerstown as master of the Academy until his death in 1818.48

42 Joseph Blount Cheshire, Jr., "Decay and Revival 1800-1830," Sketches of Church History in North Carolina, p. 259.

43 ". . . he conversed about the judgment with as much sang froid as ever parson Irving took a pinch of snuff. . . " Elias Hawes to Frederick Nash, July 7, 1812; Francis Nash Collection (1759-1864), State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh.

44 John H. Wheeler, Historical Sketches of North Carolina (Philadelphia, 1851), I, 120. John D. Whitford, "Historical Notes," p. 208. L. C. Vass, in History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C., p. 93, preserves this rhyming order by the fanciful Mr. Irving: PALACE, NEW BERN, Nov. 11, 1797.

MESSRS. GEORGE AND THOMAS ELLIS:

I send you, sirs, a little boy
To buy me neither robe nor toy,
Nor rum, nor swar, nor molasses.

To buy me neither robe nor toy, Nor rum, nor sugar, nor molasses, Coffee, tea, nor empty glasses; Nor linen cloths, nor beau cravats, Nor handkerchiefs, nor beaver hats; Nor anything, or less or more of all that constitutes your store, Save only this, a noon-day taper, And one thing more, a quire of paper. Of these pray send the exact amount, And charge them both to my account. And rest assured my prayer shall be

And charge them both to my account.
And rest assured my prayer shall be,
Kind sirs, for your prosperitee.
THOS. P. IRVING.

45 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, December 27, 1795; April 4, 1804, June 24, 1809, Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.

46 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, August 1, 1804, February 6, 1805.

47 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, December 5, 1798; first Wednesday, December, 1807; December 6, 1809.

48 The Raleigh Register, February 6, 1818.

So much for the fortunes of the school. The county's public buildings suffered, too, as a result of the war. The difficulty of construction at this period, as noted by James Iredell, has already been mentioned. A direct example of how the war prevented public building is shown in the county's first attempt to erect a pesthouse. Just before the Revolution, the assembly had enacted a law enabling Craven and other "maritime counties" to levy a poll tax and raise £100 to build in each a place in which to quarantine persons with contagious diseases. 49 But although this money was raised by the county, it was used almost entirely between late 1775 and early 1776 to reimburse patriots who had advanced pay to newly recruited troops. 50 During and after the Revolution, the courthouse was in a sorry state of disrepair, and the justices reverted to their old habit of meeting from pillar to post. In 1781 they held sessions at the home of Henry Purss, a former town constable.⁵¹ Two years later they were meeting in the "State House" — that is, the abandoned governor's palace. 52 It seems to have been a usual thing to have winter sessions in some place other than the courthouse. The minutes of one December session tell of adjournment to the home of the clerk "on Account of the Cold Weather and the Shattered condition of the Court House." 53 This condition applied also to the new jail, which had been completed to serve New Bern District not long before the war. In 1783 an act of assembly described this building as being "in a ruinous state, and by no means sufficient for the safe-keeping of felons." 54 The act levied a poll and property tax over the district for the repair of the jail, but apparently little was done toward this end. The tax money was never fully applied, for as late as 1801 some of the sheriffs in the district had not turned in all their revenue.55 The situation must have been equally discouraging in other counties. The General Assembly of 1795-1796 enacted a badly needed law which brought certain jail reforms and permitted the counties to appoint officers known as treasurers of public buildings to deal exclusively with this sort of financing and maintenance. 56 In midyear the court chose

⁴⁹ State Records, XXIII, 957.
50 Craven Court Minutes, September, 1774; December, 1775; March, 1776.
51 Craven Court Minutes, December, 1781.
52 Craven Court Minutes, December, 1783.
53 Craven Court Minutes, December, 1798.

⁵⁴ State Records, XXIV, 522. 55 Chap. XCI, Laws of 1801. 56 Chap. IV, Laws of 1795.

Isaac Guion for this position, and a year later he rendered a report on the jail which resulted eventually in the repair of that building.⁵⁷ By this time it had become apparent that extensive and costly repairs to the courthouse were necessary, and in 1798 a special building tax was levied by the court to repair both jail and courthouse, but more particularly the latter. 58 Deciding, however, that the old building would not be worth the expensive repairs, the court in 1800 determined to build a new courthouse — over the opposition of some of the justices, who evidently were opposed for reasons of economy to the undertaking.⁵⁹ This new building, valued by one underwriter at \$11,500, was completed about 1806, though it was not until between 1821 and 1824 that a new jail was erected. 60

Meanwhile, what of that most famous building, the Palace? How did it fare during and after the war? After Martin's flight it was occupied only intermittently. The General Assembly in 1777 met in the Palace. 61 The next session was called to meet there, and undoubtedly did convene there in April, 1778.62 In May, 1780, Governor Abner Nash and his family moved into the Palace and intended giving a grand ball to celebrate its reoccupation, but these plans were canceled when news of the fall of Charleston arrived. 63 Nash seems to have resided there a year or more. Before he moved in, the council in November, 1779, had made some effort to repair the roof, the lead sheeting of which was cracked "and otherways so much out of repair that every shower of rain runs through." 64 Yet, as has already been mentioned, it became necessary to remove some of this metal there were eight tons of it in the gutterwork, roof, and other fittings — for patriot ordnance.65 So much, in fact, was taken that Governor Thomas Burke feared the building would be reduced "to almost a wreck and a pile of brick." 66 By late in 1783 the Palace had deteriorated so badly that William Hooper

⁵⁷ Craven Court Minutes, June, 1796; June, 1797; December, 1798.
58 Craven Court Minutes, March, 1798.
59 Craven Court Minutes, June, September, 1800.
60 B. J. White to Hardy Whitford, January 29, 1827; Letters to Clerk of Court, Craven County, 1827-1886, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. Craven Court Minutes, December, 1805; March, 1821; August, 1824; February, 1825.
61 The North Carolina Gazette, December 26, 1777.
62 The North Carolina Gazette, January 2, 1778.
63 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell (New York, 1858), I, 446, 451, 507n; State Records, XV, 20.
64 State Records, XXII, 961.
65 State Records, XXI, 518, 624; XIX, 872-873.
66 State Records, XIX, 872-873.

said it had "more the appearance of a neglected jail than anything else." 67 Marauders and vandals played their part in ruining the "capital building on the continent of North America." J. D. Schoepf, a German traveler who visited New Bern about 1783, remarked on this wanton looting:

... the inhabitants of the town [he says] took everything that they could make use of, carpets, pannels of glass, locks, iron utensils, and the like, until watch-men were finally installed to prevent the carrying off of the house itself.68

The mention of watchmen evidently is a reference to the General Assembly's appointment of Longfield Coxe as caretaker in 1782.69 In 1785, 1787, and 1788, the General Assembly again named caretakers and at one time passed a resolution authorizing the prosecution at state expense of "any person [who] shall in any manner damage the said Buildings." 70 An effort was made to rent out the rooms and appropriate the revenue from this toward maintenance and repairs.⁷¹ Schoepf observed with some truth and much malice that the state "would be glad" to sell the Palace, "but there is nobody who thinks himself rich enough to live in a brick house." Several times the General Assembly considered this. In 1785 and 1787 bills providing for the sale were tabled, but in 1793 one was passed appointing commissioners to receive bids and lay them before the next session.⁷² Evidently the offers, if any were obtained, were so disappointing that nothing further was done, for in the journal of the following session the matter is not mentioned.

During these last years the Palace was being put to a miscellany of uses.⁷³ The appointment of commissioners in 1784 to rent the rooms shows that the Palace served as a sort of apartment building. Whether the main building was put to this use is not clear, but it is certain that there were lodgers in the east wing. The verdict of a coroner's jury in 1790, for example, tells of the slaying of one William Hoboye in an apartment "at the

⁶⁷ Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, II, 76.
68 Alfred J. Morrison, editor, Travels in the Confederation (Philadelphia, 1911), II, 128129; containing an English translation of John David Schoepf's Reise durch Einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten.
69 State Records, XIX, 115.
70 State Records, XVII, 425; XVIII, 221, 460; XXI, 129, 137.
71 State Records, XIX, 667.
72 State Records, XVII, 425; XX, 248; Chap. XXVIII, Laws of 1793.
73 It is interesting to note that in 1791 the lower floor of the state house at Fayetteville was being advertised for rent as store space. A tumbling act also was being held there. The North Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette, January 24, 31, 1791.

Pallace Kitchin." 74 Advertisements in newspapers indicate a variety of semi-public uses of the Palace. In 1784 a fencing school was to be held there; in 1795 a dancing school; and in 1796 classes were to be offered there by one M. Reverchon for instruction in French.⁷⁵ Perhaps these were held in the large downstairs rooms of the main building. As early as 1787 the Masonic lodge occasionally convened at the Palace, and from 1792 on, the members began regularly to meet "at the Masonic rooms" there. 76 The diarist William Attmore remarked in 1787 on the desolateness of these vasty halls, in which a school of some sort was then being held:

This House . . . is somewhat out of repair at present, and the Legislature, not meeting at this time in Newbern, the only use now made of it is, the Town's people use one of the Halls for a Dancing Room & One of the other Rooms is used for a School Room. The only inhabitants we found about it were the Schoolmaster and one little boy in the palace, school being out. And in the Stables 2 or 3 Horses who had taken shelter there from the bleakness of the Wind.77

Mention of the removal of the Academy to the Palace in 1795 has already been made. Thus, as Attmore so philosophically points out, this proud building, from being the center of regal authority, had fallen under the ferrule of the schoolmaster and his little subjects.

The empty Palace was an ever-present symbol of New Bern's loss of its position as permanent state capital. Like the Palace at Williamsburg in Virginia, it stood as mute testimony to the westward movement of the American population. In 1783, when the question of a federal capital was under consideration in Congress, the ghost of Tryon's Palace rose up to admonish North Carolina's representatives, who sought to have the capital of the United States fixed more nearly in the center of the country rather than in the extreme east. They reported to Governor Alexander Martin:

We urged . . . That posterity would laugh at our federal buildings and desert them if we should unwisely for selfish purposes fix them on

⁷⁴ Among miscellaneous papers at the Craven County courthouse, New Bern. Signed by

⁷⁴ Among miscellaneous papers at the Craven County courthouse, New Bern. Signed by John Green, foreman of the jury, and Jarvis Buxton, coroner.
75 The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser, July 29, 1784; North-Carolina Gazette, October 31, 1795 and April 30, 1796.
76 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, July 6, 1787; and passim from 1792; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.
77 Lida Tunstall Rodman, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII (1922), 16.

a corner of the Empire. The history of palaces in Williamsburg and New Bern were so much in the road and were proofs so much in point that we could not forget them. 78

Thus the political winds were blowing away from the east. This was a development that had begun not after but during the Revolution. It will be remembered that although the first and second provincial congresses met in New Bern in 1774 and 1775, the third, in August, 1775, met in Hillsboro and the fourth and fifth in the following year in Halifax. When the first state General Assembly, of which Abner Nash was speaker, convened in New Bern in April and May of 1777, the town's position as Assembly meeting place was challenged for the first time since Dobbs had moved his residence to Wilmington in 1758. The delegates voted among Halifax, Hillsboro, and New Bern as the place for their next session, and though New Bern received the greatest number of votes, it did not receive a majority of those in both houses. 79 This was the handwriting on the wall. It was inevitable under the new constitution, which took away the Albemarle counties' right to send five delegates each to an Assembly, and thus deprived New Bern of some of the support it would have received from the east. Besides, the west was continuously growing more populous, and its voting power was increasing as the years went by. Seven new western counties were created in 1779 alone, and others were formed from time to time after the war.

Although its passing was inevitable, New Bern's hold on the General Assembly was not so quickly loosened. The representatives continued to meet in the town, probably because it was the principal town of the state. The second session of the first Assembly under the constitution convened there late in 1777, as did the first session of the second Assembly in the spring of 1778.80 At this latter session, however, Hillsboro won out in the voting.81 From this time on, the legislators reverted to their old itinerant ways. In April, 1779, the Assembly was to have convened at New Bern, but a smallpox epidemic in the town forced the representatives to meet elsewhere and they held their session instead in Smithfield. 82 To their credit, they did make an attempt

⁷⁸ State Records, XVI, 908-910.
79 State Records, XII, 65.
80 State Records, XII, iii (prefatory notes), 416.
81 State Records, XII, 718-719.
82 State Records, XIII, 585, 762, 764, 792.

to prevent this nomadic wandering. At the Smithfield session, on May 6, a resolution was introduced in the house naming a commission of twelve to "view and fix upon some place in each of the Counties of Johnston, Wake & Chatham, for holding the General Assembly." 83 The resolution named James Coor as one of the two members for the New Bern District, and declared as its purpose the fact that

. . . the holding [of] the General Assembly of this State, and the Offices incident thereto, at some certain fixed place, at or near the centre thereof, would save a considerable Expense to the public and tend much to the Ease and advantage of the Inhabitants in other Respects as well as for the preservation of the public Records.

Whether the Senate acted favorably on this resolution is not known since a part of its journal is lost, but nothing seems to have resulted from the commission's efforts, if indeed it ever functioned. The Smithfield session voted to hold the next meeting at Halifax, and at Halifax New Bern won out in the balloting, so there was no semblance of consistency in the Assembly's pillar-to-post choices of a "capital" at this time.84

One circumstance that drove the Assembly from meeting regularly at New Bern was the fear of invasion or bombardment which frequently plagued the town.85 Pursuant to the Halifax balloting, the Assembly convened at New Bern in May, 1780, for the last time during the Revolution.86 The next session, which met at Halifax in January and February of 1781, resolved to return again to New Bern, but fears of a foray by Craig from captured Wilmington forced the Assembly — which was to have met there April 1—to convene instead on June 23 at Wake Courthouse. 87 Not until April, 1782, a year later, did the members gather again, and this time at Hillsboro, where the first definite action was taken since Tryon's time to "anchor" the assemblies. The two houses, noting "great and manifest inconveniences" for want of a fixed meeting place, passed an act declaring Hillsboro the seat of the Assembly but providing that if the British should threaten Hillsboro, or if a plague should break out in that town, the governor might call the members to

⁸³ State Records, XIII, 752. 84 State Records, XIII, 756, 855. 85 See above, chap. VII, p. 316-317. 86 State Records, XIX, 64. 87 State Records, XVII, vii (prefatory notes), 707.

meet elsewhere. 88 Of the Craven delegation, John Tillman, county member, and Richard Dobbs Spaight, town member, were recorded as not voting on the measure. William Bryan, however, who had asked for a division following the voice vote, is listed as voting against the bill, which was carried in the lower house, 45 to 18. Evidently Tillman and Spaight, perceiving the overwhelming majority as indicated by the voice vote, simply absented themselves when the division was taken, but it is clear that Craven fought hard against this measure, though it was expressly not designed to fix the capital but only the meetings of the Assembly until some permanent arrangement could be made.89

With the ending of the war, all this was undone. In the spring of 1783, the Assembly meeting at Hillsboro decided that the reasons for holding sessions there "in preference to any other place in this State have ceased by the restoration of peace"—a phraseology which betrays the jealousy of the other towns. 90 Privately the representatives were talking of fixing the capital either at Wake Courthouse or at Cross Creek (later Favetteville), though we may be sure that delegates from the lower Neuse section were arguing vehemently against it. 91 Intrigue among the towns and frantic bidding for the next session continued as the Assembly vacillated. A letter of Richard Caswell describes the hot partisanship that flared at these sessions. Speaking of the General Assembly which convened at Hillsboro in the spring of 1784, he wrote that

... a Joint Ballot was last night had, 141 Voters, Majority of course 71. when Hillsboro' had 69 & Newbern 65. I suppose we shall try again tomorrow, but 'twill be very Close pushing & according to the phrase this place [Hillsboro] will be hard pushed, but I fear it will carry it, much has been done towards fixing the Seat of Government but a few Neuse men have hitherto put a Stop to it. Tarboro was within three of a Majority once in three Times Voting. Fayetteville was in Competition. We had for Smithfield in the Course of the Three times polling 18, 13 & 17 which effectually has yet stopped their farther progress, indeed I do not know if it will be again attempted.92

At length New Bern won out in the balloting, and public notice

⁸⁸ State Records, XXIV, 448. 89 State Records, XVI, 127; XXIV, 448. 90 State Records, XXVI, 510. 91 State Records, XVI, 959. 92 State Records, XVII, 143-144.

was given to the townspeople regarding the demands the coming session would make on them:

As it will in all probability be the most numerous assembly hitherto known in this place, it is hoped the inhabitants will not be remiss in making the most ample provision for them.93

Since there were by now fifty-four counties and a nominal total of 168 representatives, this Assembly, which convened in November, crowded New Bern considerably. Archibald Maclaine wrote he "found it extremely difficult to get a bed to lie on." "The town," he said with double meaning, "as well as the two houses, is remarkably full." 94 A year later the Assembly convened for the first time in Fayetteville, and thereafter until 1790, with the exception of one session which met at Tarboro, seemed to prefer this up-and-coming town to the one on the banks of the Neuse and Trent.

During all this time the public papers, the council of state, and the governor's residence were wandering like the Assembly. Certain of the records are known to have been moved from New Bern when the British seized the town. 95 Legislative papers, of course, followed the Assembly from New Bern to Tarboro, Fayetteville, and other towns.96 Until 1778 the council of state met in New Bern, but in that year Governor Caswell began calling the members to meet at various places, "which I have changed from time to time," he wrote, "as most agreeable to them." 97 Caswell himself, though he lived at Dobbs, found it more "advisable" to spend most of his time at New Bern—a decision which Thomas Burke, later to be governor, expressed himself as pleased with.98 Caswell's successor, Abner Nash, lived throughout his term (1779-1781) at New Bern simply because that was his home. Nash's successor, Alexander Martin, spent much time there, as did Caswell during his second term (1784-1787). At this time Caswell began alternating the council meetings between New Bern and Kinston.99 He had called the council to meet at Kinston as early as 1777, but he realized that this place suited less the convenience of other officials than his own desire

⁹³ Gazette of the State of South Carolina (Charleston), June 2, 1785.
94 State Records, XVII, 631.
95 State Records, XIX, 157.
96 State Records, XVIII, 196, 461.
97 State Records, XIII, 43.
98 State Records, XI, 393, 449.
99 State Records, XVI, 409, 449; XVII, 108, 468, 469, 470; XX, 634, 638; XXII, 687.

to be near his estate. He once wrote that he could not recommend it for "its accommodations or the politeness of its company" but urged in extenuation that it was "not so far distant from New Bern, but some of the luxuries of that Town may be easily had here." 100

Being the permanent home of neither governor, Assembly, nor council. New Bern could expect soon to have its claim as capital legally annulled. 101 A forewarning of this came when the constitutional convention of 1788, meeting at Hillsboro, acted on the question. The convention voted not to fix the capital itself, but to require the Assembly to fix it within ten miles of a point decided on by the convention. Samuel Spencer, of Anson, placed the name of New Bern in nomination along with Smithfield, Tarboro, Hillsboro, Fayetteville, the fork of Haw and Deep rivers, and Isaac Hunter's tavern in Wake County. 102 None of these places got a majority of votes on the first ballot, but on the second Isaac Hunter's in Wake County won out. 103 An ordinance to require fixing the capital within ten miles of this spot was accordingly presented — and approved by a narrow margin. What had occurred was practically the same solution adopted in Dobb's time. Caught amid the cross fire of town rivalries, the Assembly proposed fixing the capital where there was no town at all! A total of 119 out of approximately 270 members dissented vigourously from this action, urging the choice of Fayetteville instead, and contending that "the establishment of a seat of government in a place unconnected with commerce, and where there is at present no town, will be attended with a heavy expence to the people." 104 The New Bern and Craven County delegates did not join in this dissent, sensing a too-powerful contender in Fayetteville. Their fears as to the Assembly's liking for this town were well-founded. Not until December, 1791, did the Assembly return to New Bern after the crowded session of 1785 — Fayetteville winning out almost every year in the balloting for a place of meeting. And when the representatives convened again in New Bern the following year, it was for the last

¹⁰⁰ State Records, XVIII, 520.
101 The diaries of Miranda (1783) and the Englishman, J. F. D. Smyth (1784), indicate that New Bern was still considered capital after the war. However, Schoepf (1783-1784) says it "formerly" was capital.
102 State Records, XXII, 28-29.
103 State Records, XXII, 33.
104 State Records, XXII, 33.

time. For although the Assembly had for years found ways to avoid the mandate of the convention of 1788, the choice of a capital inevitably had to be made. At length in 1794 the seat of government was fixed at a "town" called Raleigh in Wake County, and at the next session another law was passed requiring the governor to reside there at least six months of the year. 105

Much was the scorn heaped out of envy by Fayetteville and New Bern upon this infant capital. In 1798 François X. Martin's Gazette blazoned on its pages a stinging letter, purportedly written by an English traveler from Raleigh as one of a series of American travel accounts. 106 Due to its situation, wrote this "Englishman," Raleigh would never become anything but "the solitary residence of a few public officers, containing a few ordinary taverns, gaming-houses & dram-shops"—this being, he said, "what this metropolis now is." Studiously disparaging, he commented on the ugliness of the courthouse and the stenches of the new square. The state house he pronounced "a clumsy brick building" and the residence of the governor "no way suited to the dignity of the first magistrate of a state." To this diatribe the "citizens of Raleigh," in another newspaper letter, replied spiritedly:

Were we to venture an opinion of this traveling gentleman, we should pronounce him a disappointed partizan who had formerly struggled in the interest of that graveyard called Fayetteville—rankling at heart, he has assumed the character of an Englishman to vent his spleen. 107

For some reason it never occurred to the "citizens of Raleigh" that a zealous New Bernian—perhaps Martin himself—might have composed the letter.

On December 2, 1789, the town witnessed a gala event, the celebration of North Carolina's adoption of the federal Constitution, which had been accomplished by the convention at Fayetteville in November. A company of the New Bern Volunteers, a militia organization which had just been formed that summer, paraded at the courthouse and then marched to the

¹⁰⁵ Chap. II, Laws of 1793; chap. VIII, p. 5, Laws of 1794. Chap. VIII, p. 15, Laws of 1798, fixed unconditionally the governor's residence at Raleigh and provided that any intended absence of longer than ten days should be advertised in one or more newspapers.

106 The original newspaper is not available, but the letter was reprinted in full by The North-Carolina Journal (Halifax), March 12, 1798.

107 The North-Carolina Journal (Halifax), June 4, 1798.

¹⁰⁸ The adoption was not celebrated generally, it appears until about this time. Edenton's festivities took place December 1.

Palace green, where they fired a feu de joie. 109 A float made in the shape of a vessel and christened "the ship Federalist" was pulled through the streets to Palace Square amid the cheers of the townspeople. In the afternoon there was a banquet which seems to have taken place in the Palace, and while a twelve-gun salute was fired, twelve toasts were drunk, one among them being "to the French and Dutch patriots." Afterward there was more parading:

The whole company [according to a newspaper account] next marched in procession through the principal streets of the town, accompanied by Captain Stiron, in the ship Federalist. The ship was elegantly decorated and fired a salute at every corner. In the evening the town was illuminated. 110

Well might New Bern celebrate this event with the traditional gunpowder and torchlight, for the town soon became a center of federal activity. On March 10, 1790, a United States customhouse was opened in New Bern with John Daves commissioned as first collector.111 Soon after, a federal district court was established in New Bern, meeting for the first time, it appears, on October 4, 1790.112 The court continued to convene there quarterly until 1792, when Congress decided it must rotate among New Bern, Wilmington, and Edenton. In 1791, John Sitgreaves, a New Bern native, who had been federal district attorney, became judge of this court succeeding John Stokes. 113 Federal circuit courts of appeal were held in New Bern from November, 1791, to June, 1793, but at the latter date the sessions were moved to the new capital, Raleigh. 114 There was, of course,

¹⁰⁹ The gentlemen composing this company had met at the courthouse and organized it, in August, by choosing the following officers: Samuel Gerock, captain; William Becking, lieutenant; Robert Donnell, ensign; and William Henry and Dr. James Cutting, sergeants. "Their uniform is to be blue with buff facing, [and with] round hat covered with bear skin." The State Gazette of North-Carolina, August 27, 1789. Their colors were "an eagle spread, holding in the dexter talon an olive branch, in the sinister a quiver of arrows—motto, above the eagle, Pax aut Bellum, underneath Newbern Volunteers." The State Gazette of North-Carolina, July 16, 1790. By 1794 there were one lighthorse company and three other companies of militia, probably including the Volunteers, at New Bern. The North-Carolina Journal (Halifax), October 1, 1794.

110 The State Gazette of North-Carolina (Edenton), December 17, 1789.

111 City Gazette and Daily Advertiser (Charleston), March 23, 1790. In 1784 New Bern had been named by law the place for the office of (State) collector of Port Beaufort, but this was only a reaffirmation of an existing situation. State Records, XXIV, 552.

112 "Inventory of Federal Archives in the States, Series II, The Federal Courts, No. 32, North Carolina" (Work Projects Administration, 1940), p. 44.

113 The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette, January 31, 1791.

114 Although it was decided in a state court a few years before the adoption of the constitution, a case of some importance in subsequent federal judicial history was decided in New Bern. This was the suit Bayard vs. Singleton, which, tried in 1787, resulted in one of the earliest precedents for court review and annulment of unconstitutional legislation. For an idea of the controversy this decision stirred, see Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, II, 169, 172-176.

of James Iredell, II, 169, 172-176.

a federal post office in New Bern, of which François X. Martin seems to have been postmaster. In 1793 he offered an unusual service to the inhabitants, as this interesting item in his Gazette testifies:

A number of inhabitants of this town having evinced a desire that the Post-Master would cause their letters to be delivered at their own houses immediately on the arrival of the mail. He will in future do so, with regard to such persons as may require it and be willing to pay therefor 50 cents per annum. 115

This must have been one of the earliest postal deliveries in North Carolina.

At this period New Bern remained the largest town in the state, with Fayetteville as its nearest rival. From about 150 houses or at most 1,000 persons, in the early days of the Revolution, the town grew to at least 400 houses and 2,000 persons by the early 1790's. A New Bern newspaper of the period says that between 1784 and 1798 the population "nearly doubled." 116 Actually, this was a conservative statement; the population more than doubled. As Bishop Asbury wrote when he visited New Bern in 1796, the town was "a growing place." "Should piety, health and trade attend this Newbern," he predicted, "it will be a very capital place in half a century from this." 117 By 1800 New Bern was far ahead of any other North Carolina town. 118 The census of that year—the first accurate information on North Carolina urban population—gives the following figures: New Bern, 2,467; Wilmington, 1,689; Fayetteville, 1,656; Edenton, 1,302; Raleigh, 669; Halifax, 382; and Bath, 100.119 New Bern did not approach the size of Charleston, whose inhabitants numbered 18,824, or Norfolk, with its population of 6,926; but it was more than thirty per cent larger than the second-rank-

¹¹⁵ North-Carolina Gazette, March 23, 1793.

116 The Newbern Gazette, January 12, 1799.

117 Francis Asbury, Journal . . From August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815, II, 272-273.

118 An idea of the relative size of the eastern North Carolina towns during the postrevolutionary period may be obtained from the estimates of travelers and other contemporaries in the absence of population figures. Though these estimates vary and border on contradiction, they are rather interesting, as this comparative table shows:

Writer

New Bern

Wilmington

Edenton

ing town in North Carolina and nearly four times the size of the new capital of Raleigh. 120

Travelers' impressions of New Bern at this time are interesting. Schoepf wrote that the town was "small, not yet rich." 121 Miranda found the houses "only so so, and small for the most part, although comfortable and well kept." 122 Practically all of these were of wood, there being only about two private residences constructed of brick. 123 Many of the houses, according to Attmore, were "large and commodious," and two stories in height.

There are to many of the houses [he wrote] Balconies or Piazzas in front and sometimes back of the house, this Method of Building is found convenient on account of the great Summer Heats here — These Balconies are often two Stories high, sometimes one or both ends of it [them] are boarded up, and made into a Room. 124

The heat also impressed Miranda. He called it "so excessive that I do not recall ever having suffered such a disagreeable feeling either on the coast of Africa or in the province of Estremadura in Spain." 125 On the other hand, New Bern's situation at the juncture of two rivers brought unfailing admiration. Bishop Asbury called it "the image of Charleston" in this respect. 126 The Englishman J. F. D. Smyth said New Bern stood on "a very beautiful spot, on the banks of the Neuse, at the confluence of a pretty stream, named Trent River." 127 New Bern itself he called "a pretty little town, somewhat larger than Wilmington," and said it contained "several exceedingly good and even elegant houses." 128 Most travelers credited Wilmington with making a fine appearance, but Smyth thought otherwise. He admitted that a few of the houses were "pretty good" but said the town as a whole was "nothing better than a village" with "no appearance of ever having been the capital of a province." On the other hand, he found Edenton "by far the most pleasant and beautiful

¹²⁰ It may be mentioned that in 1790 Craven County had a total of 10,469 inhabitants, of whom 3,658 were blacks. State Records, XXVI, 407-436.

121 Alfred J. Morrison, editor, Travels in the Confederation, II, 128-129.

122 W. S. Robertson, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 5.

123 Jedidiah Morse, The American Geography (Elizabethtown, 1789), pp. 412-413.

124 Lida Tunstall Rodman, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, 45-46.

125 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 8.

States 1743-1784, p. 8.

126 Francis Asbury, Journal . . . From August 7, 1771, to December 7, 1815, II, 272-273.

127 J. F. D. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America (London, 1784), I, 159-160.

128 J. F. D. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America, II, 89.

town in North Carolina." 129 For most inhabitants the early houses held not a few discomforts. Miranda speaks of the "troops of bedbugs" that abode in their ill-stopped wooden crevices. Actually, he said, he could not sleep for their nocturnal nibblings, though since this sensitive Latin was also bothered by "millions of mosquitoes" and the "bellowing of bullfrogs" his assertion that the North American species of cimex lectularius was four times as large as the European may be an overstatement. 130

Unfortunately the comments of travelers, with the notable exception of the impressionable Miranda, seldom went beyond the situation of the town or the condition of the houses. Contemporary newspapers, however, give us an insight into another aspect of post-revolutionary New Bern-its commercial side. Mercantile activity became more extensive and varied than ever before, and merchant-owned property seems to have been more elaborate. One of the leading business men of the 1790's, for example, offered for sale a new wharf with not one but two warehouses, whose cellars alone would hold from 1,200 to 1,500 barrels of naval stores, with lofts, "airy and commodious," that would store 10,000 bushels of grain. 131 Instead of a single store, some merchants operated two or three. William Becking & Company had stores, apparently two of them, "in Pollock-street and on the County-wharf." 132 John Waite & Company operated a wholesale and retail store on Middle Street and two retail stores. one near the county wharf and another on Pollock Street. 133 The merchants of New Bern were highly regarded and seem to have been influential in the state. In 1793, when Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson sought information on the depredations of French and British privateers, he corresponded first of all with the New Bern merchants.

There being [he wrote] no particular portion or description of the mercantile body pointed out by the laws for receiving communications of this nature, I take the liberty of addressing it to the merchants of Newbern, for the State of North Carolina, and of requesting through them it may be made known to all those of their state, whom it may concern. 134

¹²⁹ J. F. D. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America, II, 92-93, 103.
130 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, pp. 7-8.
131 North-Carolina Gazette, January 4, 1794.
132 The North-Carolina Gazette, April 1, 1790.
133 The North-Carolina Gazette, July 16, November 5, 1791.
134 The State Gazette of North-Carolina, October 12, 1793.

As a consequence, Thomas Turner, James Davis, Jr., John Devereux, James McKinlay, and Isaac Guion were appointed to ask the merchants of Wilmington, Fayetteville, Washington, Edenton, and Beaufort to pass along documents relative to aggression on the high seas. Could this have been the town's first merchants' association?

Both the men and their wares came from widely separated parts of the earth. William Becking was a native of Germany. 135 "Monsieur Fouche," "Mr. Le Deuff," and the firm Henrion & Constanten were Frenchmen in business in New Bern. 136 So well represented was this nationality that the French language newspaper Courier de l'Amérique, published in Philadelphia, was being offered to subscribers by the editor of the New Bern Gazette. 137 In years to come the town acquired a surprising variety of nationalities. Between 1800 and 1825 the county court naturalized at least twenty-eight foreigners—thirteen from Great Britain, three from Denmark, two from Germany and Sweden, five of origin unspecified, and one each from Portugal, The Netherlands, and France. 138 In 1818 a local rhymster wrote:

> The people of this curious town Are of all hues, black, white, and brown, And not a clime beneath the moon But here may find some wandering loon. Welsh, Irish, English, French, and Dutch, Norwegians, Portuguese, and Scotch, And other aliens claim attention Whose very names would tire to mention. 139

As for the goods being offered, they were more varied, and in a sense more luxurious, than ever before. Merchants advertised not only European and West India wares but products from the East Indies as well. 140 The West Indies trade was still most important. A customhouse report for six months of the year 1788 shows that of some seventy-five vessels entering and clearing at New Bern, about thirty gave West Indies ports as their origin or destination, with a decidedly lesser number trading between

137 The North-Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser,

¹³⁵ He died in 1789 after "but a few years" residence in New Bern. The State Gazette of North-Carolina (Edenton), November 12, 1789.

136 North-Carolina Gazette, December 26, 1795; October 1, 1796. State Records, XVIII,

July 29, 1784.

138 Craven Court Minutes, 1800-1825, passim.

139 L. C. Vass, History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C., 112.

140 See advertisements of John Harvey and William Becking, The North-Carolina Gazette,

New Bern and New England, New York, or Philadelphia. 141 Only one vessel arrived from overseas during this period and only three cleared with overseas ports as their destination. And yet a considerable quantity of European goods and indeed some merchandise from the far corners of the earth, was being offered. In all probability these were imported for the most part by way of the northern cities. Some of these wares were London broadcloth, Irish linen, Dutch ovens, German steel, German flutes, East India china and artificial flowers, anchovies, and India soy and ketchup sauces. 142 Fruits of all kinds, some evidently from faraway eastern lands, were being offered—raisins, prunes, figs. olives, tamarinds, and oranges. Oranges, incidentally, were rare enough to be quite a delicacy, and they were prized sufficiently to be regarded as a fitting and impressive present, even for one's sweetheart! 143

Shops were more numerous, and the town's business section seems to have expanded or at least scattered. As early as 1778 increased activity on the Trent River side of town had forced the Assembly to enact a law reopening South Front Street behind the Palace. The inclusion of this street in Palace Square was said to have been "much complained of" and "Prejudicial to many of the Inhabitants of the Town" - doubtless the merchants of that vicinity. 144 By 1787 this section had grown to the point where it was found necessary to open Eden Street to traffic. 145 In pre-Revolutionary days, business was carried on almost exclusively in Craven and Middle streets but as the town grew this situation changed. One of William Becking's stores, for example, was at Pollock and Metcalf streets. 146 At one time a silversmith and later a hatmaker occupied a shop near this same corner. 147 In 1788 a woman milliner opened for business in a

¹⁴¹ Customs Report, Port Beaufort, January 1 to July 1, 1788; State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. So closely was New Bern in touch with the West Indies that the Masonic Lodge exchanged communications with the English lodges in Jamaica and Hispaniola. Early in the nineteenth century such names as Rodriguez and Diaz, probably of natives of the West Indies, occur on the membership roll. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 13, 1790; October 12, 1795, Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern. It is probably not without significance that a popular play of the period was The West Indian, by Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), which was often enacted by touring troupes during their visits to New Bern and other eastern towns.

142 These products were all advertised by various New Bern merchants in the newspapers between 1783 and 1800.

143 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attruce, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, 22, 30.

144 State Records, XXIV, 246.

145 State Records, XXIV, 823-824.

146 The State Gazette of North-Carolina, March 27, 1788.

147 North-Carolina Gazette, October 31, 1795.

house on South Front between Burn and Eden streets. 148 This was some distance west of the Palace, a section that before the Revolution consisted of uncut woodland. Tailors and habitmakers, boot and shoemakers, barbers, hatmakers, and several apothecaries—then and many other trade or professional men advertise in the newspapers of the period, quite in contrast to earlier years when a variety of skills and services did not exist.

Yet despite this development of urban life, the rural scene remained as important as ever. The plantations were not always very large. "Gamboes" or "the Mill Land," as described in a newspaper advertisement, was perhaps a typical one of the period. 149 Lying on Brice's Creek, it consisted of 1,500 acres, forty or fifty of which had been cleared. One of two streams on it had a sawmill with one saw covered by a shingled roof, complete with dam, grist mill, and flood gates. On the other stream were seventy to eighty acres of "as good rice swamp as any in Craven County." 150 "Brice's Creek," said the advertisement, "has a sufficient depth of water for any vessel that can come to Newbern to go up and load or unload at the said plantation." A few landholders owned thousands of acres. Joseph Leech, for example, held title to a total of 44,481 acres in eight counties, of which 30,780 acres were in Craven.¹⁵¹ Yet surprisingly enough Leech seems to have owned only ten slaves. As a matter of fact there were only eighteen persons out of the nearly 7,000 whites in the county who owned as many as twenty-five blacks, and only one who owned as many as a hundred. 152 Many of the plantations were pleasant and prosperous and —in contrast to modern times — fruitful with orchards. After visiting the Ogden plantation. Miranda wrote that the trees "were so laden with fruit, particularly the apple, pear, and peach trees, that those which were not propped up had their crotches split and branches broken down with the weight." 153 Miranda also visited the plantation of the aged patriot, John Green, twelve miles from

¹⁴⁸ The State Gazette of North-Carolina, February 7, 1788. 149 The North-Carolina Gazette, June 4, 1791. 150 In 1797 Richard Dobbs Spaight, whose plantation was in this vicinity, was advertising or an overseer "that understands the cultivation of Rice." North-Carolina Gazette, January for an overseer "that understands the cultivation of Rice." North-Carolina Gazette, January 14 [?], 1797.

151 Inventory of Joseph Leech's taxable property, April 1, 1798; Gregg Papers, New Bern

¹⁵¹ Inventory of Joseph Leech's taxable property, April 1, 1198; Gregg Fapers, New Bern Public Library.

152 Census of 1790, State Records, XXVI, 407-436. The largest slave-holder was David Witherspoon, who owned 113.

153 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 7.

town, and dwelt at some length on both the host and his estate:

He is one of the principal farmers of the State [says Miranda of his host]; his character, integrity and age are remarkable; the latter exceeds 85 years, without one's noting any decay in his health, robustness, and activity. His humor is festive and always agreeable. The house is situated on a little rise, and at the foot there are two or three springs which produce an abundance of crystalline water, very beautiful. . . . These country houses are generally neat and comfortable, although somewhat small, like those in the town. The industriousness of the inhabitants is undeniable, for with the war and the general scarcity of manufactures, each householder set up a loom in his house and wove cotton cloth, as well as wool, to clothe the whole family. I have seen some of these [garments], of good cloth and design. With the apples, pears, and peaches they make a very good cider and brandy. Among the creatures which this venerable old man had there I noticed a handsome swan, which still seemed young, although by its owner's computation it was already more than sixty years old-a rare constitution indeed in so small an individual! 154

Miranda mentions corn, barley, wheat, and potatoes as the crops he saw on his excursion, but there were doubtless others. Could tobacco have been one of them? Its cultivation was rather recent, though much of it was shipped from New Bern during and after the Revolution. By 1789 a public tobacco warehouse was ordered to be built "near the Center of this Town," and in 1809 a brick warehouse on Trent River owned by James Mc-Kinlay was being taken over by the county for the same purpose. 155

Socially, New Bern made the most of the dying days of the grand century. Such families as the Spaights, Nashes, and Stanlys, and frequent visitors like Wilmington's Archibald Maclaine and Edenton's brilliant James Iredell, made the town a center of post-Revolutionary gaiety. New Bern's generous hospitality impressed everyone, whether over a rattling tea tackle, a midafternoon dinner, or a lavish late breakfast. So frequent were invitations, wrote Iredell, that he seldom ate at his own lodgings. ("By the way," he remarked in a letter, "I think this breakfasting invitation very convenient: it has equal kindness in it, and is less troublesome and expensive.") 156

Weddings were always gala occasions. An account has survived

¹⁵⁴ W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, pp. 6-7.
155 Craven Court Minutes, March, 1789; September, 1809.
156 Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, I, 392.

of a particularly festive one—the marriage of Daniel Carthy and Sarah Haslen in 1791 — which Miss Amaryllis Sitgreaves called "the handsomest . . . in New Bern since I can remember." 157 Off the waterfront home was anchored a brightly lighted vessel whose guns boomed in salute until the ceremony started. They spoke as the bride—"dressed in white lustring, a coat flounced with gauze, [and] a small white chip hat"—was escorted downstairs. Tea followed the ceremony, then dancing. And after that, the guests walked, in couples, upstairs "to a very elegant set supper" while a drummer and fifer played at the door. Two large square wedding cakes sat on the ends of the table. For four days the dances, teas, and musical entertainments continued. On the fifth the gentlemen of the wedding party concluded the festivities with a "relish" on board the vessel. After such a thorough celebration, the marriage vows were well remembered -at least so it would seem from the dashing Miranda's complaint:

The women, particularly the married ones, [he writes] observe a monastic seclusion, and such submission to their husbands as I have never seen. They dress neatly, and all their life is domestic. As soon as they marry they separate themselves from all intimate friendships, and their attentions are centered entirely upon the care of their house and family; the first year as married women they spend in the role of lovers, the second as nursemaids, and the third and remaining years as housekeepers. The spinsters on the other hand enjoy complete liberty, and go walking alone wherever they please, without their steps being watched. 158

Gavest and most impressive of all the social events of the period was the welcome given to President Washington when he visited the town on April 20 and 21 during his southern tour in 1791.¹⁵⁹ Escorted by the Craven Light Horse and New Bern Volunteers, Washington's calvacade was greeted on arrival by a fifteen-gun salute from Captain Stephen Tinker's artillery company. The President stayed at the John Wright Stanly home at Middle and New streets, then the residence of Stanly's son John, who was just twenty-one years old. A delegation headed by Judge John Sitgreaves and Mayor Joseph Leech, as well as a commit-

York, 1923), pp. 84-107.

¹⁵⁷ Amaryllis Sitgreaves to her sister, Mrs. Attmore, in Philadelphia, December 8 [?], 1791; Miscellaneous Papers, Series I, Vol. II, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh. 158 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 5.

159 Archibald Henderson, Washington's Southern Tour 1791 (Cambridge, Boston, and New

tee from the Masonic Lodge headed by Worshipful Master Isaac Guion, welcomed the President to New Bern. 160 At four o'clock in the afternoon a public dinner was held at the Palace; and that evening, undoubtedly in the ornate Council Chamber, a grand ball was given, at which, the President noted in his diary, "abt. 70 ladies were present." 161 Mrs. Richard Dobbs Spaight danced the first minuet with the distinguished guest, who despite his years was handsome in black velvet, with gold knee and shoe buckles, and his powdered hair gathered behind in a black silk bag. At eleven o'clock the President departed, but the other guests, enjoying to the fullest this rare occasion, danced on far into the night.

Over teas, dancing assemblies, and dinners, the women reigned supreme; yet most of the everyday pleasures were for men only. Billiards, introduced by the French during the Revolution, was exclusively a man's sport. Each town had two or three tables, and the wives complained that their husbands frequented them far too much. 162 The townspeople inclined to be somewhat puritanical about day-to-day pleasures. Flute-playing and card games were unheard-of on Sundays, as if sufficient to the week days were the evil thereof. 163 Fox hunts were a favorite masculine sport, fraught with accidents and even tragedies as the clinging riders swept through the thickest underbrush, "where at times the horse can hardly pass." Miranda took part in this vigorous sport and wrote that "at any moment I expected that one of the party should have a leg, an arm, or his head broken." 164 Deer hunting and driving were other diversions about which the country squire found a spice of danger; while horse races — with four or five thoroughbred entries from surrounding counties, mounted bareback by Negro jockeys thirteen or fourteen years old — were hazardous both to riders and spectators. 165 Attmore, who attended the races at New Bern, saw a Negro boy pitched from his horse and badly injured, and on the following day

¹⁶⁰ Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 11 [?], 29, 1791; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.
¹⁶¹ Joseph A. Hoskins, editor, President Washington's Diaries, 1791 to 1799 (Summerfield,

¹⁶¹ Joseph A. Hoskins, editor, President Washington's Duaries, 1781 to 1785 (Summerles, N. C.), p. 21.
162 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 10.
163 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 14.
164 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 10.
165 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, 17-18; The North-Carolina Journal (Halifax), December 22, 1794.

watched as a horse bolted into the spectators crowding the track. (This track in all probability was the one shown on Sauthier's map of 1769; vestiges of it are visible today.) 166 Gambling was rife among all classes, especially at these races, where, says Attmore, he saw "white Boys, and Negroes eagerly betting ½ a quart of Rum, a drink of Grog &c, as well as Gentlemen betting high." From the number of laws passed forbidding public gaming one concludes that efforts to end it were futile. As to the private variety, Attmore reports that a single New Bern trader did not hesitate to lose £600 in a night's card game. 167 Drinking like gambling was another popular sport, and both were enjoyed mostly in the taverns or ordinaries. Quite a popular public house was Joseph Oliver's on Middle Street near the church, where, said Miranda, he paid a silver peso, or about eight shillings, daily for food and lodging—"which price," he adds, "seemed to me extremely low considering the neatness and good appearance of the place." 168 Monsieur Hero's, Sylvester Pendleton's, a coffee house near Craven and South Front streets, and later Frilick's Hotel—all were favorite gathering places for the gentlemen of New Bern. 169 After the adoption of the Constitution, some of these taverns were designated, with a federalist touch, as "at the sign of the Golden Eagle" or "at the sign of the Arms of the United States." 170 Here the town tipplers drank their cherry bounce or eggnog, Lisbon, Malaga, and Teneriffe wines, or Holland gin.171 Gin grog and mint or gin sling seem to have been favorite mixed drinks, though imbibers called sometimes for a "bowl of sangree"—a punch which had snakeroot as one of its ingredients. 172

Theatricals were an important diversion. As early as Tryon's time and perhaps even before then, companies of actors were touring the coastal towns. 173 It was not until after the Revolu-

^{166 &}quot;Plan of the Town of Newbern / in Craven County / North Carolina / . . . Survey'd and Drawn in May 1769 by C. J. Sauthier." British Museum, King's Maps CXXII-60; photo copy in Library of Congress, division of maps.

167 Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, 37.

168 W. S. Robertson, editor, The Diary of Francisco de Miranda (Tour of the United States) 1783-1784, p. 4.

169 The eastern half of Lot No. 13 is referred to in 1790 as being "between the old coffee-house and Richard Ellis, Esq's." The North-Carolina Gazette, April 1, 1790.

170 The Newbern Gazette, November 24, 1793; North-Carolina Gazette, December 31, 1796.

171 North-Carolina Gazette, June 7, 1794; The Newbern Gazette, February 9, 1799.

172 Account book of George T. Vallance's tavern, May, 1787; Miscellaneous papers, Craven courthouse, New Bern.

courthouse, New Bern.

173 Colonial Records, VII, 786-787.

tion that these visits became frequent and theatres began to emerge as a permanent part of the town scene. James Iredell describes the performance given by one of these companies in New Bern in 1787. The play was The Miser, probably Fielding's adaptation of Moliere's L'avare, and Iredell wrote after seeing it: "I never was so disgusted in my life." 174 The actors he called "execrable." "The place was a most abominable one, and one half the audience could neither hear nor see." To climax this uncomfortable evening, two of the actors fought behind the lowered curtain, and the audience rushed upon the stage to see the row. Iredell gives no hint as to where this performance was held. In the spring and summer of 1788 advertisements of touring troupes mention "the theatre in this town" as if it were a well known and permanent institution. In March the comic opera Poor Soldier, by the Irish actor John O'Keeffe (1747-1833), and The Revenge: a Tragedy, by the celebrated romantic poet Edward Young (1683-1765), were being performed. 175 In June a Charleston company—and nearly all the professional actors toured from this city - played in New Bern. 176 About this summer season was written what seems to be the earliest drama criticism in a newspaper that has come down to us. The Wilmington Centinel commented on the performances as follows:

On Monday evening, the 13th inst. the Theatre in Newbern was opened by Mr. Kenna's company of Comedians, with the tragedy of Isabella, or the Fatal Marriage. Mrs. Kenna, in the character of Isabella, gave the most universal satisfaction to a polite and genteel audience, many of whom in pearly drops testified that their hearts were sensibly touched with those tender feelings which her inimitable powers must always inspire. Melpomene perhaps cannot boast a greater favourite on the American stage, and we think, we may at least venture to pronounce, that her equal hath not appeared for many years in the southern states.177

The Kennas were well known in Charleston, Baltimore, and other coastal cities. Kenna won acclaim in many parts, among them that of Sir Peter Teazle in Sheridan's School for Scandal, 178

¹⁷⁴ Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, II, 157.
175 The State Gazette of North-Carolina, March 27, 1788.
176 Attmore states primly that the actresses in a company playing at Tarboro were "Adventuresses from Charleston." Lida Tunstall Rodman, editor, "Journal of a Tour to North Carolina by William Attmore, 1787," The James Sprunt Historical Publications, XVII, 37.
177 The Wilmington Centinel, and General Advertiser, June 18, 1788.
178 Eola Willis, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century (Columbia, S. C., 1924), pp. 66, 115, 198

^{115, 198.}

In addition to the professional performers, there were also amateurs who, inspired by these touring comedians, began soon after the Revolution to form theatrical societies in the eastern North Carolina towns. 179 Irving's interest in the drama and the New Bern Academy's performance of Mock Doctor, or Dumb Lady Cur'd have already been mentioned. If what a Charleston critic thought of this Molière adaptation is true, Irving's students did not always present "Theatrical exercises, of the unlicentious kind," for the South Carolina writer complained that this farce was "written in that indelicate, coarse kind of language which has become offensive in these days of modern refinement." 180 Perhaps the offending lines were excised or rewritten before the Academy's performance. The Mock Doctor contained songs, so the amateurs probably found it necessary to call on the town's musical as well as its acting talent. In 1796 occurs this advertisement in the New Bern Gazette:

If any gentleman or lady in Newbern is in possession of the music of the FARCE entitled, "THE AGREEABLE SURPRISE," they will oblige a number of their friends, by lending it to Dr. James S. Cutting, Dr. F. A. Toy, or Mr. Thomas P. Irving. 181

Evidently Irving, Toy, and Cutting were the leaders in the New Bern Theatrical Society. The Agreeable Surprise, its musical score composed by a Dr. Arnold, was one of the most popular farces of the day. It had been written by the prolific O'Keeffe in 1781. This play, therefore, as well as O'Keeffe's Poor Soldier, which appeared in 1783, seems to have reached New Bern relatively soon after its premiere in England. Most of the favorites performed in the town had been written early in the century.

Frequently amateur and professional acting were blended into a single performance. In 1797, with a mixed cast that included some of the gentlemen of the Theatrical Society, one Mr. Edgar, who had been manager of Charleston's Church Street Theatre two years previously, was presenting the Poor Soldier and the tragedy Douglas, or the Noble Shepherd, which had been written in 1756 by the Reverend John Home of Scotland (1722-1808). 182 Even at this late date the touring companies were barely large enough for the demands of the dramatis personae. Edgar's

¹⁷⁹ Griffith J. McRee, Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, II, 157. 180 Eola Willis, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century, p. 124. 181 North-Carolina Gazette, December 10, 1796. 182 North-Carolina Gazette, April 15, 1797.

troupe seems to have consisted of at most eight persons, one a boy, whereas Douglas and Poor Soldier each required nine performers. 183 Other plays in the troupe's repertory necessitated even more. As a result the amateurs were made useful in filling minor roles. Douglas, or the Noble Shepherd was typical of the sentimental plays the audiences liked so well. It was inspired by the Scottish ballad, "Childe Maurice:"

> This night a Douglas your protection claims! A Wife! a Mother! Pity's softest names, The story of her woes indulgent hear And grant your suppliant all she begs — a tear.

Usually the audience obliged — with a flood of tears. Another of the plays performed by the Edgar troupe was that eighteenthcentury favorite, The Provok'd Husband, or a Journey to London, the joint product of Sir John Vanbrugh and the actor Colley Cibber, who had presented it first at Drury Lane in 1728. 184 In Charleston Edgar had taken the role of Squire Richard in this play, which required fourteen characters. 185 Inkle and Yarico, or the American Heroine, by the popular George Colman the younger (1762-1836), was another piece in the Edgar repertory. This musical comedy, which had been inspired by an essay in The Spectator, called for several elaborate settings—an American forest, a cave, a sea with a ship in full sail, and similar scenery which perhaps was painted in Charleston and transported about by the touring troupe. 186 These performances were being held in "Mr. [Thomas] Turner's still room"—apparently the distillery on East Front Street which had belonged to John Wright Stanly, of whose will Turner had been named executor. It had been equipped as a theatre with "a gallery . . . for people of colour," who paid twenty-five cents admission. Adults at first paid one dollar and white children fifty cents, but these prices were later reduced by one half. 187 Either the prices were too high or the townspeople were habitually late in arriving for curtain rise at seven p.m., for there were sometimes few in the house

¹⁸³ Eola Willis, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century, p. 126, 165.
184 Dictionary of National Biography, X, 352-359; LVIII, 86-89.
185 Eola Willis, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century, p. 220.
186 Eola Willis, The Charleston Stage in the XVIII Century, p. 169.
187 North-Carolina Gazette, March 18, 1797. New Bern playbill, March 31, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., Williamsburg,

at the hour the show was to start. The manager inserted this notice in the Gazette:

Mr. Edgar begs leave to express his concern for the disappointment the audience experienced on Thursday last - to prevent the like matter from happening in future, the curtain shall rise within ten minutes of the time advertised in the bills, to whatever number there may be in the house, 188

On another occasion the audience was asked "to come by the time appointed, and they shall not wait." 189

The 'nineties were the heyday of theatrical entertainment, or so it would seem by contrast with the statement of the geographer Guthrie a few years later, when, even though the Masonic Theatre had been completed — the first such building constructed for the purpose—he reports that it had no company of its own "and itinerants receive but little encouragement to visit it." 190 Such was not the case before the turn of the century, and during this period a surprising variety of entertainment was presented by traveling troupers. The Edgar company was perhaps a typical one, consisting at times of a certain Douglas and his wife; a certain Lathy (Latté); Master Gray; one Lewellyn Lechmere Wall "of Orange County"; Miss P. Wall, evidently his daughter; and the director and his wife, though Edgar sometimes did not continue on the full itinerary. 191 At times Edgar and his wife took over the night's program. The actress would sing a selection from The Agreeable Surprise, quaintly entitled, "Lord, What Care I for Mam or Dad," or would join with her husband in a scene between Lord Hastings and Alicia in the tragedy Jane Shore, which had been written by Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718) and first presented in 1714.192 On another occasion Wall would play the guitar and give humorous recitations from Shakespeare, Congreve, and Farguhar; while the rest of the company — Douglas as Baptista, Lathy as Grumio, Wall as Petruchio, and Mrs. Douglas as Catherine—would join him in presenting a scene

¹⁸⁸ North-Carolina Gazette, March 18, 1797.

 ¹⁸⁸ North-Carolina Gazette, March 18, 1797.
 189 New Bern playbill, May 16, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
 190 William Guthrie, A New Geographical, Historical and Commercial Grammar (Philadelphia, 1815), quoted by Charles L. Coon, "North Carolina in the School Geographies 110 Years Ago," The North Carolina Historical Review, III (1926), 47-49.
 191 Edenton playbill, July 20, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.; North-Carolina Gazette, April 15, 1797.
 192 New Bern playbill, March 31, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.

from The Taming of the Shrew. 193 Humorous songs were also part of the repertory - "The Learned Pig," "The Ups and Downs of Life," and "Murder in Irish," these being advertised as satires on Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Gay's Beggar's Opera, and certain Shakespearean comedies.

There were other means besides the theatre by which the town's gentlemen and ladies might beguile boredom. An occasional waxwork exhibition regaled the inhabitants with figures of Adams, Franklin, Washington, and Mrs. Siddons, the actress, with sentimental interpretations of "Cupid With His Dart" or "Charlotte at the Tomb of Werther." 194 Many of the pleasures of the period appealed to the genteel desire for polite social accomplishments. One Rogers in 1787 was opening a school where art was to be taught at twenty shillings per month. He advertised that:

The young ladies will find the utility of it in working needle-work, and drawing for their own amusement. Young gentlemen will likewise find it beneficial in respect to travelling, they may then be able to sketch out the landscape of any place or building. 195

Though he was not offering lessons, an itinerant French limner must have delighted the curious by his painting in "Miniature, Crayon, and Hair Work, with natural or dissolved hair" and his offerings of "mourning pieces for Bracelets, Brest-pins, or Rings." 196 Instruction in the French language was an important diversion. In 1796 two such classes were being advertised simultaneously, one by a Monsieur Reverchon at the Palace and the other by Monsieur D'Ouville, who was staying at Dr. William McClure's. 197 Music and dancing lessons were also popular. Classes in both voice and instrument were being offered in 1795 by "a person capable of giving lessons in that art." 198 And musical instruments were available in New Bern, perhaps for the first time, at the store of William Becking & Company, who sold "German flutes, violins and violin strings." 199 As to the

¹⁹³ New Bern playbill, May 13 and 16, 1797, playbill collection, Department of Research and Record, Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
194 The North-Carolina Minerva, and Fayetteville Advertiser, March 23, 1799.
195 The State Gazette of North-Carolina, October 4, 1787.
196 North-Carolina Gazette, March 11, 1797.
197 North-Carolina Gazette, May 14, 1796. Citizen Gaillard offered French lessons in 1795.
North-Carolina Gazette, May 23, 1795.
198 North-Carolina Gazette, May 23, 1795.
199 The State Gazette of North-Carolina, March 27, 1788.

modestly anonymous "person" teaching music, it is probable that this was Thomas P. Irving, who sometimes conducted vocal classes in the Masonic Lodge rooms. 200 The dancing schools were most numerous of all these forms of self-improvement. Six dollars per quarter was the fee usually charged by the instructors. some of whom were Frenchmen, evidently poverty-stricken itinerants left stranded at the Revolution's end.201 The Palace was a favorite place for dancing classes. At least one master, who proudly called himself a Parisian, offered instruction there in both fencing and dancing.202 By 1796 "Dancing Assemblies" were being promoted during the winter season by the gentlemen of the town, who held their business meetings at Frilick's Hotel. Edward Kean was the treasurer of this early terpsichorean society.203

Books were practically the only intellectual pleasures. These became more easily obtainable than ever before, and many were novels or romances, intended purely to entertain and divert. Besides volumes on navigation and the law, the publisher François X. Martin was offering Richardson's Pamela, Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, Goethe's Sorrows of Werther, and a four-volume set of Fielding's Tom Jones.²⁰⁴ Judging by the advertisements in newspapers of other North Carolina towns, New Bern readers probably also were acquainted with Smollett's Humphry Clinker, Roderick Random, and Peregrine Pickle; Abbé Prévost's The Dean of Coleraine; Henry Brooke's The Fool of Quality; and Frances Burney's Cecilia, which had just been brought out in 1782.²⁰⁵ For the serious student there were Jefferson's *History* of Virginia, Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Smollett's History of England, Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, Rousseau's Confessions, and various accounts of the French and American revolutions. For the lover of poetry and satiric verse. there were Edward Young's Night Thoughts, Butler's Hudibras, and the works of Pope. Not even the children need go unamused,

²⁰⁰ Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 7, 1804; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.
201 The North-Carolina Gazette, June 4, 1791; October 12, 1793; October 25, 1795; February

<sup>27, 1796.
202</sup> The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligencer and Weekly General Advertiser,

 ²⁰² The North Carolina Gazette, or Impartial Intelligences and Treeing General Pully 29, 1784.
 203 North-Carolina Gazette, December 10, 17, 1796.
 204 North-Carolina Gazette, February 14, 1795; January 2, June 18, July 16, 1796.
 205 The North-Carolina Chronicle; or, Fayetteville Gazette, February 28, 1791. The North-Carolina Journal (Halifax), August 28, 1793. Hall's Wilmington Gazette, April 6, 1797.

for Martin obligingly stocked "Dick Whittington and His Cat," "King Pippin," and other such stories.

To New Bern's credit as the chief town in the state, there seems to have existed a club devoted to serious discussion and perhaps other intellectual pursuits. This was the Shandean Society, of which Richard Caswell apparently was a prominent member.²⁰⁶ In 1789 a distinguished speaker, John Morgan, M.D., F.R.S., discoursed before the Shandeans on the subject, "Wheather it be most beneficial to the United States, to promote agriculture, or to encourage the mechanic arts and manufactures?" 207 Possibly other learned speakers were invited to address the society and on similarly weighty topics.

The most important gentlemen's association throughout New Bern's early history was the Masonic Lodge. At least by 1764 the Masons were active in the town, but it was not until January 1, 1772, that they began meeting as a "regular Constituted" Lodge." 208 The members, of which there were twenty at the first quarterly meeting, took the name of St. John's Lodge No. 1, but since the Wilmington Masons had pre-empted this designation, the Lodge in August, 1772, had to be reconstituted as St. John's No. 2.²⁰⁹ The Lodge at this time was meeting at "Brother Ince's," in the King's Arms Tavern, and on special occasions at the courthouse, where the members sat "with white Stockings, white Aprons & Gloves." Many of the members were loyal to the crown - Martin Howard, the first master, for example, and William Brimage, first secretary; and the Lodge like so many other institutions was disrupted by the Revolution. Although meetings appear to have been held during or soon after the war, it was not until March, 1787, that St. John's reorganized with Richard Ellis as master.²¹⁰ There were at this time thirty-five members, some of whom were from near-by Washington, which by 1788 was organizing its own lodge.

During the post-Revolutionary years, the Lodge was quite active, and its membership numbered the most important citizens

²⁰⁶ The State Gazette of North-Carolina (Edenton), December 17, 1789.
207 The address is reprinted in the magazine The American Museum: or Repository of Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, &c., VI (1789), 71-74.
208 The North-Carolina Magazine; or, Universal Intelligencer, December 21-28, 1764. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, January 1, February 11, 1772; Masonic Theatre vault, New Bern.
209 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 5, August 6, 1772.
210 The minutes, in which there is a gap between 1773 and 1787, mention the following as having been masters during these years: Henry Machen, Joseph Leech, Isaac Guion, Francis Stringer, and Sylvester Pendleton. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 16, 23, May 3, 1787.

of the town. The Marquis de Bretigney, François X. Martin, and Thomas P. Irving, who composed odes and anthems for special occasions, are some of those whose names occur frequently in the minutes. In 1793 the name of the Lodge was changed again. It became St. John's No. 3, as it is today, being assigned that number by the newly formed Grand Lodge, which gave second rank to Royal White Hart Lodge at Halifax. The Grand Lodge in 1794 was urgently petitioned by the New Bern Masons to allow them their previous name, but the petition was—in the language of the St. John's Lodge minutes — "contemptably rejected." Later, however, the New Bernians investigated their claim and decided "we have no right to claim the No. 2." 211 In 1796 the Lodge grew dissatisfied with the meeting quarters in the Palace and appointed a committee to select a site for a Lodge building.²¹² Two years later Lots 325 and 326 at Johnston and Hancock streets were purchased from Mrs. Elizabeth Haslen for \$250, and here it was decided to erect a two-story, six-room building, forty-eight feet long by thirty-six feet wide, to serve not only the Lodge itself but also "to answer the purpose of Dancing Assemblies & other public Observations." 213 Because of the communal nature of the project, non-Masons were invited to contribute and a number of small benefit lotteries were held.214 By 1804 work on the building, under the supervision of John Dewey, a Lodge member and the contractor, had progressed so far that the upper story, including the Masonic meeting room, was ready for occupancy. 215 The lower story, which was to serve as ballroom or theatre, was completed a few years later. Meanwhile, the pupils of Mr. Irving gave a benefit theatrical performance from which they raised \$138.50 to be applied toward "erecting a Dome, Spire, Cupola or any other ornament you may think proper on your elegant & useful building."

Our preceptor [wrote the pupils to the Lodge] entertains an opinion that Theatrical exercises, of the unlicentious kind, occasionally attended to, improves our retentive faculties, polishes our manners, prepares our voices gradually for oratorical modulation, gives us confidence, and

²¹¹ Minutes of St. John's Lodge, April 4, October 10, 1793; January 16, December 18, 1794.
212 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, May 12, 1796.
213 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, September 5, 1798; March 13, 1799.
214 A single large lottery to raise \$2,000 was authorized by law, but apparently several small ones were held instead. Chap. CVI, Laws of 1802. Minutes of St. John's Lodge, September 7, October 5, November 2, 1803.
215 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, January 16, April 4, 1804.

banishes that timidity, so embarrassing to the youthful orator, enables us to read the world and catch the manners of mankind, increases our abhorrence of vice, and engages our tender minds at an important age, on the side of virtue.216

As to how this money was employed there is no indication, though it is certain that after so pretty and precocious a speech, the gift of these "tender" children was certainly accepted. At length, in 1809, the last of the work on Masons Hall, as it was known, was completed; and on June 24 of that year the building was formally dedicated, while an anthem composed by the triumphant Brother Irving was solemnly played.²¹⁷

Several destructive and costly fires broke out in New Bern in the 1790's. The greatest of these, ranking as a catastrophe with the hurricane of 1769, took place in the fall of 1791. A Charleston newspaper puts the number of houses lost at sixty-four, but Guthrie estimates that "nearly one-third part" of the town was destroyed.²¹⁸ Three years later, two successive fires damaged the Craven Street section. On October 25, 1794, nine buildings were swept by the blaze and one was blown up to retard its spread.²¹⁹ On November 17, twenty-four stores, warehouses, and dwellings were leveled by a second conflagration.²²⁰ The Town Commissioners, impelled by these losses, immediately reorganized the New Bern Watch and redefined its duties.²²¹ By this time the Commissioners had in operation one or more water engines which were operated by the Watch, in addition to its task of patroling the town after nine o'clock curfew, calling out the hour "at suitable times and places," and, of course, sounding the church bell in case of fire.

Most tragic of all these fires, even though it was not the most destructive, was the one that broke out on the night of February 27, 1798. A Boston newspaper tells the passing of a familiar structure:

On Tuesday last, about midnight, the inhabitants of this town [New Bern] were alarmed by the cry of fire. A large body of smoke was discovered issuing from the cellar of the Palace, and so filled the entry

²¹⁶ Minutes of St. John's Lodge, February 6, 1805.
217 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, June 24, 1809.
218 City Gazette and Daily Advertiser (Charleston), October 11, 1791. William Guthrie,
A New System of Modern Geography (Philadelphia, 1795), II, 515.
219 North-Carolina Gazette, November 1, 1794.
220 North-Carolina Gazette, November 22, 1794.
221 North-Carolina Gazette, December 6, 1794.

and apartments on the first floor as to leave it a matter of doubt what part of the building was on fire. The flames first made their appearance thro' the floor next to the foot of the stair case; they almost instantly reached the cupola, and the whole roof blazed nearly at one time.

Every piece of timber, and all the wood work of that edifice, both within and without, were consumed. The colonade which joined the main building to the wings was pulled down and the fire did not spread any further.

A quantity of hay which had been placed in the cellar, and to which by some unknown means fire was conveyed, occasioned the conflagration.222

The cause of the fire is not certain, but tradition says an old woman with a torch, looking for eggs in the hay-filled cellar, set off the blaze that ruined Tryon's Palace.223 Soon afterward the east wing was torn down, leaving only the remains of the Palace stables as a poor reminder of that once-magnificent building.²²⁴ The General Assembly, its problem of an empty state house solved at last, lost no time in returning the site to public ownership.²²⁵ Houses soon began to rise on the little eminence which Tryon had selected, and Palace Square was obliterated.

What were the thoughts of the townspeople as they watched the burning building? We can picture the scene a century and a half ago - the church bell clanging on the midnight calm, the towering column of smoke, the skyward flight of sparks like red and angry stars; and, below, on Palace Square, the excited crowd that watched and perhaps cheered as two daring brothers of the Masonic Lodge darted forth with the Lodge jewels, saving them from the flames that threatened the meeting room.²²⁶ Did those standing there remember others who had stood there, too, in by-gone days—to cheer Tryon on his return from Alamance —to defy Martin and drive him from patriot New Bern—to welcome peace and the founding of a new nation? Many who watched as the Palace went up in smoke must have remembered these earlier audiences at the stirring dramas which played

²²² The Boston Gazette & Republican Weekly Journal, April 9, 1798. An almost identical account, lacking the final paragraph, appears in The North-Carolina Journal (Halifax),

Account, lacking the final paragraph, appears in The North-Carolina Southat (Hallax), March 19, 1798.

223 Rev. L. C. Vass, History of the Presbyterian Church in New Bern, N. C., p. 93.

224 A. T. Dill, Jr., "Tryon's Palace: A Neglected Niche of North Carolina History," The North Carolina Historical Review, XIX (1942), 159-160.

225 Chap. XXIV, Laws of 1798. The public sale or auction was carried out in March, 1799.

226 Minutes of St. John's Lodge, March 7, 1798.

themselves out before this venerable building. Did they remember these things as the Palace burned?

It was the visible end of an era, as the winter night reddened with the pyre of this once "capital building on the continent of North America."

ALFRED MORDECAI'S OBSERVATIONS OF EUROPEAN LIFE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO¹

Edited by JAMES A. PADGETT

INTRODUCTION

After the Revolution the United States practically ceased to have an army. Only eighty men were retained, twenty-five to guard the stores at Fort Pitt, and fifty-five for similar duty at West Point, Later Henry Knox, first Secretary of War under the Constitution, had only 840 soldiers with which to guard the settlers against hostile Indians and to protect the public domain. The expensive lesson taught by the War of 1812 was soon forgotten and the American army was again allowed to decline almost to the vanishing point. The agitation for the annexation of Texas coupled with world conditions demonstrated the need for a larger army. As a result it was decided to send a commission of four men to Europe to contract for the manufacture of arms, to make drawings and notes, and to ascertain the most up-to-date method of warfare. The competition for being a member of this commission was keen. Army officers had little opportunity for promotion, and they often had to remain for ten years in the same grade to be given a higher rank, and then it might be only a brevet commission. Only seldom could an officer be awarded a brevet promotion for faithful and meritorious service.

At this time Alfred Mordecai, although he had finished at the head of his class at West Point in 1823, had been honored with many positions in the army of great responsibility and trust, and had an enviable record, was only a captain in ordnance. To broaden his knowledge in general and to learn more about ordnance in particular, he spent on leave a year, 1833-1834, in Europe. His right to a place on this commission is evinced by the fact that he served on the ordnance board in Washington from 1839 to 1860; was made assistant to the chief ordnance officer in Washington and also inspector of arsenals in 1842; and was head of several of the most important ordnance plants

These letters are found in the Mordecai Papers in the Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. These particular letters have been bound and arranged chronologically, and are in volume I.

in the United States. It was only natural that he should be sent to Europe on this commission not only in 1840, but to Europe and the Crimea in 1855-1856.

Benjamin Huger of South Carolina, another captain of ordnance, was also deserving of a place on this commission. He was descended from the noted Revolutionary Hugers of the South; graduated at West Point in 1825, just two years after Alfred Mordecai; made an excellent record in the army; spent some time visiting Europe on leave; was a member of the ordnance board from 1839 to 1846; was chief of ordnance for General Scott's army in Mexico; and received the brevet rank of major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel for meritorious service in this war. Although it was 1855 before he received the rank of major in the United States army, he was a brigadier-general and then major-general in the Confederate army.

Richard Dean Arden Wade of New York was also given a place on this commission, and he likewise was deserving of the honor. He became a second lieutenant in the army in 1820, first lieutenant in 1828, and captain on December 26, 1840. This was the highest rank he ever attained, although he was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel for meritorious services during the Seminole and Mexican wars.

The officer on the commission who had had the longest army service was Rufus Lathrop Baker of Connecticut. In 1813, during the War of 1812, he became assistant deputy commissary of ordnance. So efficient had he become by 1815, when the army was disbanded, that he was retained as first lieutenant of ordnance, and he was made captain of ordnance two years later. After several years in the artillery he returned to the ordnance branch in 1832 as captain; was promoted to the rank of major in 1838; and was raised to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1851. He was honored with the brevet rank of major and of lieutenant-colonel for faithful service in one grade and for meritorious services in the Mexican War. It was only just that he should be made a member of this commission, and he was the out-ranking member.

What this commission did on its trip to Europe is best told by Alfred Mordecai, in the communications to his wife which follow.

Steamer British Queen April 1st 1840.

My dear wife,

We are now just about to pass through the narrows, & I embrace the last opportunity of sending you my love & farewell kiss, before leaving the waters of our country- I have been so burried in all my movements for some time past that I have scarcely been able to realize the separation we are about to suffer, so thoroughly as when the last plank was cut loose a few minutes since from our vessel-

The wind is not favorable & threatens us with an uncomfortable night to commence with, but there is everything about us to ensure as much comfort & safety as can be procured in our situation-

I wrote you a few lines yesterday, & told you that letters are to be sent post paid, under cover to M. & R. Maury-2 Whilst in Rich'd, & for those who write from Rich'd, my letters may be sent under cover to Col. Talcott³ who will forward them for me with his-

Major Baker⁴ says he feels as if he was here by accident & had just come down to see us off- Several of our friends were here for that purpose—George⁵ I took leave of last night & he has returned to you this morning. I envy him the priviledge of seeing you again & of

² Doubtless he here refers to the Virginia Maury family made famous by the scientist, Matthew Fontaine Maury. Richard Maury, of Huguenot descent, emigrated to Tennessee in 1810, but his son John Minor was born near Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1795. At the age of twenty-seven he was flag-captain of Commodore David Porter's fleet which destroyed the pirates about the West Indies. He died, on his return, just off Norfolk, Virginia, of yellow fever. At this time he was the youngest officer of his rank in the Navy. His brother, Mathew Fontaine Maury, was born in Spottsylvania County, Virginia, on January 14, 1806, and died in Lexington, Virginia, on February 1, 1873. He became a midshipman on February 1, 1825. He made an enviable record, but a painful accident in 1839 lamed him for life. Being unable to perform the active duties of his profession, he devoted his time to study, to the improvement of the Navy, and to other matters of national concern. He became one of America's foremost scientists. He resigned from the United States Navy and on June 10, 1861, entered the Confederate Navy. At the close of the Civil War he emigrated to Mexico, where he soon became a member of Maximilian's cabinet. He was given the degree of doctor of laws by Cambridge University, and the Emperor of France invited him to become superintendent of the Imperial Observatory in Paris, but he finally became professor of physics in Virginia Military Institute. He stood among the first American scientific writers of his era. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 1V, 244-265.

3 He refers to Colonel Andrew Talcott (April 20, 1797-April 22, 1883) whom he had known since they had worked together as engineers in surveying the Dismal Swamp Canal, 1826-1828. He resigned his commission in the Army on September 21, 1836, and spent his full time as an engineer in private industry. He was later engineer on the Mexican Imperial Railway and employed Mordecai in 1865-1866 as an assistant. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VI, 24.

4 Rufu

kissing our dear little children- I know you will not let them forget to call papa in their sweet prabble-

farewell again- I have strong hopes that we shall be back by the time we have appointed, say in Decr, for I know we shall all be anxious to return- as the vessel was cast loose I could not help wishing it were from London instead of New York-

I had a letter this morning from Sister Caroline, 6 to whom I shall also send a line by the pilot-

a long farewell- your affte Alfred

To Mrs Alfred Mordecai Richmond

Virginia

Steam Ship British Queen In the Eng. channel, Wednesday

April 15th 1840.

Congratulate me, my dearest love, on the near prospect of deliverance from this purgatory; I hope that to-morrow morning I shall have the satisfaction of breakfasting in Portsmouth 7- It is absolutely little less than cruel to send one to sea who suffers so much as I do from it- for about 10 days I could scarcely hold up my head & up to this time I have not partaken of one regular dinner since the day we sailed- That day was marked, (as you will no doubt have learned,) by an unfortunate accident, in the upsetting of the pilot boat as she left the vessel; I am afraid the report of the accident made you feel some uneasiness about me, from the mere association; but I hope not. My letter by the pilot to you as one to sister Caroline, in answer to one from her received that morning were I fear too much drenched to

Garoline Mordecai was the sixth and youngest of six children born to Judeth Myers and Jacob Mordecai. Her mother died in Warrenton, North Carolina, about 1796. She married Archilles Plunkett in 1820, a teacher by profession. She remained true to her father's religion until late in life when she became a Unitarian. She had her ups and downs in life, but her husband had the most spectacular life. He was born and reared on the island of Santo Domingo. Three of their family slaves warned them of the impending slave uprising, but the family, these three slaves, and a few pieces of silver alone escaped capture and death. When Jacob Mordecai had what he thought would care for him the remainder of his life, he sold his school in Warrenton to Thomas P. Jones and Joseph Andrews in 1818, but, although they had a good school well attended, they could not meet the payments so in 1822 they closed the school and returned the property to Mordecai. They opened another school in the same neighborhood. On December 1, 1822, Achilles Plunkett opened a school in the old Mordecai building. He got off to a good start, but died in January, 1824. Caroline Plunkett and her stepson continued the school until the close of the year. In 1825 the Reverend Elijah Brainerd and the Reverend C. C. Brainerd purchased the Mordecai school property, but C. C. Brainerd died in 1827. After a year of running the school alone, Elijah Brainerd returned it to Mr. Plunkett. It was offered for sale in 1830, but not until 1834 was it sold to William Plummer. Mrs. Plunkett then went to reside at her home, which perhaps she had built on the east side of her father's old home. In this house she continued her school for several years. She was buried in a small plot back of her house. Lizzie Wilson Montgomery, Sketches of Old Warrenton, pp. 139-145; Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXI (1923), 187.

7 Portsmouth, England, a seaport in Hampshire, is situated on Portsmouth Harbor and the English Channel. It is made up of Portsmouth, Portsea, Landport, an

have reached their destinations- Our voyage since has been uninterruptedly prosperous & our progress steady; nothing can exceed the comfort & convenience of the ship; there is plenty of room & to spare, great attention on the part of the steward & his posse; good humor has prevailed among the passengers & there has been every thing to render the voyage pleasant & easy to those who are not afflicted with sea sickness- The perfect confidence & security felt by all in the safety of the ship is the most remarkable circumstance about the voyage, such ease & liberty prevailing at all times that it is difficult to imagine we are on the broad ocean, and not making a trip up the Chesapeake Bay or the Sound- On Saturday last the weather was nearly calm, & since that time I have been much less uncomfortable than before, but always sufficiently so to make the sight of land this morning most agreeable; even at this moment my head is confused & my hand with difficulty guides the pen- indeed I write solely for the purpose of having a letter ready to despatch from Portsmouth for the first packet, in hopes, (not very strong) that it may reach you before that which I shall write you by the return of this ship- My companions have enjoyed the trip very well, Major Wade⁸ being the only one sick & he only for a short time- I must break off until I get ashore. Evening after a beautiful day & a fine run up the channel, we are now making steady in smooth water, & I feel so much better as to be tempted to talk to you a little more though I dare say that my letter will be old before it reaches you, as we are just too late for the Great Western which was to sail this afternoon from Bristol- To-day we have been occupied & amused with winding up the affairs of our little community by presenting thanks to the ship's officers &c.; a piece of plate to each of the officers in the boat which picked up the drowning man on the first day of our voyage, & a contribution for the crew of the boat- If I were only as near to N. Y., after having completed the objects of our mission, as I am to Portsmouth how joyful I should beindeed I want very much to hold you & our dear little children once more in my arms; but I will set you a good example of cheerfulness & I hope, in constant occupation & variety, to find less time on shore to indulge in regrets & vain wishes than I have had here-good night, my dear, & every blessing [upon] you-

April 16th

[Por]tsmouth-Thursday morning. As we anticipated we reached Portsmouth early this morning & got ashore in time to take a comfortable breakfast, & after a good bath I feel myself much more like a

⁸ Richard Dean Arden Wade of New York became second lieutenant in the artillery on October 27, 1820; transferred to the seventh infantry on June 1, 1821; transferred to the third artillery on October 16, 1822; was promoted to the rank of first lieutenant on September 10, 1828; was raised to the rank of captain on December 26, 1840; and was brevetted major on November 6, 1841, for gallantry and successful service in the war against the Florida Indians, and lieutenant colonel on September 8, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Morlino del Rey, Mexico. He died on February 13, 1850. Heitman, Army Register, I, 991.

man, tho' still not without some giddiness in the head & some remains of an uncomfortable sensation about the chest, which will go off I hope with a good walk which we are now about to take, & a good dinner after it— we shall go up to London to-morrow Easter day Good Friday— Farewell for the present, & believe that you are tenderly loved by

Yr husband A. Mord

To M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai Care of H. Hays Esqr Philadelphia

London, Sunday Evening April 19th 1840.

My dear love,

Once more in beautiful, admirable, clean England, & in the center of magnificant London, (for I am just opposite to St. James's Palace,9) you imagine me perhaps perfectly contented & happy; but I assure you I should be much more so if I had you near me to enjoy the fine things I see in the day time & to talk them over with at night- The women I meet remind me constantly of you, by contrast, & the chubby, neatly dressed children of my own, by resemblance- We all agree that, (in spite of a sea voyage,) the women are all coarse & ugly, but they are perhaps the only creatures animate or inanimate, that we have found fault with during the four days we have been in England-four days! it seems impossible that the time should not be longer, & but 2 of them in London whilst we seem to have been all over it- I wrote to you on the last day on board the British Queen & finished my letter at Portsmouth to go by the Liverpool packet but it is very likely you may receive this first, as I shall keep it for the Queen's return- Suffice it to say that we had a very favorable voyage, tho' I suffered exceedingly the whole time from my invincible enemy. & we landed in Porthsmouth on the 15th day- We spent the day in Portsmouth, to refresh & to see the fortifications, troops, &c, familiarizing our strangers a little to English ground- Nothing could be more charming than the weather then & since; soft & mild, such as you may perhaps be enjoying at this very time, & the spring, tho' called backward, seems to me almost or quite as far advanced as when I left you in Richd, this day 4 weeks & the grass is quite green, the forest trees budding & the fruit trees, many of them in bloom- In spite of

⁹ St. James' Palace was erected in London by Henry VIII and was enlarged by Charles I. It was damaged by fire in 1809 but was later restored. Though no longer occupied by the sovereign, it gave its name originally to the British court. The picturesque brick gate toward St. James' Street and the interesting presence-chamber date from Henry VIII, as does the chapel, which is known as the Chapel Royal. The apartments of state are handsomely decorated. It is situated in St. James' Park of eighty-seven acres. Henry VIII acquired this land in exchange for land in Suffolk. The Hospital of St. James which owned it was pulled down and St. James' Palace was erected on the site. It is the first of a series of parks extending from near the Thames at Whitehall to Kensington Palace, two and a half miles east and west. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 883.

the annoyance of dust raised by a strong wind blowing in our faces. we all enjoyed the journey up to town, on the top of the coach- To me nothing is more exhilerating, as you may remember my describing it formerly, & it has lost none of its charms- Baker said that he could not have imagined anything like the road, the excellence of the appointments, the rapidity of travelling &c, he "never enjoyed a ride so much in his life"- By the time we had gotten rid of the dust & taken our dinners (at the Royal Hotel, St James's St) there was just light enough left to take a first little stroll about this part of the city. which lengthened out until we were tired enough to go to bed. & the next day we were not prepared to set out until nearly 1 o'clk, when we tried to find Mr Stevenson, 10 who, however, had gone down into the country- We then occupied ourselves the rest of the day, with our bankers &c, in "the city," winding up with a night English meal at Dolly's famous beaf steak house; & returned home thoroughly fatigued again. The magnificence of some of the shops in the city perfectly astonished us, accustomed as Huger & I have been before to such things- the immensity & magnificence of London defy the power of habit in making things familiar- To-day (Sunday) still soft, hazy weather, & Easter Sunday, brings out an immense population into the parks & streets- in the morning I called to see Mrs Wilson Miss Edgewillis (sister) who received me in a very friendly manner & enquired after you- & Mrs Marx, who is just going out of town for 10 days-Frank Marx is not in town, which I regret, as he is well disposed & might be useful whilst we have leisure- The afternoon we devoted, by the kindness of Mr Vaughan, 11 to the beautiful Zoological Gardens-12 The weather is so pleasant that nearly all the animals were enjoying it in the open air; the early flowers, jonquils, primroses, cowslipes, hyacinths &c are in full bloom, & the whole scene is gay & splendid, such as can be found only in this neat country- You see that I am not less charmed than before with every thing English- The country certainly suits me admirably & I have only to wish that whilst I remain in it, my purse could be better proportioned to the demands on it- but you need not fear that any thing will induce me

¹⁰ Andrew Stevenson was born in Virginia in 1784, and died there on January 25, 1857. He studied law and soon became eminent in that field. He served several terms in the lower house of the legislature, serving as speaker for one term; served in Congress from December 1, 1823, to June 2, 1834, when he resigned; was speaker of the House from 1827 to 1834; was minister, to England from 1836 to 1841; and on his return became rector of the University of Virginia and devoted the rest of his life to the duties of that office and to agricultural pursuits. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, V, 680.

11 John Apthory Vaughan (October 13, 1795-June 5, 1865) graduated from Bowdoin College in 1815; worked in a banking house for his uncle William in London; operated a plantation in Jamaica for a while; became a rector; and was secretary of the Protestant Board of Foreign Missions from 1836 to 1842. He resigned and moved to Georgia, but moved again to Philadelphia in 1844, where he served as superintendent of the school for the blind from 1845 to 1848. He was professor of historical theology in the Philadelphia Divinity School. He was quite a prolific writer on church literature. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, VI, 268.

12 Regent's Park lies on the north side of London and covers 472 acres. Around this park is a drive nearly three miles long and an inner circular drive encloses the Botanical Gardens and the control of the control of the school for the divinity School.

is a drive nearly three miles long and an inner circular drive encloses the Botanical Gardens. At the north end are the Zoological Gardens, to which a broad, fine avenue leads along the center of the park. *Encyclopaedia Americana*, XVII (1938), 591.

to prolong the time absolutely necessary, my absence from you & all I love at home- I will not promise to write to you as fully as I used to do to my sister, especially on this ground which I have travelled over, for I hope when we really get to work that I shall have little time to do any thing but rest in, after the labours of the day- even now I am encroaching a little on the hours of sleep, for we shall have probably a fatiguing day tomorrow in seeing the vagaries of "Greenwich Fair" on each Monday-

Tuesday Apl. 21- After devoting a part of yesterday morning to making enquiries & arrangements for our outfits (in the course of which we went through Stow & Martiner's rooms where I procured my locket) we crossed London Bridge¹³ & took the rail way for Greenwich-14 The most remarkable thing about the fair is the vast crowd of people assembled there, nearly all of the middle & lower classes of trades people, servants &c- There is no great fun in going over these things again, but the magnificent buildings of the Hospital¹⁵ I was very willing to visit once more & my companions were delighted with. Early in the afternoon we returned to town in a steamer, meeting at every moment others going down crammed with people, the evening being the great time- After dinner we made our visit to a Theatre & managed to get through an hour or two with

¹³ Fourteen road-bridges cross the Thames within London County. Of these the London Bridge is of most importance. It connects the city with Southwark and Bermondsy. The old bridge, famous for many years with its rows of houses and chapel in the center, was completed early in the thirteenth century. It was 308 yards long, and rested on twenty narrow arches through which the tides form dangerous rapids. It stood some sixty yards below the existing bridge, which was built of grantite by John Rennie and his son, Sir John Rennie, and completed in 1831. It was widened in 1904 by means of Corbels projecting on either side. There was no bridge below London Bridge until 1894, when the Tower bridge was opened. This is a suspension bridge, with the central portion between two lofty and massive stone towers, consisting of bascules which can be raised by hydraulic machinery to admit the passage of vessels. There are also several tunnels beneath the river. Encyclopaedia Britannica (1941) XIV, 349.

14 Greenwich is a metropolitan borough of London. It was noted in the reign of Ethelred and the Danish Fleet was stationed here (1011-1014). The two most important buildings are the hospital and the observatory. It has a river frontage of four and a half miles, the Thames making two deep bends, enclosing the Isle of Dogs on the north and a similar peninsula on the Greenwich side. To the south of the hospital is Greenwich Park of 185. acres. It was enclosed by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and laid out by Charles II, and contains a fine avenue of Spanish chestruits planted in his time. It contains the Royal Observatory, built in 1675. From it each day at one o'clock the exact time is electrically sent out. From it longitude is reckoned. The new magnetic pavilion, located some 400 yards east of the main building, was completed in 1899. It was erected away from the main structure on account of the iron used in the main building. South of the park lies the open common of Blackheath, mainly within the borough of Lewisham, and in the ea

Macreade's Hamlet16 & Power at the Haymarket,17 a very pretty little neat house- but it is poor sport to all of us, & a visit to the opera will, I think, content me in that line- Nothing is more tiresome to me now-a-days- On our return from Greenwich I found a note from Mr Stevenson requesting us to meet him this morning at breakfast which we are about to do- & one from Mrs Wilson asking me to appoint a day this week for dining with her-

Friday morning- Although constantly moving about & very much fatigued, it seems to me that we make but little progress towards our main object- Mr Stevenson is full of words & of self importance, but has promised to do all he can for us & we are to go there this morning after breakfast to get his answer from the ordnance Dept-Some little difficulty may be made on account of the unpleasant state of things in relation to the foundary question which occupies a good deal of attention here- In the mean time we are busy getting our outfits & seeing sights; the latter, tho' not quite a twice told tale to me in all cases, is rather tiresome, & so fatiguing that after dinner (which we don't get through with until near 9 o'clk), we are much disposed to go off to bed-

Yesterday, through the kindness of Mr Vaughan, we had a very interesting day; a visit to the stupendous public docks & warehouses of London, was followed by one to the Tunnel where a letter to Mr Bromel enabled us to see the works, as well as the merely public part-The operations having advanced to within 50 ft of the wharf on the north side, we have actually crossed the river underneath- it is expected that next year this wonderful work will be opened for foot passengers- Major Baker & I also effected, on Wednesday, a journey to the ball of St Paul's, which my rheumatism prevented me from making before; this is merely for the day &c- I ought not to omit to tell you that I spent an hour, one evening, at Mr Wilson's & Mrs W. asked me again about you & our beautiful child, & (when I told her there were two) whether the second is as beautiful as the first- I have not ventured to ask for hers, as I believe she lost it-

Sunday Morning- We found on friday that Mr S. had procured the letters we require but too late to do anything out of town on that day & Saturday not being a show day at Woolwich 18 we put off our visit

¹⁶ William Charles Macready (Macreade) was born in London on March 3, 1793, and died in England on April 27, 1873. He made his first appearance in his father's theatre in Birmingham, England, in 1810. In 1816 he appeared in London in Covent Gardens, and by 1837 he had advanced to the front rank of his profession. He then took charge of Covent Gardens Theatre and put on Shakspeare's plays. After two seasons he abandoned it and played in the provinces and in Paris. He made several visits to America. In 1851 he left the stage. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 638.

17 The Haymarket was established as a market in 1644 on the site now partly covered by the Criterion restaurant and theatre and Lower Regent Street. The theatre stands in the Haymarket opposite Charles Street. With the exception of Drury Lane no theatre in London is as rich in theatrical tradition as "the Little Theatre in the Haymarket." It was built in 1720, 1820, and 1880. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 488.

18 Woolwich is a borough in Kent, England, situated on the Thames nine miles east of London. It is noted for its arsenal. It contains factories of guns, gun carriages, and ammunition, barracks, and a royal military academy for engineering and artillery. Woolwich became an important naval station and dock yard in the sixteenth century. The dockyard was closed in 1869. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1070.

until to-morrow- we therefore devoted friday to the Queen's service at Windsor, & had an opportunity of seeing the Royal person out for a drive & the state apartments of her truly regal castle-19 They have been improved since I saw them before & they are truly worthy of the sovereign of this great country- In going down on the Great Western Rail Way we had also an opportunity of seeing some thing of that work, the best of its kind I have ever seen; travelling at the rate of about 30 miles an hour we seemed to move very moderately; with it the steadiness & evenness of the motion, & in comfort and elegance the carriages surpass our cars more than a London charriot does a hackney coach- Yesterday we gave to the Tower²⁰ & its Establishments & in the evening I dined at Mr Wilson's where I met Capt Beaufort & Capt Fox (who married Mrs W's sisters) & young son & Mrs Edgeworth just arrived from Ireland on their way to Italy-N.B. There has not been a drop of rain since we landed in England, & the weather now has as much the appearance of continuing dry as it had a week ago-

Tuesday Morning I have little to add for you except that I am thoroughly fatigued, & scarcely able to walk with any comfort, tho' just out of bed- I made one or two visits on Sunday & took a stroll in the afternoon in Hyde Park21 to see the magnificant equipages

the afternoon in Hyde Park²¹ to see the magnificant equipages

19 Buckingham Palace is the London residence of the sovereign and is situated at the western end of St. James' Park. It was settled by an act of Parliament in 1775 upon Queen
Charlotte, and was henceforth known as the "queen's house." It was remodeled under
George IV; and the eastern facade, ball room, and some other portions were added by Queen
Victoria, who began to occupy it in 1837. The chief facade is 360 feet long, but is architectually uninteresting. The state apartments are magnificently adorned and furnished, the
grand staircase, the throne-room, and the state ball-room being especially notable. There is a
priceless collection of French buhl and other furniture, and the picture-gallery contains a
number of old and modern masterpieces. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 191.

20 The ancient palace-citadel Tower of London is situated on the Thames at the southeast
angle of the old walled city of London. The Roman wall ran through the site. It consists of
a large and irregular agglomeration of buildings of different periods, inclosed within battlemented and moated walls. While a stronghold of some kind existed earlier on the site, the
nistory of the Tower begins with William the Conqueror. The chief buildings are the work
of the Norman kings and Henry III, and no important additions were made after Edward I.
When it ceased to be a royal residence it became famous as a state prison, and is now a
national arsenal. The royal mint was located there in the Middle Ages. The Tower had four
gates: the Iron, Water, and Traitors' gates on the Thames side, and the Lions' Gate at the
southwest angle. In the middle of the inclosure rises the square and lofty White Tower, the
keep of the Medieval fortress. It is characterized by its four tall angle-turrets with modern
crowning. In the White Tower is the venerable Chapel of St. John, which is unsurpassed as
an examile of the earliest type of Norman architecture. In the halls above is shown an
adm

which turn out on that day as the like is not seen anywhere else; & after that I rested for the next day which notwithstanding was a most fatiguing one— it was devoted to our first visit to Woolwich & a walk round the Arsenal &c, in which we were accompanied by Capt Griffiths to whom Mr Wilson gave me a letter— To-day is to be a grand funeral for Genl Sir Alex Dickson, but I shall remain in town to recruit for to-morrow when I propose to make another visit there—I am perfectly well, except that my feet hurt me very much—

I shall send this letter by Col. Heth who goes in the British Queen-Please say to Dr Hays that I send him by the same a little package containing the surgical instruments he wished for, & one that I have added which was not on his order, as he showed me one of the kind

with which he was not satisfied-

Tuesday evening- I have passed the day with Major Baker in attending to such business, public & private as we could transact in town, & as I shall go to Woolwich to-morrow & may not return the same day I must close my despatch this evening & send it to Col. Heth- I am ashamed to let him go without some other memento for you than this letter, but really if you knew how my time is taken up you would pardon the apparent want of attention- I know too that my journal is very meagre, but I have explained & you must not measure my love by this evidence of it- Nothing would give me so much pleasure as to sail to-morrow in the British Queen again, for I long to embrace you & our dear children & I do not find that my inclination for the duty assigned to me increases with the lapse of the time devoted to it- as yet indeed we have been able to make only a few preliminary steps, & we hope that our progress will be more rapid in future- In spite of my love for England I am very anxious to get out of it, not only because it will bring me nearer to you, but because every sovereign I spend, (& they go like dollars with us) I almost fancy I hear my little ones crying for "bread & raiment"- Economy is impossible- Fairwell- I need not bid you think often of your loving husband A. Mordecai

To M^{rs}. Alfred Mordecai Care of Henry Hays Esqr Philadelphia Steamer British Queen

London- May 3d 1840. Sunday

What a beautiful place St James's park is on a clear bright May morning like this! in the heart of this immense wilderness of a city to walk quietly by the side of a clear lake (as it may be called) diversified by some pretty little islands & enlivened by water fowls—The trees around dressed in their new spring foliage almost secluding the buildings except to admit a glimpse of the turrets of Westminster

Abbey,²² The parks of the surrounding palaces & monuments, while the walks are enlivened by the well dressed populace enjoying their Sunday promenade & listening to the bands of music playing at guard mounting or in marching the soldiers to church- There is a life & nature about it very different from what is met with in the formal gardens & walks of the continental cities which I have seen, beautiful as these too are in their way- I was strolling alone & sadly too, in spite of the scene & the loveliness of the weather, for these things soften the heart, & make one wish for some loving soul to enjoy them with- I thought how delightful it would be to have you, my dearest wife, hanging on my arm at such a time & place- it is only in such situations that I can permit myself to think of you or that I can be reminded of you by association &, my usual occupations are too common place & professional to call up any images but those of the ordnance office & my desk there- I sent you two sheets (meagre ones I fear) by the British Queen, & the three days that have relapsed since closing them have been devoted exclusively to business, having been passed at Woolwich (the seat of the Royal arsenal & other Mily establishments by Huger & myself whilst the other two gentlemen visited Chatham,23 another Mily & naval establishment- at Woolwich we met with great civility on the part of several officers to whom we were accidently introduced- Lt Denison of the engineers to whom Bache²⁴ gave us a letter) showed us the works, &c, at the dock yard & invited us to dinner, & Col Dundar the Inspector of artillery & manager of the part of the arsenal in which we are particularly interested devoted a great deal of time to us, gave us all the information we asked for, & has invited us all to go down & dine with him next Wednesday- We are in fact in the way of making acquaintances of just the kind we require, but we shall be too much straightened for time to make all the use of them we could wish.

Tuesday- May 5th The whole of Sunday was passed (after writing the above) just as you have so often seen me pass it in Washington at my table making figures on every scrap of paper I could lay my hands on, to calculate guns-

Monday pretty early we took our own carriage & went out like

²² Westminster Abbey is a famous church in Westminster, London. It was founded on the site of an earlier church constructed by Edward the Confessor, and rebuilt in the thirteenth century by Henry III and Edward I, and has been enlarged at various times. It is 513 feet long and seventy-five feet wide. The height of vaulting is 102 feet. It is ornate and the interior is very impressive. Its main fame comes from the fact that England's most famous men are buried here. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1057.

23 Chatham is in Kent, England, twenty-five miles southeast of London. It is one of the chief military stations and naval arsenals in England. It is strongly fortified by the Chatham lines. Its extensive docks, wharves, and mills have grown up gradually since it was founded by Queen Elizabeth. It also contains extensive barracks for infantry, artillery, and engineers. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 239.

24 Doubtless he refers to Alexander Dallas Bache, who was born in Philadelphia on July 19, 1806, and died in Newport, Rhode Island, on February 17, 1867. He graduated from West Point in 1825; became an outstanding physicist—was professor of natural philosophy and chemistry in the University of Pennsylvania from 1828 to 1841; was the organizer of Girard College in 1836, and its first president; served as superintendent of the Coast Survey from 1843 to 1867; and became a writer of prominence. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 106.

gentlemen on a visit to the powder mills & small arms manufactory at Waltham abbey, 25 12 miles off as we had appointed some days before with the directing engineer Col. Woody- The weather continued beautiful & we had a charming drive through a beautiful country, as all the country is- Col W. & his family are right good, kind hearted English people, & after seeing the works we had a pleasant dinner & evening, & got back home at 12 o'clk- Nothing can be more agreeable than an English house when inhabited by people who are free from the stiffness too often met with among those who are afraid of their dignity-Col- W. has passed a great part of his life in foreign service, in the West Indies &c; I remembered very well seeing him at West Point the last year of my cadetship, but what is very extraordinary he remembered perfectly not only my name, but other circumstances connected with his visit to the class to which I belonged, which he mentioned to Baker & Huger²⁶ when they visited him the other day, previous to our going out there together- To-day I have been rummaging bookstores for Mily Books, & making one or two visits- I found that Mrs Wilson had gone this morning to Ireland without my having had an opportunity of seeing her (except for a moment in a shop) since I dined there-

Sunday- almost a whole week & not a word to you, my dearest-you will imagine rightly that I have not been doing much to interest you; in fact I have been absent from town a part of the time & at other times too much fatigued or too much occupied or too little amused to make it practicable or entertaining to write to you- Let me see-: on Wednesday Baker & Huger went to pay their respects to the Queen²⁷ at the Levee, & as only two could be presented at one time by the same ambassador I having little curosity on the subject, went down to Woolwich to see what I could pick up there before dinner, for we were all to dine there with Col. Dundar whose civilities, to us without any claim or any but a casual introduction, have been really remarkable-The other gentlemen joined me after the levee & we had a very pleasant dinner party; consisting of the Col & Mrs D, with a few of the

²⁵ Waltham Abbey or Waltham Holy Cross is a town in Essex, England, situated on the Lea, twelve miles from London. The abbey was founded by King Harold, who was buried in the church. The venerable nave, which has now been restored and is used as a parish church, is interesting as an example of the early Norman style prior to the conquest. Eventually gunpowder mills were erected in the neighborhood. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX,

<sup>1048.
26</sup> Benjamin Huger of South Carolina became a cadet at West Point on July 1, 1821; was ²⁶ Benjamin Huger of South Carolina became a cadet at West Point on July 1, 1821; was brevetted second lieutenant of the third artillery on July 1, 1825; became captain of ordnance on May 30, 1832; and was made major on February 15, 1855. He was brevetted major on March 29, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the siege of Vera Cruz, Mexico; lieutenant-colonel on September 8, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Molino del Rey, Mexico; and colonel on September 13, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chapultepee, Mexico. He resigned from the army on April 22, 1861, and became a major-general in the Confederate States Army, 1861-1865. He died on December 7, 1877. Heitman, Army Register, I, 551-552.

²⁷ Queen Alexandrina Victoria (May 24, 1819-January 22, 1901) was Queen of England from June 20, 1837, until her death. She was the only child of the Duke of Kent, the fourth son of George III, and succeeded William IV, the third son of George III, on the British throne. On February 10, 1840, she married Albert, prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, but he died on December 14, 1861. Among her many other duties she found time to do some writing for the press. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1036.

neighbours- We remained at Woolwich, in pursuit of our business. that night & the greater part of Thursday, returning to town in time to dine with Mr Vaughan, whose previous invitation we had been obliged to decline- The only stranger, besides, ourselves, was Mr Brunel²⁸ the engineer of the Tunnel, a very talkative old gentleman, who had a good deal to say about the U. States where he commenced his career as an engineer, & after dinner he gave us a dissertation on the Tunnel & entertained us until a late hour-

Having now completed whatever we could do in an official way, without too much delay here, we determined to get ready for a start this morning for the north, & with that view we devoted friday & saturday to completing our equipment & settling our bills &c, in the course of which operation I can recollect nothing to interest you- Last evening we passed a few hours at Mr Babbage's 29 conversations to which a letter from Bache procured us invitations- Instead of a meeting of scientific & literary men, as I expected to find it, I was surprised to see the room filled chiefly with ladies, making it just an ordinary & quizzes & talking party- there were very few persons in the rooms when we entered & I had a good opportunity of seeing Lady Lovelace, 30 once Ada Byron, whom Mr B. pointed out to meshe is not handsome, but has a good face, a little distinguished by hair mole on her upper lip- There may be some likeness to her father, especially in the nose and the general form of the face, but not striking I think- The only other person who was pointed out to me, that you would consider distinguished, was Dickens,31 a young man whom Baker recognized by his picture- He was evidently an object of marked observation, by the ladies especially, & could only but feel that he was so, tho' I could not say that there is anything of the coxcomb visible in his manner, or at least not much- he is very likely however to be spoiled unless he has an uncommon share of common sense-

²⁸ Sir Marc Idambard Brunel was born in Hacqueville, Eure, France, on April 25, 1769, and died in London, England, on December 12, 1849. He emigrated from France to the United States in 1793, where he designed and erected the Bowery Theater, New York; and was appointed chief engineer of New York. He settled in England in 1799; completed machinery for making ships' blocks in 1806; and constructed the Thames Tunnel from 1825 to 1843. His son Isambard Kingdom Brunel (April 9, 1806-September 15, 1859) was also a noted engineer and naval architect. He worked in England on railways and ships. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 189.

29 Charles Babbage was born near Teignmouth, Devonshire, on December 26, 1792, and died in London on October 18, 1871. He became a noted English mathematician; was one of the founders, secretaries, and vice presidents of the Astronomical Society; and was professor of mathematics at Cambridge from 1828 to 1839. He is chiefly known as the inventor of the calculating machine which, after many years of toil and a large expenditure of money, he failed to perfect. He was an author of many mathematical and economics works. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 104.

30 Augusta Ada Byron Lovelace, Countess of, was born on December 10, 1815, and died on November 29, 1852. She was the daughter of Lord Byron. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1625. on April 25, 1769,

IX, 625.

31 Charles Dickens was born in England on February 7, 1812, and died there on June 9. 31 Charles Dickens was born in England on February 7, 1812, and ded there on June 9, 1870. His father John Dickens was clerk in a navy paymaster's office and then reporter for a newspaper. After receiving an elementary education in a private school, he served as clerk for an attorney, became reporter for the London Morning Chronicle, and began to print his stories in the Monthly Magazine. He soon began to print his stories in book form, which made him one of the world's foremost novelists. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 324.

We found it impossible to get off this morning, as some of our things did not come home until late last night, & we are therefore devoting this day to packing & arranging for a comfortable start to-morrow- Can you guess why I thought particularly of you when I was packing my trunk?-

. I forgot to mention a very interesting entertainment which we had through Mr Vaughans kindness also in attending on friday evening, a lecture by Farady³² on galvanism, illustrated by some beautiful experiments- He is a charming lecturer, rapid, clear & ingenuous; & his appearance is also in his faror-

We have news from the U.S. direct to the 10th, April & from Halifax 16th, but no letters; I hardly expected any however, but hope to receive some before I leave England which will be in a fortnight-

It is well worthy of remark that on friday we had the first shower since we landed, more than three weeks- since then it has been april weather:

Birmingham-33 May 13th we came here day before yesterday, by the rail way; an easy journey of 112 miles in 5 hours; but the consequence of the change of weather & perhaps of lightening my under clothes a little during the late warm season, has been to bring back a regular attack of rheumatism, under which I suffered, very severely night before last- by keeping my bed, however nearly all day Friday & taking some medicine I find myself much better to-day & hope to conquer the enemy soon by casing myself again in flannel

Birmingham June. 2d 1840.

I have to hold the pen for your husband my dear Mrs Mordecai, as the Rheumatism still has possession of his arms, and hands, and will not allow him to write even as well as usual; Ever since he wrote to you from here, on the 13th inst; he has had more or less of this Rheumatism, which as times has given him a great deal of pain and is the more distressing as it deprives him of the use of his hands-but, though a very painful disease, like sea sickness it is not dangerous, and only requires a good stock of patience to get rid of it-.

He begs me to say to you that though he has suffered a great deal of pain- it has been greatly alleviated by the great kindness he has experienced from the persons at whose house we are- particularly

³² Michael Faraday was born in England on September 22, 1791, and died in the same country on August 25, 1867. This famous English physicist and chemist began work as a bookbinder, but upon hearing some of Sir Humphry Davy's lectures determined to devote his time and talent to the study of chemistry, and in 1813 he was appointed Davy's assistant in the laboratory of the Royal Institute. He was made director of the laboratory in 1825 and professor of chemistry by the institution in 1833. He made noteworthy discoveries in chemistry, but his greatest work was in the fields of electricity and magnetism. His most amazing discoveries were magneto-electric induction, the magnetization of light, and diamagnetism. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 380.

33 Birmingham, England, is known the world over as a center for the manufacture of hardware. It was built on a site of an old Roman station, and is mentioned in the Domesday Book. It was taken by Prince Rupert in 1642; was the scene of the riot against Priestley in 1791; and there the Chartist riots took place in 1839. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 158.

from the lady of the house—We are at a very comfortable English hotel—. Every thing exceedingly neat and clean, and the landlady attends to him as she would to a relative—The servants are excellent, and vie with each other in showing attention to him—. And I have done all in my power to make him a kind nurse tho' a rather rough one—. I mention particularly what care is taken of him, as good nursing is the best, at all events the most soothing thing in his complaint; but he has also the best Medical attendance the place affords—. And with a little more patience, and fine weather, I have no doubt but the next steam packet will carry you the information that we have gone to some Watering place in the South of Europe; to wash out all Rheumatic afections, and to enjoy ourselves after our confinement here.

Major Baker and Wade have gone on to Sweden without us, as our party was so large it could bear division—. And we did not think it prudent for Capt M: to go to a Northern climate—.

Knowing how anxious you are about your children— and for fear you should imagine by your husbands not writing himself that he is much worse than he really is, I am particularly anxious of telling you the *Exact truth*—. His case has been one of severe inflamatory Rheumatism— but it has been confined entirely to the limbs—. It has been exceedingly painful— he was getting much better for two or three days last week, but had another attack about three days since— the effect of which still deprives him of the use of his limbs— He is again recovering to day, and if the Great Western would only delay sailing a few days I have no doubt he would be able to hold his own pen—. So just let me recommend to you what I have already recommended with very good effect to him,— a little *patience*.—

In a few weeks, after the receipt of this on the arrival of the next steamer you will get letters from him, telling you of his recovery, & our further progress—. Capt M: desired me to say he received all your letters, including that sent by the Great Western—. The one you wrote first and did not put into the mail came 2nd—. And that you are mistaken in thinking you lost a set of pay accounts as having left you two sets, as we have no idea of staying longer than December—. He did not forget that yesterday was the anniversary of his wedding; or that Laura will be three years old the day this letter leaves this country—He sends a kiss for the little girls, to which please add one for meand would send many other kind messages but I have told him my sheet was full & I would be obliged to put this into one of the new post office envelopes— which may be something of a curiosity with you;— and as I am writing I will take this opportunity to send my love, and have him to make his own speech by next Steamer.—

I beg you will believe me most sincerely yours

Benj Huger.

You may be sure I have made use of the leisure time in reading to him all the books I could find on the novel subject of *Cannon*—his head has never been at all affected—. it is only the extremities which obstinately refuse to move.—

Birmingham June 11th 1840

My dearest wife

I am using the first opportunity which is allowing me of assuring you of my convelescence & of endeavouring to remove the painful impression which must have been made on you by Capt Huger's letter by the Great Western- It is just a month to-day since my arrival here & since my disease shewed itself in a decided manner; previously to that day I did not suspect the true cause of the languor & fatigue & sometimes pain, which I suffered in London, where nothing but the continued dry weather enabled me to keep up. I have suffered intense pain, my case being a servere one of inflammatory rheumatism or rheumatic fever; but it has been, I believe, judiciously treated so as to keep it entirely from the head & heart & other vital parts, & the fever being now subdued for nearly a week I may consider myself safely convalescent- the physicians give me strong hopes of being able to travel in the course of another week, &, if so we shall probably pursue our journey to the north to join our comrades at Stockholm or St Petersburg, but of this you will hear more by the British Queen, & perhaps almost as soon as by this opportunity, tho' I am unwilling to omit any chance of your hearing speedily from me.

The pain which I have suffered & the vexation caused by so inconvenient & annoying a delay in our business here, sometimes seem too much for my strength, & I wept like a child to think of the distress which Capt Huger's letter would cause at the very time when perhaps you stood most in need of all the consolation & support which could be given to you- Fervently do I trust that your hour of trial may be passed in safety; & that I may soon have the happiness to hear that you are well- I could not help some times wishing for you tender care, but indeed I am thankful that you have been spared the pain of witnessing my sufferings, which would have been to partake of them without relieving me- Nothing could have been more fortunate, under the circumstances, than my coming to this Hotel, (The New Royal Hotel,) for the kindness of all the people, from the Landlady to the "Boots" has been unremitting; every thing that I could ask has been done for me, & every thing that could be anticipated by them has been attended to, without asking- The Landlady, Mrs Lambley, has really been like a mother to me in her attentions- she is not one of the common class of English inkeepers who are generally persons that have belonged to the class of upper servants but these were respectable palis people, & she is quite a lady- She comes to see me several

times a day, sits with me when Huger goes out, & attends herself to my needs &c- indeed I could not have been more fortunate-

Huger has been a fine friend scarcely leaving me a moment, except to take exercise for his health— Until last night he has slept in my room & has been always ready at my calls, which were sometimes frequent, for I required all the relief which could be afforded by changes of posture in my limbs, &c, which I was unable to move without assistance— he has most assiduously & kindly performed for me all the offices of a nurse, & always cheerfully, notwithstanding the vexation which he must experience from this delay, & in a place offering but few attractions— He would not leave me & I could not urge him to do so, for indeed I should have been forlorn without him. Major Baker & Wade sailed for Sweden about 12 days ago & are, I hope, pursuing successfully our business there, but it must be very inconvenient for them to be separated from us, as neither of them speaks any foreign language—

To-day I am, for the first time during my illness, nearly dressed, tho' have been often sitting up, wrapped in blankets; but for a pain in one knee I should be almost well, which, as I have been mending, but 4 or 5 days, is doing as much as I could expect. The medicine which seems to have produced this rapid improvement, since the abatement of an active fever, is the *iodide of potassium*, which I mention for the benefit of Ben Etting for whom I have a fellow feeling—if he has not tried it I would strongly recommend his doing so, under proper advice.

I have been much reduced, & (as you may perceive by my writing, perhaps,) I am still very weak, but I doubt not being able to give you much better accounts by the next steamer packet— In a few days I shall have the pleasure of hearing again from you, by the Queen; I hope for the best tidings & I beg you to imitate my example & not anticipate evil— my love to your mother & other friends; many kisses for our sweet little darlings, of whom & of their dear mother I think very very often, & long most earnestly to embrace them once more—I have not, as you may suppose, written to any one but you, & I trust to you to keep my dear mother & those around her informed of my situation. Believe me dearest most truly

Yr affte husband A. Mordecai

per packet Ship Siddons- 13 June.

M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai Care Henry Hays Esqr Philadelphia, U S.

Via: Liverpool to New York

The paper this morning announces a packet of the 20th Apl from N. York by which I am confident of getting letters from you, but they

will be sent first to London, & I cannot receive them for some days—We are now closing our letters to send by the Halifax steamer which we understand leaves Liverpool on the 15th—I am impatient to hear of you & our dear little ones & all at home; I cannot bear to think how long it must be before I can once more embrace you, my dear wife—we must remain here a day or two & then visit some iron foundaries in this quarter of the country, & perhaps go to Scotland, before embarking for the continent, which we propose to do in less than a fortnight—farewell again; I am not in spirits to write much—

Give my love to your mother & remember me to all my other friends in Phila—thousand kisses to our little darlings—& do not fail to write often to me & let your letters take their chance of finding me—I shall soon be anxious about you—would that I could be near you in your hour of trial—it will perhaps be past, & I trust happily, before you receive this letter, but I know your good mother will write to me immediately—farewell again, my dearest—

Your loving husband

A. Mordecai

As I have written to no one but you you must send the enclosed sheet to Richd, tho' it is really not worth the trouble & postage, except to shew how I am getting on—this page you may keep to yourself.

To M^{rs}. Alfred Mordecai Care of Hy. Hays Esqr Philadelphia Pa

> George Inn, "Land of Green Ginger." Kingston upon Hull June 20th 1840

You see my dear wife that I have at length escaped from my tedious confinement at Birmingham, & am making some progress towards the continent— In hopes, that the Liverpool Packet of the 13th might arrive before the British Queen, I wrote by the former to tell you that I was on the recovery from my painful illness; & since then I have continued to improve daily & to gain strength & the use of my limbs. Tho' not very rapidly yet I think securely— My appetite is good & I suffer no inconvenience except the stiffness of my joints—Having tried myself with a few short drives in the environs of Birmingham, (some of which, by the bye, are remarkably pretty,) I made my arrangements to leave there day before yesterday. a few hours travelling, in a comfortable car, on excellent rail roads, took me to Sheffield³⁴ (80 miles) without fatigue & we arrived there by 3 o'clk in time to visit Rogers's establishment, which Huger had not

³⁴ Sheffield, a parliamentary and municipal borough on the Don, Sheaf, and other streams, is the chief seat of English cutlery manufacture, and is renowed for its scissors, knives, razors, tools, rails, instruments, armor-plates, castings, surgical instruments, machinery, and axes. Firth College, St. Peter's Church, St. George's Museum, Corn Exchange, and Music Hall are the most noted buildings. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 924.

seen- as it was not convenient to carry any things with us at this time, (I shall move as my expenses at Birmingham had reduced my cash in hand to a very small amount) I contented myself with buying you a couple of pair of scissors & myself a knife, though there are many tempting things in the way of cuttlery & plate- We remained at Sheffield until 11 the next day, when we took coach for this place & thanks to the long days, we were comfortably housed here by sunset i. e. by a quarter past 8. distance about 70 miles, & this with a twohorse coach having 6 outside & generally 4 inside with a proportionate quantity of baggage- such is the excellence of the roads. I am obliged, of course, to take an inside place, although the day was fine; so that I could not enjoy the journey as much as usual, but I could still see that the valley of the Don is distinguished, or rather characterized, by the beauty & fertility, & neatness of cultivation which mark all the agricultural parts of this charming country; charming in all but its "accussed climate," as Alfieri35 calls it, to which however all its charms are in a very great measure due- there are few objects of special interest to the romantic traveller, on this road; indeed I remember none but the remains of the castle of Koninsmark, where Athelstane³⁶ was laid out for dead & resuscitated- in Ivanhoe³⁷ you remember-

I bore the journey very well & find myself this morning none the worse for it- Huger has gone out to make arrangements for our embarking this afternoon for Gottenburg, & in leaving England I shall bid you adieu for some time, as my letters, if any, cannot be forwarded to me until I reach Berlin, about the end of July; there I trust to hear of your well doing, as I have already two days ago: for on the day I left Burmingham I received your two letters by the packet & the British Queen, accompanied by several others, one from Sister Ellen³⁸ & one from Emma-³⁹ I regret exceedingly your disap-

³⁵ The celebrated Italian dramatist Count Vittorio Alfieri was born of noble parents in Piedmont on January 17, 1749, and died in Florence on October 8, 1803. At the age of thirteen he began to study civil and canonical law, but soon abandoned it; at the age of fourteen he came into possession of great wealth; and roved over Europe from 1767 to 1773. In 1775 his play Cleopatra was successfully performed. His bold vigorous, lofty, and almost naked style founded a new school of Italian drama. His works were published in thirty-five volumes, thirteen of them being his posthumous works. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 37.

36 Athelstane in Scott's Ivanhoe was the Thane of Coningsburgh, and suitor of Rowena. He was called the "Unready" from the slowness of his mind. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 90.

37 Ivanhoe is a historical novel by Sir Walter Scott, published in 1820. The scene was laid in England during the reign of Richard I, 1189-1199. It received its title from its hero, Wilfred Knight of Ivanhoe. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 536.

38 "Miss Ellen" Mordecai was a unique character about Warrenton, North Carolina, but she could have been called a typical lady of the middle of the nineteenth century in the eastern part of North Carolina. She was the third child of Jacob and Judeth Myers Mordecai. About 1796 her mother died and her father several years later married his wife's sister Rebecca Myers. In a unique style she wrote what she called a "History of Hastings," which was really a history of Warrenton. She never had this book published. She was an admirer of Maria Edgeworth, with whom she corresponded for years. She remained a maiden lady during her long life of usefulness. She was her father's principal assistant in his school and was well read in literature. Her manuscript on the great conflict within her life before she became an Episcopalian was never published. She was a remarkable character, possessed marked intelligence and a strong attractive personality. In her ninety-fourth

pointment in getting my letters by the Queen, in which I was very little to blame: for we all sent our letters to Col. Heth, not to take with him to Washington or any other place, but merely to throw into the letter bag on board the Steamer. He told me he should stop a day in Phila to see his daughter & I therefore gave him the package for Dr Hays to leave with her- however it is no matter now-

I am glad to hear of Sally's safety & beg you will make my congratulations to her & the Dr on their new accession to their family, & also to Becky on the *prospect* of having one; tho' you need not word it in that way— How anxious I am to hear of you— I had *almost* began to persuade myself that I could not continue abroad with any prospect of usefulness, might as well return home; but now I must content myself & hope for the best.

I wish you would thank Sister Ellen & Emma for their letters & say that I will write before long, perhaps from St Petersburg— it would be of no use to write sooner— Send Irvin word that you have heard from me & tell him that I should have written but for my misfortune

If you should not have presented my pay accounts [by] the receipt of this letter you may do so, either to the paymaster in Phila, if there is one, or if not perhaps you had better enclose them to Col Talcott at Washington & ask him to have them cashed for you; I shall write to him by this opportunity— I have rec'd the letter for Mr Arfevedson's house in Stockholm, but I see Mr A. was on board of the unfortunate Poland—

I am delighted at the good account you gave of our dear children, & I long indeed to caress them & you again—give them many kisses for me, & do not fear to tire me with talking of them—I cannot remember that I have any special instructions for you, except to take care of yourself & not to be too anxious about me—once more & for a long time, I must say farewell, & may good fortune attend you—

Give my love to yr mother & remembrances to all the family; & write to my mother or send my letters to her-

Huger is very well; his wife has gone to So Ca, which is the reason you have not heard from her-

Ever yr affte husband A. Mordecai

To

M^{rs} Alfred Mordacai Care Henry Hays Esqr Philadelphia Steamer British Queen

whom he married several years after the death of his former wife, he reared seven children, George W., Alfred, Augustus, Julia, Eliza, Kennon, Emma, and Laura. Emma, the next to the youngest child in the family, must have gone with her father to Virginia, where he moved about 1820. About three miles north of Richmond he bought Spring Farm, now called Bloomingdale. Some years later he moved into the city. Emma seems to have spent much of her time about Raleigh, North Carolina, and in 1885 she was living there. Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXI (1923), 187; XXXV (1927), 20.

Gothenburg, 40 June 24th 1940.

The day two years of *her* interment, to whom the former journal of her dear Alfred was addressed.

Safely landed on the continent of Europe again, my dear wife, as is sufficiently evinced by all the objects around me, if I had been even unaware of the voyage: look for instance at that pony they are harnessing to a sort of gig in the stable yard, & see the wooden hames lying on his shoulders without a collar to relieve their pressure; look too at the dirty equipage, so different from the style of such things in England—

I wrote to you from Hull to go by the Br. Queen, & I now write in the hopes of sending my letter by the steamer for Halifax which is to sail from Liverpool on the 1st July also- if very lucky my letter will reach Liver in time otherwise, you will get it by the next packet. We sailed from Hull on Saturday afternoon, in the steamer "Innisfail" a small but strong boat, tho' slow, & about 2 o'clk on Tuesday morning, but in broad day light we entered the Christiania Fiord, for the purpose of landing a mail at that place: I kept my birth the greater part of the time, thinking it the best place for me in my crippled state, but the weather was fine, & that circumstance combined perhaps with the medical treatment I had recently gone through, prevented me from suffering from sea sickness, more than to be sufficiently uncomfortable to take away my appetite- We had a very civil set of passengers, several of them English gentlemen going to Norway & Sweden to shoot & fish during the summer. After a glimpse of the bare rocks of Norway & the sandy shores of the "Skaw" (or Cape Skagen) we came on Tuesday evening in sight of the still barren & rocky shores of Sweden, at the entrance of the Gotha river, & by 11 oclk whilst it was still quite light, we were at the wharf at Klippan, about 3 miles below Gothenburg- Here the custom house officers soon came aboard, & after a slight & civil examination of our luggage, we were at liberty to dispose of ourselves- Notwithstanding that it had rained heavily about sunset I determined instead of passing the night again on board the steamer, to run the risk of going up to Gottenburg in an open boat- We accordingly engaged one, & by dint of oars & sail we were not long in reaching the town. Although it was now midnight overcast there was no darkness, but such a light as you may have had on the same day half an hour or so after sunset; & by 1 o'clk, when we put out our candles to go to sleep it seemed almost as if the sun was about to rise again, as indeed it must have done soon after 2.- at the very first glance, even by the twilight, we could realize the great change

⁴⁰ Gothenburg or Gottenburg, Sweden, together with Bohus, form a maritime laen in Sweden. Goteborg is a seaport and the capital of this laen. It was founded by Gustavus Adolphus about 1619 at the mouth of the Gota. Its commercial importance dates from the Napoleonic wars. It is noted for its manufacture of sugar, machinery, cotton, and beer. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 450.

we had made in our situation: the style of building, the streets roughly paved like our own (at Richmond say,) but without side walks, the rough & dirty passages of Mrs. Tod's Hotel, with the stone stairs leading to our rooms, the bare appearance of the rooms themselves. without carpets, but with huge Russian stoves, like inside chimneys in a corner of each, with no superfluous furniture, but that required for our absolute wants, all showed that we were no longer in comfortable England. The best rooms in the Hotel were all taken, & after my hazardous midnight row, to avoid the ship's birth I was almost apalled to be shewn a little curtained place, scarcely so wide as my berth, where I was to sleep- But we did not complain, as it would have been indeed unreasonable to do, seeing the cheerfulness with which the people of the house roused themselves at so late an hour to make us as comfortable as they could, even lighting a fire to air my sheets by;when by sliding out a part of my bedstead the "flicka" had increased its width to nearly a yard, I found myself able to pass a very good night, & am happy to think myself rather better than worse after my exposure- indeed I have walked much more to-day than I have done before since my illness,- & I find my limbs getting decidedly more supple- My breakfast too, of good coffee with rich cream, light bread & smoked salmon, I did full justice to, after several days of nearly fasting- Whilst we were at breakfast, one of our fellow travellers Mr Barclay a scotch gentleman living here, came to see us & in the name of his brother invited us to dine at his country house to-day- more civility than we should have experienced in a year in England- after breakfast we went to pay our respects to his brother & family, (the former unable to walk in consequence of a fall from his horse,) I found them living in a very handsome house, evidently fitted up in the best style of the place, the walls hung with pictures, & the table covered with books prints &c- This being what is called here midsummer day, or St John's day,41 is a great holiday- all business is suspended, the shops shut & the people all who can going into the country to enjoy themselves & see the lads & lasses dancing & amusing themselves, as on a May-day in England- We are struck at once with the extreme civility (not servility, but politeness) of all classes of people up here- as Mr Murray the American consul said whilst walking with us, the frequency with which you are obliged to take off your hat becomes quite burdensome- but the manner seems to be an emblem of the thing itself, & we cannot but remark the cheerfulness with which every service seems to be performed- The people are not handsome, but on the contrary, hardfeatured & yet this cheerfulness lends them to me an agreeable expression of face- If we have not the luxuries of

⁴¹ St. John's or Midsummer Day is celebrated on June 24. This was the day of the feast of the nativity of St. John the Baptist. On midsummer eve it was formerly the custom to kindle the fires (St. John's fires) upon the hills in celebration of the summer solstice. Various superstitious practices and wild festivities were long observed on this occasion. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, V, 3757.

England, at least we have not to pay as if we had them-three men. for instance, rowed our boat last night as many [mile]s & then brought our heavy luggage on their shoulders [som]e distance to the inn, & for this service they demanded but "two dollars, rigsgeld" say 40 cents!, & were quite delighted when another "dollar" was added for "drink money"- as Huger says, if we had been kept 6 weeks here instead of at Birmingham, we should have got rich-

Here is a great deal said about "Sweden & the Swedes" after a few hours acquaintance, but these superficial things are obvious at a glance & strike most when first seen; besides I have nothing to do but to scribble until Huger comes in & Mr Barclay's carriage calls for us-We have taken our places in a little steam boat which leaves early to-morrow morning, to go through the lakes & the Gotha canal⁴² to Stockholm⁴³ a picturesque voyage of which I will tell you more from the latter place, & now I will let you off after sending my loves & kisses to you & our darlings (three?) & hoping that it will not be very long before I hear of you again-

> Ever & in all climes Yr loving husband A. Mordecai

To

Mrs Alfred Mordecai Care Henry Hays Esqr Philadelphia.

> Stockholm, June 30th 1840. The Day Alfred was born

My dear wife.

I have almost as much pleasure in writing to you from this Northern Capitol as I hope you will have in hearing of my safe arrival, in better ease than I had perhaps any right to expect after so recent & severe an illness & a journey of a thousand miles- I wrote to you from Gothenburg in hopes of my letter reaching Liverpool in time for the steamer of to-morrow, & this I hope will go by same packet which may arrive before the Great Western, although I think it doubtful-

⁴² The Gota is a river in Sweden about fifty miles long, draining Lake Vener. A series of locks enable large vessels to surmount the falls of Tollhattan. The river flows from the south end of the lake due south to the Cattegat, which is entered by two arms enclosing the island of Hisingen. The eastern prong forms the harbor of Gothenburg. This canal, leading from Gothenburg to Stockholm, is only one of the many canals in this vicinity. Encyclopaedia Britannica, X (1941), 539.

⁴³ Stockholm, Sweden, is not only the capital of the country, but it is the principal emporium of the commerce of the central and northern parts of Sweden, and has extensive and varied manufactures. With the surrounding suburbs, which are really a part of the capital, Stockholm is quite a large place. The massive royal paleae, 380 by 400 feet, is very interesting, especially on the inside. The Riddarholms-Kyrka, the old church of the Franciscans, is a large medieval building with Renaissance and later modifications, which is interesting because for centuries it has been the burial-place of kings and noted men. The city also contains the National Museum, the Northern Museum, and the Royal Library, and it is the seat of the Swedish Academy. The city was founded in the thirteenth century, was several times besieged, and was taken by Christian II in 1520. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 959.

Our journey or voyage from Gothenberg here was not unamusing-, something like a trip on the canal from Harrisburg to Pittsburg, omitting the Rail Road part- but this with its peculiarities, I will endeavour to give you an idea of when I have more time, this letter being merely intended to inform you of my arrival here- We reached here yesterday morning, having left Gothenburg on the 25th, & I found myself on my arrival, much better than I had been at any time before, partly attributable, I suppose, to the satisfaction of having finished a journey of the result of which I had great doubts, especially as I had committed some imprudence in walking, to see the celebrated Cataract of Trolihattan-44 I was yesterday awake & in motion, 20 hours, from 4 in the morning until 12 at night- Mr Hughes 45 took early possession of us & is as kind as possible he received yesterday a letter from his daughters, (which he read to us) describing the awful disaster on board the Poland, in a very full and simple manner; & the poor father was so much affected as "To give us a greet" for sympathy-, to-day I am a little stiff but not unwell, & have been looking at the artillery mill & the King's summer palace &c- but I shall reserve myself the rest of the day, as we may probably go to the Foundaries to-morrow-In the pay accounts which I left with you I put myself down at Finspong on this day, & it is somewhat remarkable that I should have come so near it- we shall be there, if not tomorrow, in a day or two-We are very comfortably, & indeed grandly, lodged here & our visit is considered quite a National compliment, so that we meet with quite a distinguished reception-

I must not talk too long, but refer you to the continuation of my Journalizing letters- we shall be here yet perhaps two weeks, & then to St Petersburg- which puts off perhaps some weeks later than I thought our arrival in Berlin where only I can expect to hear from you, anxious as I am to do so-

God bless & preserve you-

Yr affte husband

A. Mordecai

Mrs Arfevedson is in Sweden, but has not yet reached Stockholm-Mrs. Alfred Mordecai Care Henry Hays Esqr Philadelphia

44 Trollhattan is a town in Sweden forty-five miles northeast of Gothenburg. It is on the

44 Trollhattan is a town in Sweden forty-five miles northeast of Gothenburg. It is on the banks of the Gota at a point where that river descends 108 feet in the course of nearly a mile by the famous falls of Trollhattan (six in number), and several rapids. The setting of the falls is not striking, but the great volume of water, nearly 18,000 cubic feet per second, renders them most imposing. The narrowed river here surrounds several islands, on either side of one of which (Toppo) are the first falls of the series, Toppo and Tjuf. These are forty-two feet in height. The water power is used in rolling mills, a cellulose factory, and other works. The electric works supply power to Gothenburg and other near-by towns. Encyclopaedia Britannica, XXII (1941), 491.

45 Christopher Hughes was born in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1786, and died there on September 18, 1849. He became secretary to the United States legation in London on February 3, 1814, and was transferred to Stockholm on September 26, 1816. When Jonathan Russel returned in 1818, he left Hughes in charge, and for the next thirty-five years the United States had no minister in Sweden. He was made charge on January 20, 1819; was transferred to the Netherlands on July 15, 1825, with the same rank; returned to Sweden on March 3, 1830, as chargé; and remained there until September 9, 1841. He was recommissioned in 1842, but returned to the United States in 1845. He carried the Treaty of Ghent to the United States in 1815. He was a welcome guest in the best society of Baltimore and was admired for his wit and humor. Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography, III, 302-303.

Stockholm, June 30th 1840. Arrived in a new country, very different from that which I have just quitted, I must endeavour to give you, as much in detail as I can, an account of what I have seen: I therefore take up my narrative at the point where I had just finished writing to you in Goteborg, when Mr Barclay called in his brother's carriage to take Huger & myself into the country: observe, as you go down stairs how all the hall floors are strewed with pieces of fir tops, chopped fine- a common practice in the North for the sake perhaps of the odour which the green branches exhale when crushed, & which is probably preferable to the compound of smells in stairs & passages used by many different families & consequently not very scrupulously cleaned by any of them- Our road, (which not being a high road was not very smooth after those of England,) lay over barren rocky hills with, here & there a few settlements & cultivated spots in the little valleys, but the weather was pleasant & after escaping from our steamer the drive was quite a treat- Mr Barclay's country seat is a very pretty place on the banks of one of the numerous lakes which lie imbedded among those hills, & it was originally improved with a great deal of pretension by the retired merchant who built the house- he had workmen brought from Italy to decorate with carved & moulded ornaments the interior of his wooden house, & to form terraces &c, ornamented with statues busts & clipped trees in imitation of the Italian style-, all of which has rather an added effect in a climate where fire was comfortable in the evening of a midsummer day- We found a small party assembled for dinner, apparently a family party, except two officers of the army- with one exception, I believe, they spoke either English or French, the former being a good deal cultivated at Goteborg- Mrs Barclay is a Swede but speaks English perfectly well & is a very kind, pleasing person- We had a dinner in which, as you may suppose, there was little peculiar to the country-Before dinner a stand was set out with raw herring (Dutch), cheese, radishes, bread & butter, & a bottle of "Finkel," a sort of whiskey flavored with annis, & resembling the amiable Cordial, tho' not so sweet- of this each guest partook slightly just before going to dinner- At table the only peculiarity I observed was that most of the guests took bonny clabber with cream & sugar in place of soup for the first course, tho' the latter was also served for those who preferred it— a walk about the grounds after dinner occupied us until it was time to return to town the distance being about 6 miles, & we reached our hotel again about 10 o'clk, passing on the way many little carts, chaises &c, containing people returning from the holiday enjoyment of the day- at every settlement there was a pole dressed like our May poles about which they dance, I believe, & make a May day of itthese we afterwards saw also at every little village & farm house in the interior- a sleepless night, if night it could be called, rendered it

unnecessary to wake me at 4 in the morning to go on board the steamer for our inland journey— it is now 9 o'clk & I am writing by the bright light of day— but our tea is coming up—

July 1st Mr Hughes came in at tea & sat with us until 11, (for he is a great talker) so that we had only time to pack up & get a few hours sleep before we were called to go on board the steamer for Nor[r]koping⁴⁶ (Norchipping) where I am now writing: but I must take you back to the little vessel in which we embarked from Gotenborg. Our route lay at first up the Gotha river the banks of which, like the shores of the Baltic, are rocky & barren, except in a few valleys; but in the afternoon we turned out of the river to commence the ascent through the canal of Trol[1] hattan, by a series of remarkable locks, cut through solid rock; & this great labour they are going over again for the purpose of enlarging the locks & canal to correspond with the rest of the navigation eastward- At these locks we left the steamer & taking a little boy for our guide, proceeded to view the Falls of Trol[1]hattan, formed by the waters of the great Wenern Lake, (the largest in Europe except lake Ladoga,) discharging themselves into the Gotha river- the whole fall is 140 feet, but there is no very great pitch like that of Niagara, but rather a series of rapids extending about a mile & a half, through a narrow channel between high rocky bands, covered with fir trees in many parts- it forms altogether a very grand & romantic scene, tho' it is not easy for an American to fall into the extacles with which English travellers describe their feelings at the veiw- the upper & greatest rapid, (where the mass of waters is divided by a large rock which is reached by a neat suspension bridge,) produces that awful impression of resistless force & unmeasured power which, with me, is the principal feeling excited by this ceaseless motion of a large body of water- The walk & the fatigue might recall my visit to Niagara, when also I was just sufficiently recovered from a serious illness to be able to drag my limbs along: I was not sorry therefore to rejoin my boat & remain on board the rest of the day: about 10 o'clk we entered the Wenern Lake & soon stopped for the night at Wenersborg- on a point of land projecting into the lake near the village was a very pretty camp of instruction, whose snow white, bell-shaped tents aided in forming a very pretty scene: We could not but laugh to think of the hour of the day, when we saw the troops on evening parade & the men exercising themselves in firing at a target. Having passed a day on board our little steamer I must give you some

⁴⁶ Norrköping, one of the leading manufacturing cities in Sweden, is situated in the laen of Linköping, on the Motala at its juncture with the Bravik. On account of its manufactures of cotton goods it is sometimes called "the Swedish Manchester." Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 743.

notion of the vessel & the mode of life on board. Being intended for canal navigation the boat is scarcely larger than you have seen on the Pennsylvania canal, perhaps 100 feet long & 20 broad, but her arrangement & internal economy are very different-. The after part, instead of being one room, is divided into 8 little cabins, with a passage through the centre, & in each of these are two beds by night & sofas by day, with a little table, a basin & pitcher, &c. in short a minature state room, & in this apartment, about 7½ feet by 6 was our only refuge from the open deck in bad weather- The centre part was of course taken up by the engine, & the arrangement forwards was curious enough: first the "Salon" or eating room in which were 3 tables for 4 persons each, & which was converted at night, by means of hammocks into a sleeping apartment for those who were not fortunate or rich enough to have a separate cabin- this opened into a bar room or ante room occupying half the width of the boat & communicating with the kitchen which took up the other half of the width; in front of these again are two forecastles, one for the men & the other for the women to sleep in; you may imagine the extent of these accomodations; The deck is lumbered up with goods, baggage & we even took on board a large carriage & a sulky with 10 (swedish) wagon & cart loads of furniture belonging to a colonel who was removing with his family to Stockholm- For meals we dined 3 times a day into the "Salon," where we found the table always set out in the same manner: viz, cheese, raw herring or salmon, slices of cold beef or veil, or dried rein deer ham, & above all, a bottle of finkel a glass of which is an invariable prelude for the Swedes; this was merely the relish- The meal itself was always nearly equally substantial, whether it were breakfast, dinner or supper, tho' the dinner was the most abundant at dinner we had generally, first a plate of mutton fricassee or boiled beef; then a cup of mutton broth or a dish of bonny clabber or of strawberries & cream or a sort of soup made with arrow root sweetened, to which raisins were added & a few macaronis swimming in it, what else I know not- This was the only dish of which I found it impossible to take more than one taste- all the rest I went through heroically, in spite of my recent dieting & of the sugar & fennel tops &c, with which even the meats were generaally dressed- After the soup we had a plate of roast beef or fried sausage meat or something of the kind & sometimes a pudding, or pancakes alternated with stewed gooseberries—at Breakfast perhaps beef steak & potatoes, & at supper, fish (fresh), or eggs; of the latter they brought once 13 for us two, all fresh & mainly boiled. We could have very good coffee at almost any time & plenty of rich fresh cream to put with it, so that altogether considered we did not fare badly notwithstanding the unfavorable anticipations created by our guide book with regard to "salt mutton broth with sweet currant dumplings"- The greatest difficulty we had was to sleep in the night time; even tho' overcast there was always light enough to read by, & by the time we had composed ourselves after the boat stopped, broad, day light would shine in through the thin curtain of our little window, & the boat was generally under way about 2 or 3 o'clk in the morning. Our second day's voyage was across the great Wenern lake where we were sometimes nearly out of sight of land in every direction, but the weather was fine & our little vessel went smoothly on until we entered the locks of the West Gotha canal, a fine work, by which we ascend to the Willen⁴⁷ lake which is on the summit of the line & about 300 yds above the sea- Near the West end of this Lake twilight again over took us & we stopped at a landing place called Wassbacken, where we amused ourselves a little (between 11 & 12) in looking at the construction & equipments of the little wagons & carts which brought our Swedish Colonel's luggage to the landing place— As we ascended to the higher ground the country became more cultivated & sometimes opened out into wide fields bearing fine crops of rye, barley & potatoes- The farm buildings are necessarily large & numerous, to cover their cattle & store of food in the long & severe winters- They are almost universally of wood, many of hewn logs, & they are painted red Houses covered with tiles, or the meaner kinds with turf or thatch- at every stopping place or lock, women & children came in numbers to offer their milk, cream-, eggs, butter, strawberries &c; all looking cheerful in spite of their poverty; The women dressed in striped gingham or homespun, of their own manufacture, a good deal like the poorer class in the South or West of our country; their heads covered with a handkerchief, & their feet generally with nothing- Their politeness, & that of all classes here, is perfectly astonishing; their hats or rather caps are almost as much in their hands as on their heads, & in saluting or at parting, it is impossible to make too many bows; the first lesson taught to little boys seems to be to salute & I saw a little fellow about 6 acquit himself very gracefully- The women too curtesy very often & are hardly outdone by the men as you may suppose-We had some 10 or 15 passengers, several ladies & most of them Swedes, & every morning we had an opportunity of observing the ceremony of salutations gone over- One part of the man's equipment puzzled me at first; a bag of morocco or worsted work, like a large lady's reticule, hanging about the neck; but the eternal Meerschaum & the abominable fumes of tobacco soon introduced me most disagreeably to the use of these appendages- Well, our 3d day's voyage took us through the Wilen lake from which we descended by a canal into the Wettern, the navigation of which is a great bug bear on this

⁴⁷ Wettern Lake, next to Wenern Lake in size in Sweden, is situated southeast of Lake Wenern and its outlet is by the Motala Elf to the Baltic. It is connected with Lake Wenern by the Göta Canal, 290 feet above sea level. The lake is eighty miles long and contains 733 square miles. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1058.

journey, for being some 80 miles long, its waters become sufficiently rough with a southerly wind to toss such a bark as ours very inconveniently about- its surface when we passed was however almost unruffled, & a 3 hour's sail took us to the eastern shore at the entrance of the East Gotha Canal- on the western side of the lake is a very picturesque old castle which, although ruined internally, is as fine an object in the landscape as ever, its white walls towers & battlements being, to all appearance, perfectly well preserved- at the canal we again left our steamer to make its way through a number of locks, & hiring a Norse boat, which stood ready for us, we proceeded to view the Steam Engine Manufactory at Nistala, landing by the way to visit the tomb of Admiral Von Platen to whom the completion of the canal is mainly due—the resting place of his family is prettily situated in a wood of weaping birch on the banks of the canal his own tomb being marked merely by a slab with his name, without age or date according to his own directions- he wished it to be said perhaps as of Wren⁴⁸ in St Paul's- "If you seek for his monument look around you"-Having rejoined our boat we proceeded through the beautiful lake Boren (on which is Ulfosa a fine country seat belonging to Count Stjerneld "Shirnall" the present minister of foreign affairs,) & a canal into the lake Ronen, the descent to which is by a magnificent flight of locks forming a water staircase down the side of a steep hillon the east side of this lake we lay by again at a landing called Norsholm, & early the next morning descended by a continuation of the canal to the Baltic at Mern. This canal is in all respects a grand work not surpassed by any that I know & equalled by few, either in magnitude or merit of execution—so poor a country could hardly have borne the expense but that the labour has been chiefly performed by soldiers- We saw two regiments at work on the enlargement of the Wettern, or Trol[1]hattan part of it, & one evening I remember we passed by one of their works just at the hour for stopping the labours of their long day. (16 hours work) it was very pleasing to hear these rough peasants, when assembled for roll call, break forth with one voice into their evening hymn, the effect of which in the open air & at a little distance was better than all that the Pope's choristees could make to all eternity- this was a custom introduced, I believe by Gustavus Vasa, 49 & still maintained in many regiments, if not generally in the army- From Mern we sailed down an arm of the sea, close under the walls of an ancient castle famous in Swedish history,

⁴⁸ Sir Christopher Wren was born in England on October 20, 1632, and died there on February 25, 1723. After receiving his education at Oxford he was professor for years, part of the time at Oxford. He was an outstanding engineer and architect. Although he was the architect of many large buildings, his greatest work is St. Paul's in London. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1071.

49 Gustavus Vasa or Gustavus I was born in Sweden on May 12, 1496, and died in Stockholm on September 29, 1560. He ruled Sweden from 1523 until his death. He was the son of Erik Johansson of the house of Vasa. He received a careful education chiefly at the court of his kinsman. He favored the Reformation against the Catholic Church, and in 1527 persuaded the Diet to place in his hands the lands of the Catholic Church, and to grant liberty to preach the new doctrine. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 469.

(Stegeborg) but nothing indicated that we were in the Baltic, for except in one or two places the navigation is so hemmed in by the immense number of islands that the water is almost always smooth, & you seem to sail in a lake or river- proceeding thus smoothly we entered towards evening our last canal & stopped at Soder Telge. where a lock opens a communication with Matar Lake- This proved to be the most beautiful of all our lakes, studded as it is with islands (1000 in number) which, instead of the bare & rocky aspect of those which border the Baltic, are beautifully wooded with the weeping birch, & the aspen, &c, intermixed with the darker & well contrasted fir & pine woods- Many of these islands too have pretty country seats & even villages on them, & in Sweden no village or even a small hamlet seems to be without its large church with pointed spire or square high tower, all resembling each other very much, & of a style in accordance with that of the other buildings- As a light fog cleared off the sun shone out on the spires & white buildings of Stockholm. the approach to which in this direction is exceedingly beautiful. The islands on which the city is built are not flat, but variously elevated so as to show amphitheatres of buildings in several directions, & these being all stuccoed, & generally in large blocks or squares, the effect is very fine- The King's palace one of the most extensive in Europe & of a noble exterior, is visible at a great distance on this side & adds much to the beauty of the scene-

June 29th

Our friends had not expected us quite so early, (we had left Lorder Telge at 4 & arrived at Stockholm about 8,) but we soon found our way to the "Hotel Gausie" in the "Dröttuings Gatan" (Queen's Street) where they were lodged, & it is hard to say whether we were most pleased at the successful termination of our voyage, (a somewhat hazardous one for me) & a reunion with them, or they at seeing us again after being left long in doubt whether it would be in the power of one of us to join them at all in this region— We found, as I told you before, that they had been received with distinction at Stockholm, & the way made easy for us to do all that our limited time would allow- About 12 we called on our Minister Mr Hughes, who took possession of us for the rest of the day, & made it a very busy & pleasant one- We called on the Russian Ambassador, Count Matusewies, who was very civil, & who lives in a grand hotel- then on Mr Aifrudson whom we did not see, than at the palace to see about a presentation to the crown prince, (Major Baker & Wade having been presented a few days before to the King,) we then dined with Mr H, meeting Baron Wabrendorff, the proprietor of one of the principal foundaries of cannon- after dinner we went to see an Exposition of National industry, a very respectable show of manufacturers for a country in which arts of this kind have been but lately fostered- We then took carriages & drove out a few miles into the country to pay

our respects to Count Tsjerneld (the Minister of foreign affairs) & had an opportunity of exercising our French with Mde la Contesse, a very fine looking & pleasing woman- by the time we again reached our quarters it was nearly 11 & at 12, after 20 hours activity, & a sleepless night on board the canal boat, I was glad enough to turn in, nor was it surprising that I should be scarcely able to move the next day-June 30th After breakfast however it was decided that we must see the artillery manoeuvres, so a carriage was called, & I hobbled down to it in my slippers- Having looked for several hours at the Drill we drove into the King's park, a beautiful & extensive wooded drive which has been formed by the present King who has built there a very pretty summer palace in the french style, which we visited throughout-The curosities of this place (Rosendal) are two magnificant vases of Swedish piorphry which stand in the gardens, one of them is 9 ft high & 12 ft in diameter if I remember rightly, the other perhaps still higher but of a different form- I will try & bring you models of them in the stone of which they are made. The rest of this day I passed at my lodgings to recruit, declining even a drive in the park in the evening with count or Baron Somebody or other who called for us in his English stage coach & four he himself driving- an odd sort of wild fancy, but really a stylish looking equipage-

At the Hotel Gausie we are lodged quite magnificantly— The house was formerly occupied by the French Ambassador, & our rooms are probably the principal suite, being on the first floor. There is a large ante room with guilt cornice, mirrors & pier tables, a sitting room which has been richly decorated with gilt & arabescues & frescos, the pannels being filled up with mirrors or with Hangings of blue Satin damask— The chairs & sofas are covered with crimon satin Do, & the porcelain stove with guilt mouldings is quite ornamental— Then we have two large chambers communicating with the other apartments & all very grand, & hired for a mere trifle, in comparison with English prices, tho' certainly not attended with English comforts: We have our coffee & tea in the house, but go to our eating house for dinner— I have brought you now pretty fairly, tho' perhaps somewhat tediously, to this present

July 1st. When we started at 6 o'clk for Norköping, on our way to the foundaries of Stafajo & Fuispong, on board the steamer "Courteir," which is arranged as good like the other, but is larger & neater & indeed quite comfortable, except that she begins to rock a little as the wind rises & we approach the opening of the gulf in which Norköping lies—so here I will stop for the present—

Stafajo July 3^d— Soon after I stopped writing on the 1st we reached Narköping, quite a pretty town, well situated, on a river which in running through the town & serves to move mills for the manufacture of cloth, flour & other things, not quite so active as a place of the kind

would be with us but respectable- Our valet who is an old travelling courier & a very useful person, found us a pretty good inn where we passed the night very comfortably; & the next morning, having hired a carriage, to keep as long as we please, & engaged post horses we set off for Stafajo- previously we had sent a forebud or messenger to order horses to be in readiness on the road at the several post stations, as is the custom, & by him we sent also a note to Baron Riddlestolhe the proprietor of Stafajo, informing him of our projected invasion of his territory as he had invited us to come to his house. The distance is about 23/4 Swedish or 18 Engl. miles & the roads being (as generally we are told in this country) very good, our 3 horses in 3 relays, were not long in performing the journey- The system of posting here is curious: Each farmer is obliged to furnish at a post house a certain number of horses, on certain days, according to notice given him by the post master, & with them he sends a man or boy to bring the horses back from the next stage, the distance being generally 7 or 8 miles- it seems somewhat oppressive, but we are told they do not complain of it, as travelling perhaps is not very frequent, & they are paid, tho' very moderately, for the horses which are kept waiting, whether a traveller requires them or not; or probably they are not called out unless required, hence the use of the "forebud"-

Our ride possessed little interest, being except in the immediate neighbourhood of Norköping, through a wild country of rocks & fir or pine woods, to which the approach to the Baron's Chateau offers however an agreeable contrast. The house is situated on the border of a pretty lake, in the midst of a large park, & the buildings are all so neat & in such good order that one can hardly realize that they belong to a foundary except for the cannon on which some of the men are at work out of doors- The proprietors of these foundaries are Nobles of great landed estates, owning mines &c, & they reside at their works a considerable part of the year, & attend personally to the management of them— Baron R. for instance has here an estate of 50,000 acres of land, much of it to be sure rocky & uncultivated, but this forms but an inconsiderable part in extent of all his territory— The house is a large, but rather plain country house, very comfortable, & containing accomodation for many guests: The family now present consists of himself, madame & two daughters, one of them Baroness Hamilton, a very sweet woman, with 5 fine children. The Baron & the ladies speak french & their manners are so simple & kind that we found ourselves immediately quite at home-

We were soon at work viewing the fine establishment of the foundary, & after an excellent dinner in the Swedish style we devoted ourselves to business with the Baron, making a small contract for guns & prepairing drawings &c—We found staying here a very intelligent Russian officer, Capt. Kowdriaffsky, the inspector of cannon

for Russia, who has resided in Sweden about 3 years, & was consequently very useful to us in explaining &c- how would you like a 3 years' residence in Sweden?— To-day I have kept myself housed from the rain, drawing & talking, leaving it to the other gentlemen to examine the place more in detail— My rheumatism does not worry me much, except that it restrains all my movements & makes me fear the least exposure, so that I am obliged to be very careful of myself— The weather unfortunately is very cool, cold I almost should say, & it has rained almost every day, until to-day, when it has rained a great deal—

July 4th. I awoke this morning with a good deal of pain from my joints, the consequence of the wet weather yesterday; but the bodily suffering was small in comparison with that which was recalled by this (now) sad anniversary, & the thought of the sad family group in my mother's house, mourning their irreparable loss—But there was little time for me to indulge my own feelings—

After two breakfasts, (for the Baron insisted on our eating something before starting,) we took a reluctant leave of the amiable family whom we shall probably never see again, & departed for Finspong where we arrived in time for dinner; after rather a pleasant drive, tho' the morning was very uncomfortable- When the sun does come out it gives a sensible heat, but we have not been fortunate enough to see much of it- The proprietor of Finspong is an attendant on the royal household & resides very little on his estate, but we found that his manager was prepaired to receive us & had provided lodgings for us, in a building attached to the Chateau- after taking our dinner at the inn & drinking a glass in honor of the day & another "to our wives & children," we proceeded to view the establishment which is now in the course of being, in great part, rebuilt- This is one of the oldest & largest foundaries in the country: it belongs now to Counts Gylsenstolpe ("Ulenstolpe"); the estate is about as large as that of Stasfjo, but probably more valuable: The chateau, a very large, & quite a splendidly looking building was commenced in 1667 by an old Dutchman, named De Geer, who was very wealthy and became quite a distinguished man, & the present proprietors are his descendants in the female line- Here we should have been without a tongue, but for our valet, & the good fortune of meeting a Sardinian officer who speaks French-

July 5th— Sunday— A good night's rest left me much refreshed this morning, & a fine day allowed us to walk about with pleasure— We first devoted several hours to the furnace to see a large casting made, & afterwards went thro' the rooms of the chateau— They form quite a grand suite of apartments, well furnished & hung with portraits & other pictures— in one wing is a chapel in which services are performed for the workmen &c; in the other a theatre; the house is unfortunately

placed being, with true Dutch taste, stuck on an island in the lowest part of the grounds, but the latter have been very prettily laid out & are kept in good order, considering that the proprietors have so little taste for residing here.

July 8th- Sunday evening & monday morning we gave to drawings of guns, machinery &c: Mr Hughes was kind enough to write to us that a steamer is to depart next Sunday for Petersburg, & we are hastening our movements to meet it- having therefore sent on our forebud to prepare horses for us, we left Finspong about 2 o'clk for Aker (Oker): this day our route lay through a pretty wild country of pine forests & rocks, with but few intervals of open or cultivated land found on some of the lakes with which the country abounds- The road, tho' not a high road, (as evinced by the unusual number of gates,) is excellent & our old courier Schuler understands how to make the most of the sturdy little Swedish horses, dashing down one hill, & up another sometimes to the great annoyance of the poor owner who sits behind the carriage- I must say however that we had but one instance in which there seemed to be any serious remonstrance on the part of the owner, & that not much regarded by our driver, who seemed to treat the peasants with sovereign contenpt, & does not mind giving a fellow the lash if he does not give room enough to pass on the road. It is surprising how well one gets along with this system of taking the common horses of the farmers & putting them to work together without having been previously accustomed to it: we never found any material impediment from this cause, & we travelled regularly about 7 or 8 miles an hour, including stoppages- there was no detention unless we arrived, as we did once, before the time for the horses to be ready; by means of the "forebud" too, notice is sent on to prepare meals & beds, or if you are going to a private house, to send word, of your approach & this may be done the day before if you choose. Then the cheapness of this mode of travelling is remarkable; we have a very good carriage & harness which we hired in Norkoping for about \$1 20/100 a day; then we have the forebud & his horse, 3 horses for the carriage & a man to take them back, all for less than 10 cents a mile. Leaving Finspong, as I said, at 2 we arrived before 9 at Stensjo, (54 miles) where we were lodged in the court house—it seems that the innkeeper has the privilege of using this building when the court is not in session, so we were put into the small rooms belonging, I suppose, to the Judge & clerks, whilst our valet had a bed in the court room; the lock up rooms in the lower story, which were vaulted, with iron doors, were used for meat cellars, &c.

Making a pretty early start the next morning we reached Aker by 4 & found dinner ready for us at a very neat inn, at the foundry our journey was pleasanter than that of the day before, the country being more cultivated & the pine & fir forests being replaced by the beau-

tiful birch woods, with their white stems & drooping branches. Aker is one of the principal cannon foundaries, or rather I may say one of the three— The proprietor, Baron Waluendorff, (who had reached home an hour, or two before our arrival,) is a widower without children, but he lives very handsomely; & his grounds are perhaps more neatly arranged & better improved than either of the others; the estate is about 30,000 acres, & most of it good land— After dinner the Baron joined us & we soon commenced our visit to the works, which done we found ourselves very pleasantly established at his mansion— He was for many years in the diplomatic corps, & speaks English very well & is, of course, a man of accomplished manners, & apparently of very fine disposition, tho' as different as may be from our good friend, at Stafsjo—

To-day we devote to work, tho' I should not pretend so much merit in the result, for I am very good for nothing, fatigued & overcome with slight exertion—it is surprising, however, how well I have gotten along, for our carriage is only half closed, that is by a caleche top, & an apron, & unfortunately we have had always (except yesterday) to start in the rain, & there have been frequent showers during the day—a beautiful clear afternoon gave us an opportunity for a pleasant drive through a part of the Aker estate; & promises a fine day for our journey to-morrow—

July 10th Stockholm The promise was not false—the sun rose bright & clear, & the air was like that of our own pleasant spring & autumn days, warm but bracing; the first really fine day that I have seen since we left London- After finishing our examination of things at Aken & seeing 2 of our own guns cast, & after an excellent dinner, we took leave of our kind host & departed for Stockholm at 3 o'clk- Under some displeasure of the peasants, for hard driving, our courier made the 50 miles in about 6 hours, & we were comfortably lodged again, about sunset, in our former apartments at the Hotel Garui- Our tour has been very satisfactory & exceedingly agreeable in all respects; treated every where with kindness & attention & maintaining among ourselves perfect good humour & good will, we have not experienced the slightest interruption to our enjoyment- I even find my health & strength improving in spite of the exposure & fatigue, & a few such days as yesterday would set me up again completely; but those I cannot hope for until I approach southern latitudes-

July 10th— Had our interview with count Gyleustolpe, to arrange about making some guns at Finspong— dined with Mr Hughes— walked about town a little, to visit the shops &c— visited the Mily Hospital—. Bevzilius was invited to dine with us, but is unfortunately out of town.

July 11th. Capt Löven, of the Guards, called after breakfast to go shopping with us,- walked about an hour with him, & went amongst

other places, to the Porphry shop, where they sell a varity of pretty things of that material- it is very costly on account of the difficulty of working-bought a plate for your centre table-

At half past 11 Mr Hughes called for us, agreeably to appointment to pay our respects to the Crown Prince & we found his Royal Highness a very handsome unpretending, pleasant man- he was dressed in his uniform of Measter General of Artillery, a neat & rather plain costume; we talked ordnance a little, complimented the Swedish artillery &c, & after about a quarter of an hour's conversation, were dismissed with a bow; but he gave us an invitation, through Mr Hughes, to dine with him next Tuesday- In the ante room we had the good luck to meet Professor Schroeder of the University of Upsala, 50 which we intend visiting to-morrow, & he is to give us a letter to the under Librarian, he himself being the principal Librarian-

After dinner, L. E. at ½ past 6, we took a carriage to drive to the palace of Dröttningsholm; 51 about 7 miles from town- It is beautifully situated on one of the wooded islands of Lake Mälan,52 which is here so thickly interspersed with islands as to have the appearance of a beautiful, calm river, with bold banks, reminding us even of our own Hudson in some parts- The palace is a fine large building, with the usual long suites of rooms, covered with gilding, paintings &c, but possessing nothing in this way of peculiar merit- the grounds are beautifully planted, & altogether it has quite a regal appearance-

On our return home, about 10 o'clk Mr Schroeder had the kindness to call himself, & bring us a letter to the Librarian at Upsala- a piece of kindness & attention quite Swedish. I was glad to have some of the memoirs & pamphlets which Dr Hays gave me, to leave at Upsala for him-

July 14th Stockholm After two active days work we returned last evening from our visit to Dannemora.

On Sunday we made an early start, & our driving courier, not heading the poor peasant's remonstrances took us to Upsala (50 miles) by 12 o'clk- We entered the cathedral during service & were

⁵⁰ Upsala, a laen in eastern Sweden, and its capital have the same name. It is situated on the Fyris and is the seat of a noted university and archbishopric. The university was founded by Sten Sture in 1477. It has a library of more than 250,000 volume, collections of coins and minerals, botanical garden, museum, and observatory. The cathedral was founded in 1260, but it has been altered. Among the radiating choir-chapels is that of Gustavus Vasa, adorned with historical frescoes, and containing the king's tomb with sculptured figures of himself and his first two wives. Its dimensions are 359 by 103 feet, with a length in transcept of 136 feet and height of vaulting of 90 feet. The towers were planned to be 388 feet high, but they have reached only about half that height. The side portals and exterior of the choir are very fine. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 1021.

51 Drottingholm (Queen's Island) is a Swedish royal palace near Stockholm, on the island of Lofö in Lake Malar. It was built for Queen Hedwig Eleonora (died 1715), and was improved by Oscar I. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 339.

52 Malar (Maelar, Malaren) is a lake in eastern Sweden, connecting with the Baltic at Stockholm. It contains about 1,200 islands, and is about eighty miles long. Stockholm is located on the borders of this lake. The entire country is interspersed with lakes and islands. Not a great distance from this area is the largest lake in Europe, Lake Ladoga. It is in northwest Russia between the governments of Viborg, Olonetz, and St. Petersburg. It receives the waters of lakes Saima, Ilmen, Onega, and others, and has the Neva for an outlet. Its length is 130 miles, average width 68 miles, and it contains 6,996 square miles. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 584, 645, 1055. ⁵⁰ Upsala, a laen in eastern Sweden, and its capital have the same name. It is situated on

struck with the resemblance to the catholic manner of worship, a resemblance much encouraged, if not caused, by the character of the building, a large, lofty gothic pile, such as the splendor of Catholicism alone has produced or can maintain- Here are the relics of St Eric⁵³ preserved in a silver gilt coffin; & more interesting the vault of Gustavus Vasa, in a chapel the walls of which are covered, (one can hardly say decorated) with paintings in fresco, representing the principal events of the hero's life-here also is the tomb of Linnaeus, 54 marked by a neat & appropriate porphry tablet- After dinner Mr Schroeder's letter procured us admission to the Library, which consists of about 100,000 volumes, including many manuscripts; among the latter is a remarkable copy of the New Testament, (written about 1200 years ago,) on purple parchment in letters of gold & silver- it is in the Gothic language— The present king has built a very handsome new library which is not occupied as yet but which we also visited-

Upsala stands on an elevated situation in the midst of an extensive & fertile plain, on which are seen some Lumuti with which tradition assignes the names of Odin,55 Thor56 & Freya,57 the three great deities of the old Leandinavians- The town of Upsala is small & undistinguished except by its associations, & the seat of the University-Linnaeus's house & garden are pointed out, & in the Museum of the Botalical garden is a fine statue of him by Bystroun, a modern Swedish sculptor-

Leaving Upsala about 4 we rested for the night at Osterby where are the great forges of Mr Tharum, one of the principal proprietors of the great Daunemora mine- This estate at Osterby is a most magnificant one, having a palace & an extensive village on it- These iron masters do things on a great scale in this country-

⁵³ Saint Eric died near Upsala, Sweden, on May 18, 1160. He was elected to the throne of Upper Sweden in 1150. In 1157 he undertook a crusade against the heathen Fins, part of whom he conquered and baptised. Soon after his return to Upsala he was attacked by a Danish prince, Magnus Hendrikson, and fell in battle. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 365.

54 Carolus Linnaeus (Karl von Linné) was born in Sweden on May 13, 1707, and died in Upsala, Sweden, on January 10, 1778. This celebrated Swedish botanist and naturalist founded the Linnean system in botany. He made a journey to Lapland in 1732; resided in the Netherlands, 1735-1738; and became professor of medicine (later botany) at Upsala University in 1741. His writings are varied and noteworthy. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 614.

55 Odin, in Norse mythology, was the chief god of the Ases, corresponding to Anglo-Saxon Woden. He was the source of wisdom and the patron of culture and heroes. He was attended

It is writing are varied and noteworthy. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 614.

55 Odin, in Norse mythology, was the chief god of the Ases, corresponding to Anglo-Saxon Woden. He was the source of wisdom and the patron of culture and heroes. He was attended by two ravens and two wolves. He was surnamed the "All-father," and sits on the throne Hildskjalf. He is devoured by the Fenris-wolf in Ragnarok. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 752.

56 Thor was the second principal god of the ancient Scandinavians. He was the son of Odin, or the supreme being, and Jördh, the earth. He was the god of thunder and the champion of the gods and was always called to their assistance when they were in straits. He was the friend of man and the slayer of trolls and evil spirits. He always carried a heavy hammer (Mjöllnir), which as often as he discharged returned to his hand of itself. He possessed a girdle which had the virtue of renewing his strength. He was represented as a powerful man, in the prime of life, with a flowing red beard. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 993.

57 Freya, in old Norse mythology, was the daughter of Njord and the sister of Frey. Her dwelling was Folkvang. Her chariot was drawn by two cats. To her with Odin, whose wife she is according to later mythology, belonged those slain in battle. Freya was the goddess of fruitfulness and sexual love. Her brother Frey was the god of the earth's fruitfulness, presiding over rain, sunshine, and all the fruits of the earth, dispensing wealth among men. He was especially worshiped in the temple at Upsala, Sweden. Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia, IX, 413.

Yesterday morning we visited the mines & my three companions descended into them, to the depth of about 500 feet— I regretted exceedingly that my rheumatism prevented my accompanying them, the bottom of the mine being very cold & wet, & partly covered with ice— I could therefore only see the excavation from a balcony above, but I did not, on this account, lose the whole benefit of my labour in travelling, for the mine is not a single small shaft from which galleries run under the earth, but an immense excavation which being open at top allows a person to see the manner of working by looking down from above—

I have been interrupted by persons calling in, the last being Count Matusewietz, the Russian Minist[er] who called to bring us some letters for [St] Petersburg—It is now time to dress for dinner with the Crown prince, from whom an order [to] that effect came this morning before we were dressed—As the mail closes before we can get back I must break off abruptly in order to despatch this in time for the Great Western—We sail to-morrow for St Petersburg—

Farewell- Love to all & many kisses to the children-

Yrs afftly A. Mordecai

M^{rs} Alfred Mordecai Care Henry Hays Esqr Philadelphia Great Western

BOOK REVIEWS

Blair House, Past and Present: An Account of Its Life and Times in the City of Washington. By The United States Department of State. (Washington: Department of State. 1945. Pp. 78. \$1.00.)

The Blair House, at 1651 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C., across the street from the White House, was purchased in 1942 by the United States "as a guest house for distinguished visitors from other countries." President Truman and his family lived there for the first few weeks of his administration.

The house was built in 1824 for Dr. Joseph Lovell, Surgeon General of the Army, best remembered for his encouragement of Dr. William Beaumont, great pioneer experimenter in the field of human digestion. In 1836 the house was purchased by Francis Preston Blair from Kentucky, a member of President Jackson's "kitchen cabinet." Montgomery Blair, a son, was President Lincoln's Postmaster General. The Blairs, described at the outbreak of the Civil War as "perhaps the most influential family in the country," continued to own the house until 1942.

The original two-story brick structure has been altered considerably through the years. Two additional stories have been added, many internal details have been changed, and the furnishings have kept step with the times, though considerable silver and furniture go back to 1836. Since the United States took it over every effort "has been made to preserve untouched the essential character of the house."

Miss Katherine Elizabeth Crane. who wrote this guide book, has done solid research in order to recreate the story of the house and of the people who lived in it. The volume is attractively printed and sixteen good photographs by Jean St. Thomas are reproduced by a gravure process. The marginal summary notes are a useful device which makes an index unnecessary. Arrangement of the plates would be improved by exchanging the first and the last ones; as it is now, in Plate 2 one does not know which is Blair House.

Edward P. Alexander.

Colonial Williamsburg,
Williamsburg, Va.

Our Georgia-Florida Frontier, the Okefinokee Swamp, its History and Cartography. By Albert Hazen Wright. Volume I, Studies in History Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14. (Ithaca, New York: A. H. Wright. 1945. Pp. vi, 40; iv, 20; vi, 46; iv, 26; iv, 44; iv, 47.)

The Okefinokee Swamp is of special interest to the botanist, the zoologist, the ornithologist, and all other natural scientists—and even to the delvers into history, cartography, and etymology. It is into the last three categories that Albert Hazen Wright fits his interests and discussions in this collection of studies.

As to the name, Mr. Wright finds from an examination of 192 maps and accounts seventy-seven different spellings; he has chosen as the correct one Okefinokee. From this point on, Mr. Wright seeks to relate to the Swamp all human activities which have gone on in the Swamp or in its vicinity. In his investigations he questions the location of various historical happenings heretofore placed in other regions. He raises the enquiry as to whether Ponce de Leon did not land somewhere near the mouth of the St. Mary's River, which is one of the rivers draining the Swamp. He also believes that the probable location of the battle of the Great Marias of De Narvaez was the Okefinokee; likewise, the battle of the Great Morass of De Soto was the Okefinokee. The Rio de May of the French was not the almost universally accepted St. Johns River but the St. Marys or possibly the Altamaha, and, therefore, the location of old Fort Caroline must be moved northward.

Apart from these controversial matters, Mr. Wright discusses the Indian nations who were related in their occupation to the Swamp or its environs—the Creeks and the Seminoles and their wars and treaties. Incidentally he makes an excursion into the question of the old ruins on the coast of Georgia, whether they were Spanish missions or old "sugar houses." In this discussion he seems to have failed to discover the book on that subect, Georgia's Disputed Ruins (1937). This lapse may be due to the fact that Mr. Wright wrote his narrative in 1922, and in the light of subsequent knowledge, he did very little revision before its ultimate publication.

Mr. Wright has thoroughly acquainted himself with the old maps and records of the Spanish and the French, and he made various trips to the Swamp between 1909 and 1922. His scholarship is impressive, but his style of writing is dull and difficult. His text is encumbered with many citations of sources (imperfectly done in most cases), which might well have found their resting places in footnotes. There should have been included a bibliography, where complete information could have been given for the many works cited. On the cheerful side, there are a great many attractive photographs of scenes in the Swamp and clear reproductions of numerous old maps.

E. Merton Coulter.

The University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences. Edited by George Rosen. Volume I, No. 1 (New York: Henry Schuman. January, 1946. Pp. 182. Illustrations. Quarterly. \$7.50 a year.)

The initial number of this new *Journal* contains ten original articles, along with an introduction, "What is Past, is Prologue," by the editor. In addition, four others, Edwin Ackerknecht, Max Fisch, John F. Fulton, and Josiah C. Trent, constitute the editorial board. There is an array of consulting editors—forty-three in number—of which twenty are from the United States and the rest represent twenty-two other nations.

Thus the new publication is launched upon a broad basis of world interest and its inclusion of the "Allied Sciences" gives it an import not heretofore emphasized in the title of similar magazines. Modern medicine always has stressed its dependence upon and collaboration with the auxiliary branches of general science, such as biology, physics, and chemistry, not to speak of its own special subjects of anatomy, physiology, pharmacology, and pathology, taught in all medical schools and regarded as essential scientific requirements for a professional career. The Journal, therefore, should have a wide appeal to all those who are concerned with the history of medicine in its every phase. It announces its devotion to "the prompt publication of work relating to all aspects of the history of medicine, public health, dentistry, nursing, pharmacy, veterinary medicine and the various sciences that impinge on medicine."

Of the twelve contributors to the first issue only five are doctors of medicine; one is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons;

one is a doctor of dental surgery; two are doctors of philosophy; one is a graduate in pharmacy; and two are not accredited with degrees. Among the authors are several well known writers on medical history, both lay and professional. The most famous is the foremost historian in the medical field, Charles Singer, M. D., of England, "whose many books . . . are universally recognized as the most authoritative of their kind." Of local interest are papers by Professor Loren C. MacKinney, Ph. D., of the University of North Carolina, and Josiah C. Trent, M. D., now at the University of Michigan, recently of the Duke University School of Medicine.

In this brief review it would be inexpedient to comment upon all the articles contained in this number of the Journal. Each one would be worthy of separate criticism, based upon its merit and the importance of the subject. Two of prime interest should justly be mentioned. Heading the list, both in position and in significance, is Singer's "Some Galenic and Animal Sources of Vesalius," in which the master anatomist is shown to have "protested too much and too often that he alone described only the parts of man," whereas "he dissected far more animals than men"; even this of itself is not regarded as reprehensible since "for investigating many points, animal bodies are better adapted than human, and dissection of animals could be conducted in his own chamber." This is reminiscent of the day when the church and then existing society and civilization condemned dissection of the human body. The "reflexion" is raised "that privacy must have been the pressing need of this noisy, bustling, exhibitionist genius." Singer has presented the strongest and I believe the first imputation against the Father of Anatomy, for his extravagant claims, and blames him most for accepting without investigation the old physiology of Galen, which was not derived from a study of human anatomy.

"Animal Substances in Materia Medica," by Professor Mac-Kinney, is, as stated in its subtitle, "a study in the persistence of the primitive," and embodies a comprehensive story of the use of animal parts, secretions, tissues, and blood as remedies for disease, beginning with the earliest superstitions and continuing to the present; ending with a reference to the use of "animal plasma for blood transfusion" as "one of the most recent discoveries of our war time medical experiments." The author concludes with a faithful observation: "Twentieth century man, despite his superficial veneer of scientific civilzation, still has a fundamental kinship with his apparently primitive ancestors of the genus homo sapiens."

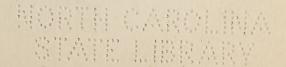
Altogether this copy of the Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences, gives promise of becoming a valuable publication and its quarterly appearances will be welcomed. Its expressed aim is not "to compete with" but to "supplement" the Bulletin of the History of Medicine, the only other American journal now in this field. The reviewer may hope that it will in some degree fill the place of the older Annals of Medical History, unfortunately suspended a few years ago.

Hubert A. Royster.

Raleigh, N. C.

Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement. By George E. Mowry (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1946. Pp. xii, 405. \$4.00.)

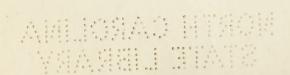
Theodore Roosevelt's association with the Progressive movement is a study in historical ironies. There was at bottom little congeniality between him and the western forces of discontent that expressed themselves in Progressivism. For all his very real humanity and generous sense of justice, Roosevelt belonged essentially to the right in politics. In Bryan and his followers he had seen only crackpot malcontents. His spiritual companions were the bold and successful, confidently at home in their environment. Probably he never fully understood the bitter and unsure anger of the disinherited. Certainly he could never have found the implacable moral earnestness of a La Follette comfortable as he did the urbane self-assurance of a Lodge. Though he spoke loudly, and no doubt sincerely, of malefactors of great wealth, it was a slender stick indeed that rapped their knuckles during his presidency. Only with respect to the limitation of judicial powers did he take a really radical position, and even here one wonders whether he sees the reformer of institutions in the interest of justice or the self-willed man striking impetuously at a force he could not control.



Nor was he fitted to be a leader of lost causes. There have been few more eminently practical politicians than Roosevelt. His forthright speech belied an almost timidly keen "sense of the possible" which restrained always his political acts. And yet this ardent and practical Republican partisan disrupted his party to become the leader of a set of forces for which he had little real sympathy in an almost quixotic crusade of exceeding moral earnestness, directed against some of his closest friends, including the man whom he had placed in the presidency to succeed him and who had sacrificed his own political future in an inept attempt to follow Roosevelt's path.

The consequences were no less ironic. In his endeavor to recapture the presidency in 1912, he sacrificed an almost certain chance to recover it in 1916, and brought it about that his bitterest enemy led the Nation to victory in 1917-18 while the hero of San Juan Hill fretted impotently. More important, he led the progressive forces from the Republican Party not into victory or even independence, but merely into a futile political isolation from which a few survivors straggled back with another Roosevelt twenty years later. In doing so he destroyed the growing liberalism of the Republican Party and left it to return to that reactionary stultification from which it had been perhaps his greatest achievement to free it.

George Mowry's thorough and readable book explains Roosevelt's paradoxical association with the brief career of the Progressive party as well, doubtless, as history ever can. It is, he points out, neither a biography of Roosevelt nor a history of the Progressive movement, but it is an important contribution to both. There is a sound evaluation of the forces that produced the phenomenon of Progressivism and a detailed account of the events in Taft's administration that alienated from him the progressive forces he might have led and that formed them into a self-conscious and semi-independent bloc in Congress. Roosevelt's own political course from his return from Africa to his final abandonment of the Progressive party in 1916 forms the central theme of the book, and is treated with clarity and competence. Mowry's account has special interest because it is based principally on the Roosevelt papers, not previously exploited for



this period. In view of the extensive documentation of the period existing in other sources, it is perhaps not surprising that the new materials used by the author enrich the details rather than alter the interpretation of the accounts previously available. Roosevelt's earnest, if perhaps not always welcome, efforts to support Taft's administration during the first year of his return from Africa and the importance in producing the final break between them of Taft's initiation of the anti-trust suit against the United States Steel Company receive an increased and well-supported emphasis; La Follette's charges of betrayal by Roosevelt in 1912 are very effectively refuted; and Roosevelt's own lack of interest in the Progressive party as a continuing institution after it had served his purpose in 1912 is made clear; but the work does not, in general, undertake to revise earlier views.

Dr. Mowry has written an excellent monograph for which the reviewer can have little but praise. There are a useful biography and an unusually good index.

Dan Lacy.

The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

The Correspondence of Bayard Taylor and Paul Hamilton Hayne. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by Charles Duffy. (Baton Rouge: The Louisiana State University Press, 1945. Pp. ix, 111. \$2.00.)

Of the forty-six letters appearing in this volume, the twenty-seven written by Hayne are here published for the first time. The nineteen letters by Taylor include five that have hitherto been unpublished, eight that have previously appeared in fragments, and six that have been published in their entirety. The texts of the letters by Hayne are based upon the originals which form a part of the Bayard Taylor Collection at Cornell University. The originals of those by Taylor are scattered, seven being in the Huntington Library, one each at Yale and Duke universities, and one in private hands, while the whereabouts of the remaining nine are undiscovered by the editor.

The correspondence began in 1859 and continued until Taylor's death in 1878. Hayne was the prime mover in the exchange, inaugurating it, re-establishing it after the Civil War, sustaining it when it began to flag, and resuming it after the lapses caused by Taylor's absences abroad. Obviously it was a case of

Hayne writing to Taylor and the latter replying to Hayne. As a consequence, Hayne's letters are the longer and more intimate and the more interesting, despite the fact that his unceasing and uncritical laudation of his more successful contemporary becomes at times slightly pathetic.

From a historical standpoint these letters are significant in that, in addition to revealing something of the contrast between the careers of the two writers, they shed light upon the different conditions under which Northern and Southern men of letters worked in the post-Civil War period. Taylor's vitality and virtuosity were, of course, exceptional, as were Hayne's intermittent illnesses and narrower capabilities; but behind these, the milieu in which each worked is strikingly illustrated.

In the North, Taylor had the advantage of access to a bookbuying public and to editors and publishers, he could frequent the society of writers, and he was able to procure lectureships and literary and journalistic engagements. As a result, the late sixties and the seventies saw his already swollen reputation enhanced by more than a dozen books, while his lecturing proved so profitable that he was able to build a house in something of the grand style amid the scenes of his childhood and there entertain with seignorial dignity many of the leading literary lights of the time.

Hayne, in the South, during these same years was enduring the evils of Reconstruction and finding to his sorrow that the period was not one in which his fragile poetry could flourish. The war had dislocated his way of living and disrupted the old economy which might have sustained him. To escape the poverty that had come to his native city, he established himself in a small cottage in the pine barrens of Georgia and from this retreat poured forth petulant outcries against the fate that had befallen his "section." He speaks of the South as having been reduced to a sort of Ireland, and he considered emigrating to Europe or to South America. A kind of loyalty kept him in the South, but he knew, even better than Taylor, that the readers were in the North, and that it was there and there only that opportunities for literary men existed.

James W. Patton.

North Carolina State College, Raleigh, N. C.

Public Men. By J. T. Salter. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xx, 513. \$4.00.)

To that large body of readers who enjoyed Mr. J. T. Salter's previous offering, *The American Politician*, *Public Men* will come as a worthy successor to the original volume.

Public Men is a collection of biographies, sketches, and pen portraits of twenty-seven statesmen, ambassadors, politicians, and demagogues in recent and contemporary national, state, and civic life in the United States. An introduction and final "interpretation" by Mr. Salter is thrown in for good measure. The result is an excellent book that should attract attention among the politically literate persons in this country.

It should be added, however, that the quality of a book such as this, by twenty-eight different authors, is bound to vary greatly. Murray Seasongood's critique of Governor John W. Bricker is one of the best evaluations of a contemporary political figure the reviewer has ever read. David D. McKean's indictment of Mayor Hague will meet with the enthusiastic approval of most progressive citizens of New Jersey; Wilfred E. Binkley's evaluation of Wendell Willkie is a beautifully written and thoughtful interpretation of the meaning of Willkie's public career. On the other hand, the three or four worst articles are very bad indeed by comparison with the best.

The sketch of President Truman by Edward A. Harris is, unfortunately, neither very penetrating nor revealing. The article was written before Mr. Truman assumed the presidency, and a postscript was simply added to bring it up to date.

Journalists and professors divide about evenly the task of writing these sketches. On the whole, it must be concluded that the latter have done the best writing; certainly their articles are far and away more thoughtful and interpretative than those written by the journalists.

Although this book is no attempt to whitewash the American public leader, it does leave one with a feeling of gratitude to find at least a few words uttered in his behalf. No serious person would deny the magnitude and complexity of our present international and domestic difficulties; their immensity precludes any such ostrich-like attitude. On the other hand, unless we are will-

ing to abandon the democratic process in government, we might as well realize that it is through such leaders as are described in *Public Men* that we will have to work out our destiny. In his concluding essay, "The Voters' Politician," Mr. Salter has said some very trite but also some very wise things about American politics and politicians, which should be required reading for all the alarmists and the editorialists of the *Saturday Review*.

Like The American Politician, Public Men is attractively printed and bound; there is also an excellent index, which greatly enhances the value of the book for reference purposes. The reviewer noticed only one typographical error and a few other scattered and inconsequential factual mistakes.

Arthur S. Link.

Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

HISTORICAL NEWS

Dr. Christopher Crittenden, for the past eleven years executive head of the State Department of Archives and History, has been granted a leave of absence until June 30, 1947, in order to plan and set up a special project of the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Mr. Henry Howard Eddy, a native of Vermont and recently from New York State, has been elected to serve as acting director during Dr. Crittenden's absence.

The Moore County Historical Association has purchased the Shaw house, an old homestead of pre-Revolutionary War days, near Southern Pines. This house will be restored and used as a museum in which will be displayed articles depicting the early life of Moore County. Mr. Leland McKeithen is president of the Association.

In an effort to establish a museum of relics and souvenirs of all wars in which Stanly County men have fought, W. H. Morrow, Sr., A. Max Gantt, Staton P. Williams, Brevard S. Garrison, Shearon Harris, James W. Dixon, George H. Bruton, and J. C. Holbrook have been appointed a committee to perfect the organization. The Board of County Commissioners at their July meeting voted to turn over the two-story community building and some of the equipment to the local veterans' organization for that purpose. The museum will be open to the public without charge Mondays through Saturdays each week.

The Methodist Historical Society of the Southern jurisdiction has placed a marker and plaque at the Jacob Shook home at Clyde where the Methodist bishop, Francis Asbury, preached. Dr. E. H. Nease of Greensboro and Bishop Clare Purcell of Charlotte participated in the program.

The Genealogical Society of Utah is now continuing the project of micro filming the early county records of North Carolina. Mr. James M. Black, representing the Society, is working in cooperation with the State Department of Archives and

History, which will receive copies of the films when they are completed. The project was initiated before Pearl Harbor but was interrupted because of the war. The Genealogical Society and the State Department of Archives and History hope to continue the work until all of the early county records of North Carolina have been microfilmed.

On August 15 the Catawba County war memorial center was dedicated at Newton. Governor R. Gregg Cherry delivered the principal address at the dedication. The center includes the remodeled Jacob Barringer house and a remodeled American Legion building. A granite monument on which is a bronze plaque bearing all the names of Catawba County men who lost their lives while serving in World Wars I and II was unveiled by Mrs. A. L. Dellinger, gold star mother of World War I, and Mrs. Cecil Arndt, gold star mother of World War II.

In August the board of directors of the North Carolina Society for the Preservation of Antiquities, Inc., held a meeting in Blowing Rock at which time plans were made for the annual meeting to be held in Raleigh in December. A luncheon was held in connection with the meeting.

The first issue of the Journal of Research has just been published by the Agricultural and Technical College of North Carolina, Greensboro. The purpose of the journal is to promote greater interest and activity in scientific research by the faculty and graduate students of the college. Dr. Charles L. Cooper is editor and Dr. Roger K. Williams and Professor Robert E. Martin are associate editors.

The North Carolina Historical Review has received a copy of Volume I, Number 1, of The American Croatian Historical Review, published at Youngstown, Ohio. This journal is a monthly and Vincent L. Knaus, an attorney of Chicago, Illinois, is editor. Some of the aims of this publication are stated as follows: "To call to the attention of the American people the noble deeds of our early Croatian and Slav missionaries who labored on this continent long before the United States was organized and

formed; . . . To publish historical documents concerning Croatians, in order that they may be preserved for future generations in our libraries; [and] to show what contributions Croatian and Slav peoples have made toward the progress of our America."

Elon College celebrated Founders Day September 16 commemorating the fifty-seventh anniversary of the opening of the college. Dr. Jesse H. Dollar, pastor of the Congregational Church, Newport News, Virginia, and pastor elect of Elon College Community Church, and Dr. John D. Truitt, pastor of the Suffolk Christian Church, Suffolk, Virginia, delivered addresses. Mr. G. C. Mann, president of the Alumni Association; Dr. L. E. Smith, president of Elon College; Mr. W. C. Elder, chairman of the Alumni Memorial Gymnasium Fund; and Mr. James F. Darden, secretary of the Alumni Association, also delivered addresses.

Mr. C. W. Paskins, a graduate of Eastern Illinois State Teachers College, University of California, and Duke University, has been added to the staff of the history department of Elon College.

Professor Bradley D. Thompson returned to Davidson College in September to resume his duties as associate professor of history. Professor Thompson was granted a leave of absence in January, 1945, and since last September he has been a member of the staff of the history department of Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia.

Dr. Rena Andrews, for the past three years a member of the staff of the history department of Winthrop College, has become assistant professor of American history at Meredith College. Dr. Lillian Parker Wallace will be the acting head of the department of history at Meredith College during the present year.

Miss Christiana McFadyen, assistant professor of history of the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina, who has been awarded the Wolf fellowship at the University of Chicago, is on leave of absence for the coming year in order to pursue her work toward the doctor's degree. Her place is being filled this year by Dr. Catherine E. Boyd. Dr. Boyd is on leave of absence from Cedar Crest College, Pennsylvania, where she is professor and head of the department of history and political science.

Mrs. Margaret M. Heflin, who has been an instructor in history at the Woman's College of the University of North Carolina for the last two years, has resigned to join her husband, Dr. Woodford Heflin, who goes to the University of Mississippi this year as associate professor of history. Dr. Heflin served two years in the United States Army in India.

Miss Zoe Swecker, a graduate of Woman's College, University of North Carolina, will be an instructor in history at the Woman's College in the place of Mrs. Margaret M. Heflin, who has resigned.

The Henderson County Historical Association is sponsoring plans for celebrating the centennial of Hendersonville during the second week in July, 1947. A pageant entitled *Our Town* will be a feature of the program.

The Henderson County Historical Association and the Woman's Club of Hendersonville are sponsoring the publication of "The Story of Henderson County," written by Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, a member of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History. This publication is due to come from the press within the next few months.

Mrs. Sadie S. Patton, member of the executive board of the State Department of Archives and History is writing "The History of Polk County," which is being published weekly in *Tryon Bulletins* and *Polk County News*. Interested citizens of Polk County hope to publish this series of articles in book form at an early date.

The Durham-Orange Historical Society and the Bennett Place Park Commission have perfected plans for the erection of a memorial stone bench on the Bennett Place Park. The bench will be a memorial to Mrs. Samuel Morgan, who, with her husband, gave lavishly to the historical spot where General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered his Confederate army to Union General William T. Sherman.

The John Hoyle Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution of Hickory, at its meeting on September 10, had as its guest speaker Mr. Latta B. Rattledge, president of the Ney Memorial Association. Mr. Rattledge spoke on the life and death of Peter Stuart Ney.

On September 29 at Third Creek Church near Charlotte, memorial services were held for Peter Stuart Ney. Dr. Howard Ronthaler, president of Salem College, preached the memorial sermon, and Senator Clyde R. Hoey delivered an address.

Mr. Malcom C. McMillan has resigned his position as instructor of history at the North Carolina State College and has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at Birmingham Southern College in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. Kenneth Dale Raab has been appointed instructor in history at North Carolina State College.

The North Carolina Society of the Descendants of the Palatines is developing a genealogical collection in the public library at New Bern. Most of the membership dues are expended toward that end. The Society is devoting its activities to the genealogy of the families who settled in New Bern in 1710.

The Wachovia Historical Society of Winston-Salem has received, as a donation from Mr. Bowman Gray, a collection of early North Carolina maps. Among them is a copy of the Collet map. These maps have been hung for a temporary exhibit in the recently restored Salem Tavern.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society of North Carolina Friends was held in August at Guilford College. Dr. D. Elton Trueblood, former dean of the chapel at Stanford University and now professor of philosophy at Earlham College, spoke on the subject "Robert Barclay, the Early Quaker Theolog-

ian." The Society has announced the publication of a booklet entitled "Inner Light" by Dr. Elbert Russell of Duke University.

Miss Frances Williamson, a member of the staff of the State Department of Archives and History, resigned effective October 1, to accept a position with the federal government.

Books received include Louis B. Wright, An Essay Upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America, 1701, (San Marino, California, 1945); John R. Swanton, The Indians of the Southeastern United States (Washington, D. C. Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137, 1946); and Charles Callan Tansill, The Congressional Career of Thomas Francis Bayard, 1865-1885 (Washington, D. C., Georgetown University Press, 1946).

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